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Josef Bauer – Robert K. Englund –
Manfred Krebernik

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Späturuk-Zeit und Frühdynastische Zeit

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Robert K. Englund

Texts from the Late Uruk Period

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Manfred Krebernik

DIE TEXTE AUS FĀRA UND TELL ABŪ ṢALĀBĪḪ

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Vorwort

Keine Kulturgeschichte: nach A.L. Oppenheims 'Portrait of a Dead Civilization' ist das Thema unwiederholbar – wahrscheinlich für immer.
Und auch kein Handbuch: dafür müsste weiter ausgeholt werden mit der Gefahr einer Aufsplitterung, die immer auch Orientierungslosigkeit ist.
Möglich aber sind Annäherungen an grosse, abgrenzbare Ausschnitte, dargestellt von kompetenter Seite; Philologie und Geschichte bestimmten dabei Schwerpunkte.
Ursprünglich als Erweiterung des Berner Lehrangebotes gedacht, stellte sich sehr bald der Wunsch nach schriftlicher Form ein: für Studentinnen und Studenten als Grundlage, für Altorientalisten als Orientierung in fremderen Bereichen, für Kollegen benachbarter Fächer als Überblick.
Der Dank gehört Herrn D. Dall'Agnolo, der den Band gestaltete. Der Dank gehört allen Referenten, die nach Bern gekommen sind – ein tief empfundener Dank.

P. Attinger
M. Wäfler

Teil 1

Robert K. Englund

Texts from the Late Uruk Period

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Texts from the Late Uruk Period

1. Preface

Whoever has spent an afternoon wandering about an ancient tell in Iraq knows all too well the compulsion to search the ground for remains of a civilization long lost to us. Here a colorful glazed shard, there a small pebble with possible incisions, all these artifacts are inspected, mentally sorted and, dependent on the rigor of the archaeologist or Iraqi civil servant who might be in accompaniment, deposited in pockets for later appraisal. So did certainly stocks of intriguing objects first form in the dwellings of local Arabs in Iraq, and so did too the first Mesopotamian artifacts in the bags of visitors and trade agents leave Iraq for Europe in the 17th century, to be followed in the 18th by more, until beginning seriously in the 19th century a full-scale plundering of uninhabited Near Eastern settlements took place. In a sense, early European excavators worked hand in hand with Iraqi natives to strip the land of its ancient fruits. Workers in the Assyrian centers of Nineveh, Khorsabad and Nimrud filled raft after raft with stone colossi, reliefs and inscribed objects, destined for exhibition in the halls of the British Museum and the Louvre, while at the same time *local* robbers spent chilly nights and hot summer days helping to satisfy the same foreign calls for more objects from the distant past.

Colonial rule and impressionable Ottoman officials provided the opportunity for this plunder, and national rivalries among European states even stimulated a certain excitation among the early excavators to bring the largest and most impressive treasures home. Thus the few dusty shards drawn from the pockets of wives of Mercedes dealers during the dull return to Baghdad bear no resemblance to the ten-ton bull and lion, hewn from stone nearly three thousand years ago and set up in the palace of Ashurnasirpal, which now attract the awe of visitors in the British Museum. Still they represent manifestations of one and the same impulse: to

take possession and thus share in the essence of a history of civilization reaching back beyond the Renaissance, beyond the legions of Rome, and beyond the democratic stirrings in ancient Athens, into a pre-classical age marked in its earliest phases by the first development of cities and, toward the end of the fourth millennium B.C., the emergence of writing.

The Roman script we use today has been in existence for some two and a half millennia. By the 26th century A.D., this form of writing will eclipse in length of uninterrupted use the period of documented transmission of cuneiform in Mesopotamia. That is no mean accomplishment, but of course Roman, and Greek script derived from earlier models in the Near East, and these owe certainly the impulse to graphically represent language, if not the form of writing itself, to earlier scripts in the region, above all to hieroglyphics and to cuneiform, and of these two the development and use of the latter, in its earliest form generally known as 'proto-cuneiform', is much better documented.

The term 'archaic texts' refers generally to those documents inscribed on clay or stone tablets using the proto-cuneiform script, dating roughly to the final stages of the Late Uruk period, that is, Uruk IV and III, and including the first levels of the succeeding Early Dynastic period. The span of ca. 3200-2700 B.C. generally accepted for these archaeological levels covers an age in which the monumental center of Uruk in southern Babylonia seems to have been in decline, breaking into disarray about 2900 B.C., and following which new centers in the south began to form.

The first general introduction to the proto-cuneiform writing system and an overview of the text genres found in the archaic texts from Mesopotamia was offered in 1936 by the father of modern Sumerology in Germany, Adam Falkenstein. Since the appearance of that publication, the work of an ongoing research project directed by Hans J. Nissen, a student of the Heidelberg scholar and since 1971 professor of Near Eastern studies at the Free University of Berlin, has made substantial strides in the edition of the ca. 5000 archaic texts and text fragments uncovered by German excavators of Uruk, the largest settlement on earth at the end of the fourth millennium B.C. Situated on the southern stretch of the ancient course of the Euphrates river, this city achieved a size of some 40 hectares 5100 years ago, and, with the concomitant hierarchization of skilled labor and administrators, offered the most likely atmosphere at the time for the revolution in communication requisite to an expanding bureaucracy forming in the city that was a system of writing.

Some scholars, among them most forcefully Nissen, have in recent years relativized the importance of writing in our cultural development. Since the great mass of the earliest written documents were economic and administrative records, and since these documents had clear functional precursors in the form of cylinder seals, numerical tablets and, still earlier, clay and stone calculi, writing could be considered little more that an expansion and improvement of accounting mechanisms already in broad use. Yet the intellectual advance evident in the early use of symbols not only to quantify and qualify objects and measures and persons, but also to identify more involved transaction states, to designate probable phonetic approximations of elements of words and proper names which had hitherto not been signified in the early iconography, and possibly to represent spoken language, suggests an entirely new level of semiotic representation.

The publications of the Berlin research group, with which I have been associated since 1982, have begun to lay the basis for a comprehensive examination of the archaic writing system and the administrative forms it served. However, two recent developments in the decipherment of archaic writing in Mesopotamia – both only indirectly connected to research in Berlin – have had important consequences in the way we think about the exploitation of writing, and have implications for the contextual decipherment of archaic documents. The first is the work by Denise Schmandt-Besserat on the large numbers of small stone and clay objects almost invariably found in excavation levels of Near Eastern sites predating those of the earliest writing stages. Despite occasionally heavy-handed criticism of her methodology, there can be little doubt that her general proposition of the derivation of proto-cuneiform writing from these early discrete symbols, called by her tokens, is correct, and that the discussion which her work has provoked, not only of the role of these objects as object-qualifying counters but also of the sealed bullae which contained a large variety of 'tokens', and of the so-called numerical tablets found in levels immediately before those of developed writing, has formed a vital part of our current understanding of the intellectual developments which preceded the emergence of writing in the Near East. The second is the breakthrough in the analysis of the numerical systems, represented in quantitative notations in archaic administrative texts, achieved by the historians of science Jöran Friberg and Peter Damerow. Remembering that over 85% of all archaic texts are administrative documents recording above all quantitative data, it is not difficult to imagine the significance for decipherment of the texts a clear understanding of accounting notations can have, particularly for a period in which the diversity and complexity of counting and measuring systems was still great.
The present paper represents an attempt to weave together some of the disparate material which Nissen, Damerow and I have published in the course of our cooperative efforts and which has not always been easily accessible to interested readers. It is a pleasure to acknowledge that without the professional assistance of the editors of this series, Pascal Attinger and Markus Wäfler, the present study would not have been written, and to thank them for their great patience.

2. Excavations and chronology[1]

It is not surprising that the first antiquities to arouse the interest of visitors to ancient Mesopotamia were those most recently buried. They were closest to the surface, and above all the great stone remains of the neo-Assyrian period were in many cases visible in the shifting sands of northern Iraq, or at least known to local residents. These and other stone monuments which often bore inscriptions in cuneiform were retrieved and shipped back to European capitals in the mid-nineteenth century, together with the clay tablet archives of Ashurbanipal unearthed in Nineveh.

Below the archaeological strata which produced these finds were levels containing successively older artifacts, including earlier cuneiform archives. Beginning in the 1880's, British/American and French excavators opened the sites of Nippur and Girsu in the south of modern Iraq, ancient Babylonia. These two sites more than any others led archaeological, but above all philological research into the third millennium B.C. and into the developmental stages of early cuneiform.

The Nippur archives from the scribal school situated in the temple district of Enlil remain our most important source material for understanding the intellectual history of early Mesopotamia.

1 The conventions of text transliteration used in this paper are those of the Berlin/Los Angeles research project *Archaische Texte aus Uruk* and have been spelled out in some detail in previous publications (see, for example, MSVO 1, 9-12, and note that the designations "obverse" and "reverse" of opposing inscribed tablet faces may be arbitrary; it is often not possible to determine where an account on a damaged fragment might have begun). Generally, texts are published here with as much attention paid to non-specialists as possible. The readings of the signs in individual transliterations are based on those presented in the Uruk signlist (ATU 2; 'unidentified' signs in this list are assigned the code ZATU+number), incorporating however the further-reaching sign differentiations presently employed in our work in Berlin and Los Angeles on the archaic corpus (see my remarks in ATU 2, p. 347, to language identification JESHO 31 [1988] 131-133[9]). Text copies in the following are published at 75% of original size unless otherwise noted, but are rotated 90° counter-clockwise of their position in ancient times, in accordance with standard assyriological convention; cf. the reasoning and justification for this positioning in ATU 2, 148[6]; P. Damerow and R.K. Englund, Tepe Yahya, 11-12[30], with reference to the compelling work by F. Picchioni. There are very few exceptions and contradictions (for example, W. Orthmann, PKG 14 [1975], pl. XI; A. Archi, "Position of the Tablets of Ebla," OrNS 57 [1988] 67-69) to the rule adhered to here that the 90° shift occurred during or just before the Kassite period. The terms 'script' and 'writing system' are used here interchangeably. Finally, I have chosen to continue a convention adhered to previously in publications of our research project concerning the designation of proto-cuneiform signs. We have distinguished generally only numerical and ideographic signs (representing quantities and qualities, respectively), fully aware of the terminological imprecision both names imply; 'numerical signs' did not represent abstract numbers, and 'ideographic signs' in all likelihood were often not semographs but rather referred to specific words. Historians of writing categorize developmental (and usually diachronic) systems of graphic communication into iconography (usually prehistoric art), pictography (clear iconic referents in the earliest writing systems), logography (strict correspondence between a single sign and one word), ideography (correspondence between a single sign and one semantic field), syllabography (phonographic use of signs to represent syllables) and alphabetography (phonographic use of signs to represent phonemes), recognizing that no system excludes elements of systems preceding it chronologically. It will be obvious that many of the signs called here "ideograms" are more precisely "logograms", and some may be "syllabograms", dependent on whether proto-cuneiform is a multivalent writing system. It is, in any case, a question of interpretation as to when such ambivalent signs as U_4, in ideographic meaning 'light', 'day', 'white', and so on, assume concrete, i.e., logographic roles in written language, remembering that even then cuneiform signs are often only partial representations of contextually implied grammatical forms of words.

Although dating to two centuries after the collapse of the last political state whose administration was conducted in the Sumerian language, the literary and lexical texts from Old Babylonian Nippur[2] certainly offer an on the whole genuine reflection of the writing system, the language and the literary culture of third millennium Mesopotamia, and these texts form the core of the Sumerian dictionary project now underway at the University of Pennsylvania.
Less impressive for literary history, but all the more so for the history of writing, of archaic administration and of political formations, were the French finds in Girsu, modern Telloh.[3] The excavations were characterized by a feverish tempo, and despite the correspondingly slight attention paid to archaeological methodology and the agitated demand for antiquities, however they were acquired, felt from abroad, some 60,000 texts dating to the third millennium were apparently recovered from administrative contexts.[4] A further 20,000 exemplars, including nearly all those deriving from the pre-Sargonic Lagash period,[5] were plundered between regular seasons.[6] These archives build the most complete and continuous record of administration, and necessarily of writing and means of accounting, available to us from the second half of the third millennium. Their importance compared to the literary archives from Nippur may bee seen above all in their contemporaneity, in the fact that they contain tablets

2 The massive site was situated about half-way between Baghdad and Uruk on what Steinkeller has referred to as the border between Sumerian south with a strong tradition of city-states, and a Semitic northern Mesopotamia marked more by regional polities. This location may have played a role in the 'special status' Nippur was apparently accorded throughout the third millennium. Even in the archaic periods, Uruk scribes included in the lexical list of city names the toponym EN_a.KID_a (=NIBRU) in second place after that representing southern Ur (see R.J. Matthews, MSVO 2, 34-39), so that with high probability archaic levels in Nippur are merely still buried (for those remains recovered see K.L. Wilson, "Nippur: the Definition of a Mesopotamian Ǧamdat Nasr Assemblage," in: U. Finkbeiner and W. Röllig [eds.], Ǧamdat Naṣr, 57-89). The unifying effect in Mesopotamia of the city god of Nippur, Enlil, as the chief administrator of the Sumerian pantheon, is a phenomenon well documented in texts from later third millennium archives, pointing to the strong political influence the priestly class in Nippur had on the south, without itself serving as residence of the ruling families. The blessing of the Enlil priests seemed no less critical to Babylonian monarchs than that of the Holy See to rulers in medieval Europe. Finally, the system of domestic trade (so-called 'bala') instituted by Shulgi toward the end of the third millennium, partly to service the Nippur cults, underscored the importance that city enjoyed even in times of great centralization of power. See generally W.W. Hallo, "A Sumerian Amphictyony," JCS 14 (1960) 88-114; P. Steinkeller, "The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State: The Core and the Periphery", in: McG. Gibson and R. D. Biggs (eds.), The Organization of Power: Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East, SAOC 46, Chicago [1]1987, 19-41 = [2]1991, 15-33; Th. Jacobsen, "Early Political Development in Mesopotamia," ZA 52 (1957) 91-140.

3 See generally A. Parrot, Tello. Vingt campagnes de fouilles (1877-1933) (Paris 1948).

4 R.K. Englund, Organisation und Verwaltung der Ur III-Fischerei, BBVO 10 (Berlin 1990) 3[+23]; id., AfO 40-41 (1993-1994) 98-103.

5 Early Dynastic IIIb, documented administratively for the period ca. 2400-2350. See J. Bauer in this volume.

6 The rest were with few exceptions from the Ur III period. About half of these texts were acquired by the British Museum, the majority of which remain, like the majority of the texts from regular excavations in the Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Istanbul, unpubl. A start has been made to make both collections accessible to specialists, however; see most recently M. Sigrist, Messenger Texts from the British Museum (Potomac, MD 1990) and Sumerian Archival Texts I: Texts from the British Museum (Bethesda, 1993), for the BM tablets, B. Lafont, F. Yıldız, Tablettes cunéiformes de Tello au Musée d'Istanbul, Datant de l'époque de la III[e] Dynastie d'Ur, I (ITT II/1, 617-1038), Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 65 (Leiden 1989), and II (ITT II/1, 2544-2819, 3158-4342, 4708-4713), Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 77, (Leiden 1996) for those in the Istanbul museum.

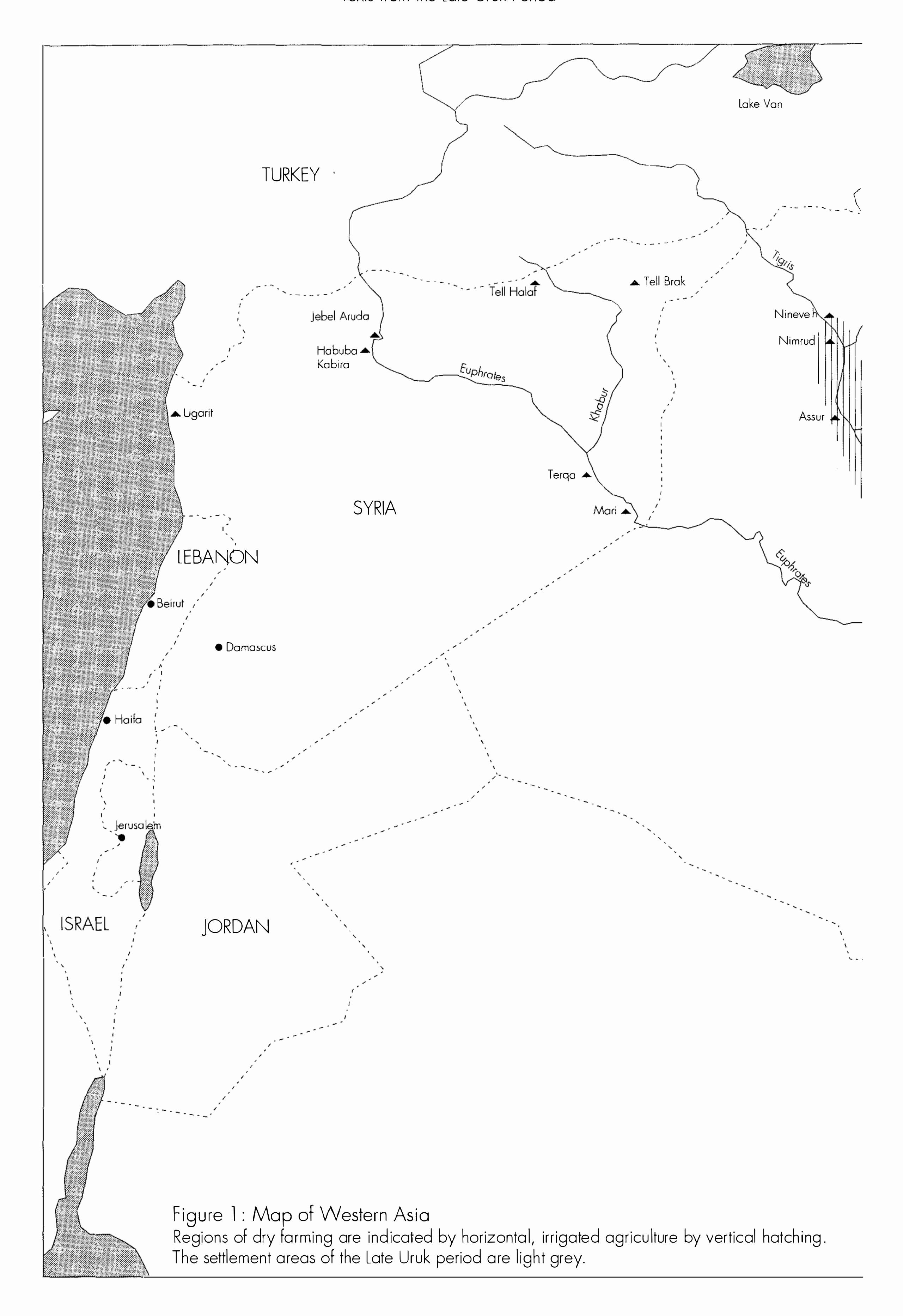
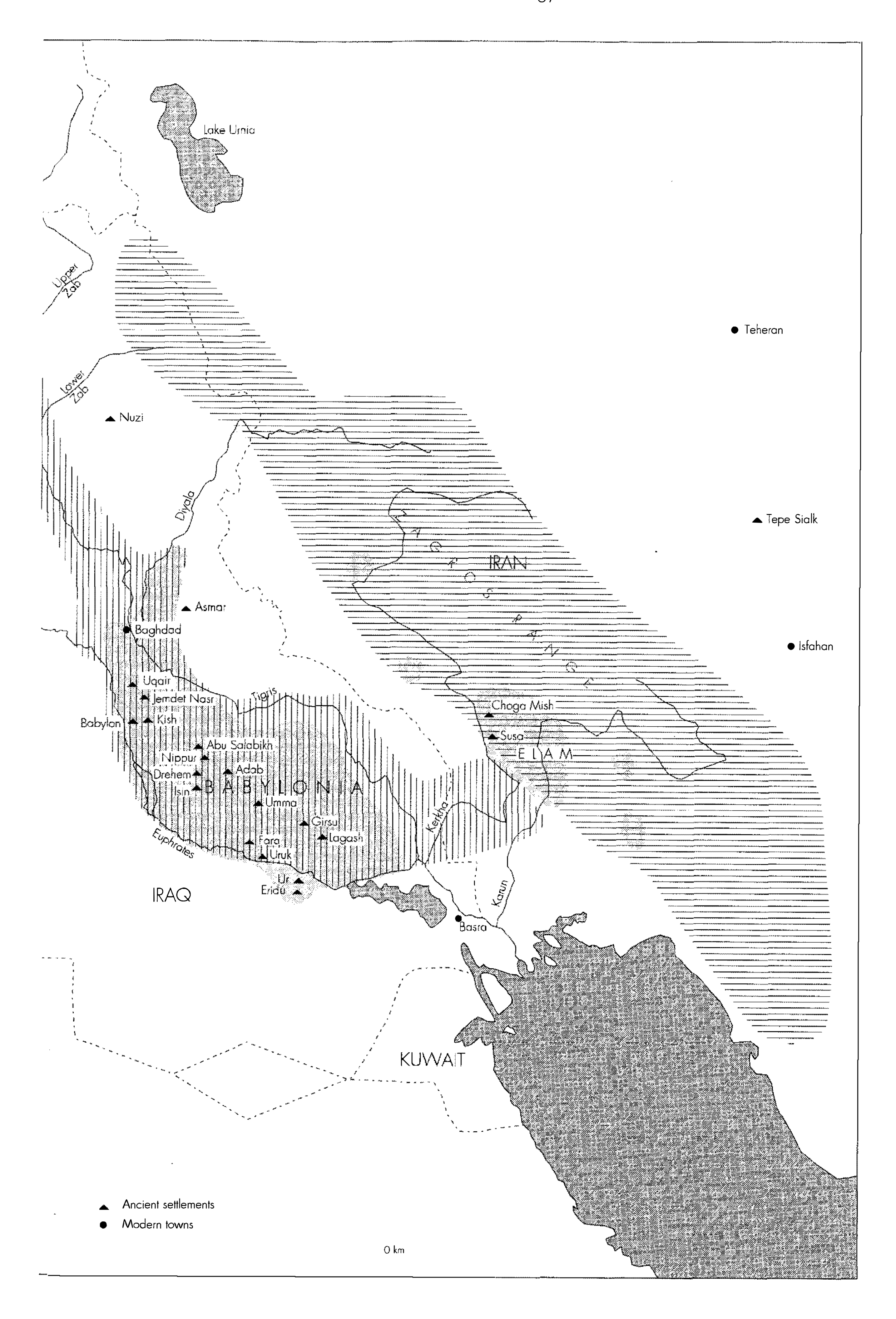


Figure 1: Map of Western Asia
Regions of dry farming are indicated by horizontal, irrigated agriculture by vertical hatching. The settlement areas of the Late Uruk period are light grey.



Lake Urmia
Upper Zab
Lower Zab
Nuzi
Diyala
Asmar
Baghdad
Uqair
Jemdet Nasr
Babylon
Kish
Tigris
Abu Salabikh
Nippur
Drehem
Adab
Isin
BABYLONIA
Umma
Girsu
Lagash
Fara
Uruk
Euphrates
Ur
Eridu
IRAQ
Kerkha
Karun
Basra
KUWAIT
IRAN
Choga Mish
Susa
ELAM
Teheran
Tepe Sialk
Isfahan
Ancient settlements
Modern towns
0 km

composed and written by scribes educated in active schools, who thus reflected the historical moment, and not the often legendary past, of the texts' contents. Indeed, beyond the immediate administrative history recorded in the many thousands of documents from Girsu, the best examples of Classical Sumerian were found on statues and clay cylinders from the period just prior to the Ur III dynasty, the Lagash II period with its temple-building records of Gudea.
Some twenty years after commencement of excavations at Girsu, German archaeologists discovered an archive of texts in Fara, ancient Shuruppak, in the far south of Babylonia dating to the Early Dynastic IIIa Fara period.[7] The semi-pictographic nature of the script employed in these texts allowed of a paleographic dating of the period to a time at least several generations before the earliest pre-Sargonic Lagash texts, the royal inscriptions of the founder king Ur-Nanshe from ca. 2500, and thus to about 2600 B.C.
This is, then, the state of our knowledge of early cuneiform at the turn of the 20th century. And at just this time, finds not from Mesopotamia, but rather from Susa in western Persia, would enter the academic discussion with clear evidence of a stage of writing substantially earlier than anything then known from the Babylonian alluvium. The French Assyriologist V. Scheil commenced publication of the first such documents in 1900 which had been sent to join the collections of the Louvre, then published two hundred more in 1905.[8] These so-called proto-Elamite accounts can now be dated with some security to ca. 3000-2900 B.C. Although the system of writing employed in the texts seems a script isolate, i.e., there were apparently no graphic precursors (with the reasonably argued exception of several proto-cuneiform signs)[9], and no successors to the proto-Elamite writing system as was the case with the earliest stages of cuneiform, and although the language presumably represented by the script remains undeciphered,[10] still the numerical systems employed in the texts and in

[7] Summarized by H.P. Martin, Fara: A Reconstruction of the Ancient Mesopotamian City of Shuruppak (Birmingham 1988). See M. Krebernik in this volume.

[8] V. Scheil, Textes élamites-sémitiques. Premiére série, MDP 2 (Paris 1900) and Textes élamites-sémitiques. Troisième Série, MDP 6 (Paris 1905). Some 1,450 proto-Elamite tablets from Susa have been published since. See W.C. Brice, "The Writing System of the Proto-Elamite Account Tablets of Susa," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 45 (1962-1963) 15-39; P. Meriggi, "Altsumerische und proto-elamische Bilderschrift," ZDMG Spl. 1 (1969) 156-163; id., La scrittura proto-elamica I-III (Rome 1971-1974); A.A. Vajman, "A Comparative Study of the Proto-Elamite and Proto-Sumerian Scripts" (in Russian), VDI 1972/3, 124-133 (English summary p. 133; German translation in BaM 20 [1989] 101-114); J. Friberg, The Early Roots of Babylonian Mathematics I-II (Göteborg 1978-9); P. Damerow and R.K. Englund, Tepe Yahya. Some 100 unedited proto-elamite fragments currently housed in the Louvre are being prepared for publication by M. Salvini; of the smaller collections, I currently count twenty more unpublished tablets in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology of the University of Sao Paolo (circumstances of acquisition unclear), seventeen from Tall-i Malyan (ancient Anshan; and possibly more from Susa) in the Teheran Museum, and nine in the Ecole biblique, Jerusalem (presumably deposited by V. Scheil and therefore from Susa).

[9] See most recently P. Damerow and R.K. Englund, Tepe Yahya, pp. 4-7 and 53-60. We noted pp. 21-28 the clear evidence for a direct borrowing from Mesopotamia of numerical sign systems employed in the proto-Elamite accounts.

[10] P. Meriggi, "Der Stand der Erforschung des Proto-Elamischen," JRAS 1975, 105, and La scrittura proto-elamica I (Rome 1971-1974) 172-184, isolated, and attempted to analyze as to frequency of initial or final position the signs most commonly used in presumable personal names in proto-Elamite texts. P. Damerow and I have noted in Tepe Yahya, 4-5[+14], the reasons for skepticism in considering his results, including the

	Period	Writing Phase	Historical Developments
3400		Clay bullae and numerical tablets	Beginning of large-scale settlement of Babylonia
3300			
3200	Late Uruk	Archaic texts from Uruk: Writing Phase Uruk IV, Writing Phase Uruk III	First urban centers
3100			Age of early civilization
3000	Jemdet Nasr		
2900	Early Dynastic I		
2800		Archaic texts from Ur	
2700	Early Dynastic II		Formation of large irrigation networks
2600		Texts from Fara	
2500	Early Dynastic III		Rival city-states
2400		Old Sumerian texts	
2300	Dynasty of Akkad	Old Akkadian texts	First regional state
2200			
2100	Gudea of Lagash	Neo-Sumerian texts	Centralized state of the 3rd Dynasty of Ur
2000	Ur III		

Figure 2: Third millennium chronology

several cases apparent pictograms of animals and in particular vessels, aided in the correct description of the texts as the oldest then known from the Near East.

The first Mesopotamian tablets dating to the period generally called Uruk III/Jemdet Nasr (ca. 3100-3000 B. C.,[11] and so roughly contemporaneous with or shortly before the proto-Elamite texts unearthed in Susa) were believed to have been excavated by illicit diggers of the north Babylonian mound Jemdet Nasr[12] and sold in Baghdad in a large lot to the

rather numerous exceptions to his implied rule of standardized sign sequence and his unsupported assumptions that personal names were written syllabically and that "proto-elamite" was a precursor of Old Elamite dating to the late Old Akkadian period, some 700 years after the period of the proto-Elamite archives. I.J. Gelb, "Methods of Decipherment," JRAS 1975, 95-104, offers a sobering view of the prospects for further decipherment, based on conventional cryptanalytical methods, of such scripts as the proto-Elamite.

11 The chronology of these early texts is based primarily on a sometimes uncertain connection of tablet finds to the Late Uruk archaeological levels found in the excavations of Uruk, specifically Uruk IV and III. See below for details.

12 The small mound ca. 30 km to the northeast of Kish derives its name from the Iraqi Arabic "hillock of [Sheik] Nāṣr".

German excavators of Fara in 1903, and in a smaller lot sometime before 1915.[13] The former 'archaic,' or 'proto-cuneiform'[14] tablets, 35 in number and at the time the oldest written documents available for study on earth,[15] inexplicably disappeared in the collections of the Berliner Staatsmuseen, to be recovered only thirty years later and published as an interesting appendix to the volume containing the first mass of archaic texts found in Uruk in the late 1920's.
Somewhat better treatment was afforded the second lot. The Parisian dealer J. E. Géjou purchased these two dozen tablets sometime after 1915, and sold them in smaller groups, the first before 1920 to the Parisian antiquities dealers Dumani Frères, the second and third in 1924 to representatives of the British Museum and the Louvre, respectively. Nearly all were published in the years 1927-1929.[16]

2.1. Jemdet Nasr

In the March of 1925, a Hilla dealer offered among other antiquities a number of archaic tablets from Jemdet Nasr to the excavators of the large mound Kish, E. Mackay and S. Langdon. Langdon, after himself traveling to Jemdet Nasr to confirm the existence of more tablets,[17] procured the necessary funding and undertook to excavate the site's largest mound (Mound B). The first campaign began in early January and ran through mid March of 1926. This season proved to be by far the most successful, since within an archaeological level resulting from an apparent ancient conflagration, Langdon with his troop of between 12 and

[13] Cf. V. Scheil, RA 26 (1929) 15.

[14] The designation proto-cuneiform has been chosen to replace the misleading "proto-Sumerian" still encountered in some publications, since it is at present not possible to identify the creators of the earliest Mesopotamian system of writing; see my remarks in JESHO 31 (1988) 131-133+9.

[15] Some few stone inscriptions in earlier circulation have been ascribed to the archaic period. Despite the Late Uruk appearance of the iconography on the noted Blau tablets of shale, their inscriptions are probably to be dated to the ED I period (cf. P. Damerow and R.K. Englund, BaM 20 [1989] 137, and my remarks in ATU 5, 12+7, against the most recent Uruk III dating by I. J. Gelb, P. Steinkeller and R.M. Whiting, Earliest Land Tenure Systems in the Near East: Ancient Kudurrus, Text, OIP 104 [Chicago 1991] 39-43; indeed, the apparently conventional dating by the authors of all of their kudurrus 1-11 to the Uruk III period is in each case questionable, for which see my remarks loc.cit.).

[16] The 12 Louvre tablets were copied and published with limited commentary by F. Thureau-Dangin in RA 24 (1927) 26-29. Five of the seven tablets bought by the British Museum were later included in the 1928 publication of the texts excavated at Jemdet Nasr by S. Langdon, The Herbert Weld Collection in the Ashmolean Museum: Pictographic Inscriptions from Jemdet Nasr [...], OECT 7 (Oxford 1928). All published and unpublished texts from the site have now been edited by R.K. Englund and J.-P. Grégoire, MSVO 1 (Berlin 1991). All the British Museum and Louvre tablets together with five tablets at Dumani Frères, finally, seem to have been inspected and copied by V. Scheil some time before they were distributed in Paris and London. The five tablets from the original lot which came into the possession of Dumani Frères were bought by James Breasted of the Oriental Institute, Chicago, in 1920 (see MSVO 1, 7[4]). Scheil published his copies of these latter tablets in RA 26 (1929) 15-17, including the tablet RA 26, 16, no. 3, which seems to have been lost in or on its way to Chicago. See now MSVO 1, pp. 34-35, to the tablets accessioned with the sigla A (Oriental Institute, University of Chicago), AO (Louvre) and BM, (re-)edited there.

[17] E. Mackay, Report on Excavations at Jemdet Nasr, Iraq, Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropology, Memoirs I/3 (Chicago 1931) 225.

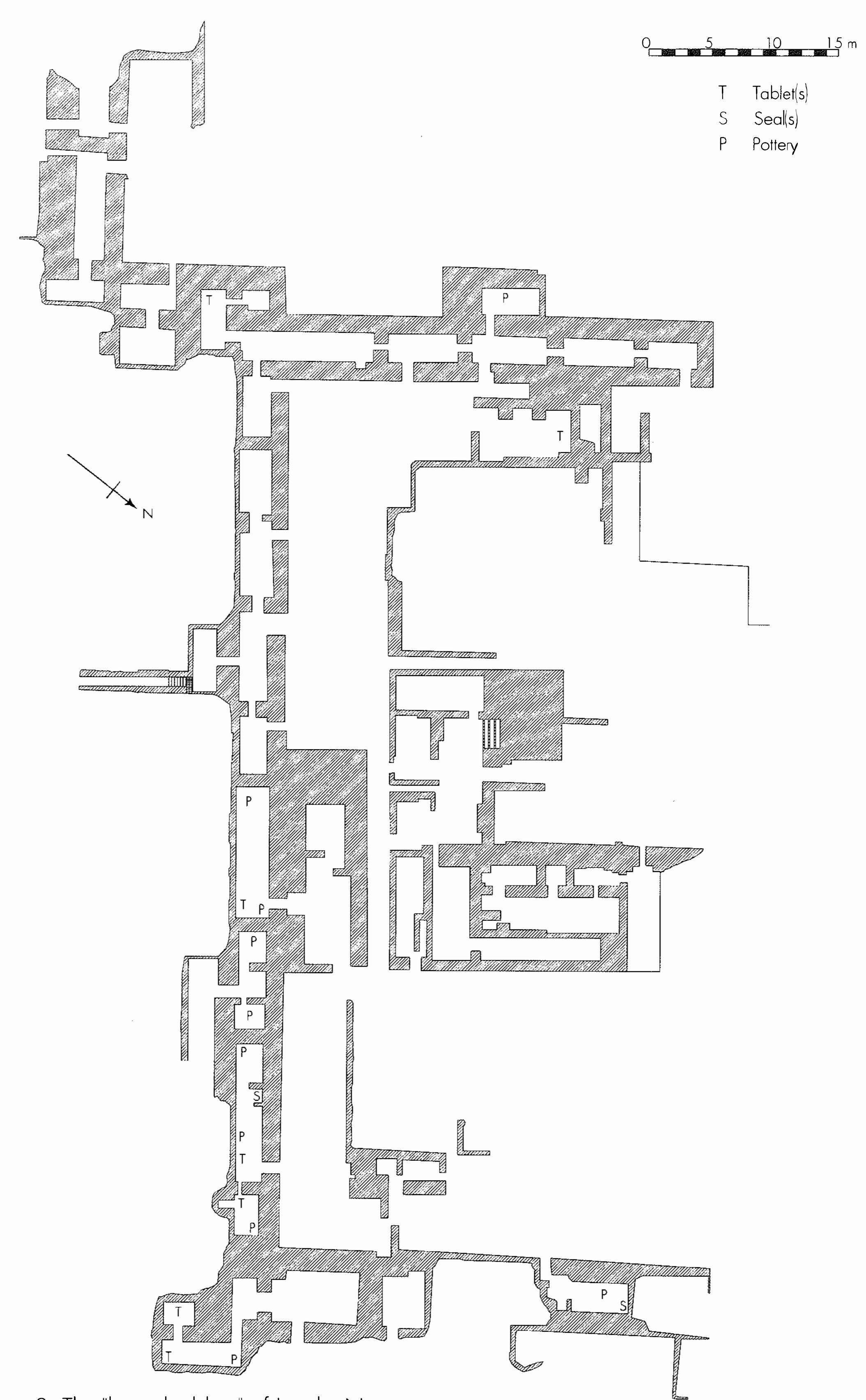


Figure 3: The "large building" of Jemdet Nasr

60 workmen discovered among other artifacts over 150 and possibly as many as 180 proto-cuneiform tablets[18] in various rooms of a large building situated in the northeast section of Mound B and described by him and others as the oldest palace known from the ancient Near East (see figure 3[19]). Many of these tablets bore seal impressions.[20] Unfortunately, the find spots of the individual tablets in the rooms of the large building were not recorded; the excavators merely marked with a "T" those areas in which tablets were found. Earlier work in Kish led by Mackay resulted in the discovery there of a small number of proto-cuneiform texts.[21] All texts and seal impressions from Jemdet Nasr and Kish have in the meantime been re-edited by J.-P. Grégoire and the author, in collaboration with R.J. Matthews.[22]

Langdon became gravely ill at the end of the first Jemdet Nasr campaign and was unable to continue work there the following year. L.Ch. Watelin as Kish field director in 1928 led the excavation at Jemdet Nasr in March of the same year and was able with some 120 workmen over a period of 10 days to recover but very few tablets, of which most appear to have been from post-archaic periods.[23]

The archaic tablets from Jemdet Nasr date without apparent exception[24] to the Uruk III period and are remarkable for the breadth of topics they cover, including accounts of field

[18] 165 tablets were first published in OECT 7. All texts from the site have now appeared in R.K Englund and J.-P. Grégoire, MSVO 1. The discrepancy between the number 165 and the 194 publication numbers in OECT 7 is explained there, pp. 11-12; see also p. 7.

[19] See the report by Langdon, "Ausgrabungen in Babylonien seit 1918," Der Alte Orient 26 (1927) 3-75. A new excavation of the mound was begun in 1988 by the director of the British Archaeological Expedition to Iraq, R.J. Matthews, with an eye to recovering the rest of Mound B, re-examining the confusing architecture of the building, and to researching the poorly understood transition from Uruk III to Early Dynastic I. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, however, cut these efforts short. Cf. R.J. Matthews, "Excavations at Jemdet Nasr, 1988," Iraq 51 (1989) 225-248 + plts. 33-34 (especially pp. 228-231 with reference to J. Margueron, Recherches sur les palais mésopotamiens de l'âge du Bronze [Paris 1982] 32); id., "Excavations at Jemdet Nasr, 1989," Iraq 52 (1990) 25-39; id., "Jemdet Nasr: the Site and the Period," Biblical Archaeologist 55 (1992) 196-203; id., MSVO 2. Matthews is more cautious in his identification of the function of this structure, referring simply to "Langdon's large building".

[20] R.J. Matthews, MSVO 2.

[21] Definitely identified as from Kish are only the tablets MSVO 1, 205 (fragment of a damaged tablet with an account of small cattle; from mound Z, possibly not archaic); MSVO 1, 207 (fragment with a grain account); MSVO 1, 224 (nearly complete but damaged tablet with an account of sexagesimally counted objects, from the palace; cf. OECT 7 to sign no. 128); MSVO 1, 241 (fragment with an account of sexagesimally counted objects; probably not archaic, see L. Watelin and S. Langdon, Excavations at Kish IV 1925-1930 [Paris 1934] p. 37 [W 1929] found unnumbered 24.8.1912); MSVO 4, 74 (a polished limestone tablet, first published by S. Langdon, Excavations at Kish I [Paris 1924] 99; this tablet has mistakenly been identified as an example of Uruk IV script found outside of Uruk, cf. my remarks in MSVO 4, p. 28).

[22] MSVO 1-2 (Berlin 1991 and 1993, respectively).

[23] H. Field, The Track of Man [...] (Garden City, NY, 1953) 177. According to extant Ashmolean museum records, at least two (MSVO 1, nos. 66 and 150) of the tablets published by S. Langdon in JRAS 1931, 837-841, and represented by him as having come from the Watelin excavation were in fact accessioned in the year 1924 and may have been part of the Parisian Géjou group discussed above. The only extant reference to the find spots of the Watelin tablets is to be found in a sketch in a letter from the excavator to Langdon; see P.R.S. Moorey, Kish Excavations 1923-1933 (Oxford 1978) 149-150.

[24] There were four questionable finds in this regard. The two texts MSVO 1, 236-7 were apparent examples of what is generally called 'numerical tablets'; however, neither text had been impressed with a cylinder

management, grain harvest, storage and distribution, mixed records of different kinds of commodities, lists of personnel, but very few documents from the management of domestic animals, in contrast to the very numerous records of small and large cattle farming known from Uruk. The size of the fields recorded in the texts MSVO 1, 1-6, is such that their theoretical grain harvest could feed a population of 3000+, that is, a household larger than one would imagine the size of the tell itself could have supported. One, and possibly two school texts were unearthed in Jemdet Nasr, bearing evidence of the teaching of proto-cuneiform there.

2.2. Uqair

As stated above, nearly a quarter of a century before the first archaic tablets from Mesopotamia were unearthed during the 1926 excavations of Jemdet Nasr, some 35 archaic texts and text fragments from Babylonia found their way via the antiquities market into the possession of the Berliner Staatsmuseen. These for the most part fully preserved tablets were forgotten[25] until A. Falkenstein began work in 1931 on the over 700 archaic documents uncovered in the three German campaigns at Uruk conducted between 1928 and 1931[26] and was made aware of their existence by P. Jensen.[27]

Primarily due to the appearance on one of the purchased tablets of a seal impression well attested on tablets recovered at Jemdet Nasr, Falkenstein assigned these texts to the same

seal, as was common practice with the many other numerical tablets found in Uruk and elsewhere. All of these texts would appear to derive from archaeological strata either without further written issuance, or, in the case of Uruk and Susa, immediately preceding those levels containing ideographic tablets. Lack of excavation records makes a judgment of the meaning of such unsealed texts at Jemdet Nasr impossible; they may represent idle practice of a student. In like fashion, the two texts MSVO 1, 238-9, are both tags with holes through their long axis indicating that they had been hung on string. Although the signs impressed on these small lozenge-shaped tablets could date from both the Uruk IV and the Uruk III periods, the seeming numerical strokes impressed on both contrast to the practice of similar tags known from the Uruk IV period in Uruk, which were in the form of a pillow and contained only ideograms (see ATU 5, p, 33 to W 6759, and fig. 18 below; the only exception, W 14330, appears to be of Uruk III date).

25 The editor of the Fara texts in the same museum, A. Deimel, was unaware of the existence of the archaic texts during his study of the Fara material in 1920-1921. He included in the first volume of this Fara work, Liste der archaischen Keilschriftzeichen, WVDOG 40 (Leipzig 1922) pp. 73-75, copies of all archaic inscriptions known to him, including the only other proto-cuneiform text (now MSVO 4, 72) in the Berlin collection besides the 1903 archive which entered the museum prior to the influx of Uruk tablets after 1928.

26 See below to ATU 1 published in 1936.

27 Presumably, the news of the Uruk finds reminded Jensen of the existence of the archive of originally 36 pieces purchased in 1903 (two fragments published under the numbers ATU 1, 651 and 653, were suspected by Falkenstein p. 43 of joining "ohne Anschluß"; further inspection of the two pieces resulted in a physical join, reducing the collection to 35), which the emeritus professor from Marburg had likely inspected as a former student of E. Schrader and close friend of A. Nöldecke in Berlin. Jensen brought this text corpus to Falkenstein's attention, who decided to include photographs of the texts in his planned publication of the Uruk texts. See the photos ATU 1, nos. 621-656, now copied and re-edited as MSVO 4, nos. 1-35.

site.[28] Written evidence suggests, however, that the tablets in fact derive from the site of Uqair some 30 miles south of Baghdad, to the northwest of Jemdet Nasr (see figure 1).[29] This site, excavated in the war years 1940-41 by S. Lloyd and F. Safar, consisted also of two main mounds, of which Mound A contained a Late Uruk settlement surrounding a temple complex, the 'Painted Temple'. A sounding cut to the east of this temple opened a structure identified by the excavators as a chapel (figure 4), in the debris of which three, and inside of which one tablet of Uruk III date were found.[30] These accounts shared with the 1903 texts in Berlin the sign combination KU_{6a} RAD_{a} UR_{2}, presumably representing the ancient settlement Urum.[31]

The modest number of texts which can be ascribed to 'Uqair' do not offer a secure basis for a judgment of the economic nature of the archaic settlement.[32] Accounts dealt with grain administration, small cattle, fresh and dried fish, dried fruits and products from animal husbandry, metal objects and textiles, laborers or slaves, and fields. All accounts record amounts of goods which seem consonant with the mixed economy of a single modest, self-sufficient household.

[28] ATU 1, p. 4, referring to no. 656 (now MSVO 4, 15).

[29] J. Friberg, ERBM II, 10-11, tentatively ascribed the texts to Uqair on the basis of script and format, a view repeated and expanded upon by M.W. Green in "Urum and Uqair," ASJ 8 (1986) 77-83, based on sign combinations, in particular KU_{6a} RAD_{a} UR_{2}, contained in the texts which were common with notations on tablets deriving from regular excavations at Uqair. R.J. Matthews has most recently in MSVO 2, 30-31, reviewed this issue, which is complicated by the fact that on one of the tablets the same seal impression is found as that of a large number of tablets from Jemdet Nasr, as had been noted earlier by Falkenstein (preceding n.), and I have noted (ATU 5, 11[6]) that the occurrence of tablets which had been sealed in a city other than that in which they were found is extremely rare in third millennium Mesopotamia. It thus remains to be shown that the 'Uqair' texts are not in fact from Jemdet Nasr, as Falkenstein suspected, specifically from an administrative unit in that city associated through the putative city league to Uqair; moreover, since no further information about the provenience or circumstances of purchase of the 1903 texts is at present available, it is important to remember that in the year of their acquisition only the excavations at ancient Shuruppak (and possibly those of Girsu following the death of E. de Sarzec in 1902) would have offered ready archaic levels for tablet theft.

[30] See S. Lloyd and F. Safar, "Tell Uqair. Excavations by the Iraq Government Directorate of Antiquities in 1940 and 1941," JNES 2 (1943) 131-58, in particular pp. 155-158 + plts. 30-31. Incidentally, Lloyd op.cit. p. 135 wrote diplomatically that work at Uqair, resumed on April 13, 1941, "was interrupted by political events in May of that year, but was again continued in June ...". The political events referred to were the British-Iraqi hostilities in May resulting from the attempt by the Rashid Ali government to modify, in favor of the Axis powers, the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty terms of 1930 governing wartime conditions. In the short course of this period of unrest, A. Falkenstein in June participated in the only German landing of the war in Iraq, which was designed to aid in a general uprising against British presence in the country by nationalists and fascist sympathizers; the Orient expert was able to escape British capture by furtively returning overland to Syria (see W. Kohlhaas, Hitler-Abenteuer im Irak [Freiburg 1989]), while at the same time Lloyd was on his way back to Uqair from Baghdad – openly.

[31] P. Steinkeller, "On the Reading and Location of the Toponyms ÚR×Ú.KI and A.ḪA.KI," JCS 32 (1980) 23-25.

[32] The texts have now been collected and republished as MSVO 4, nos. 1-40.

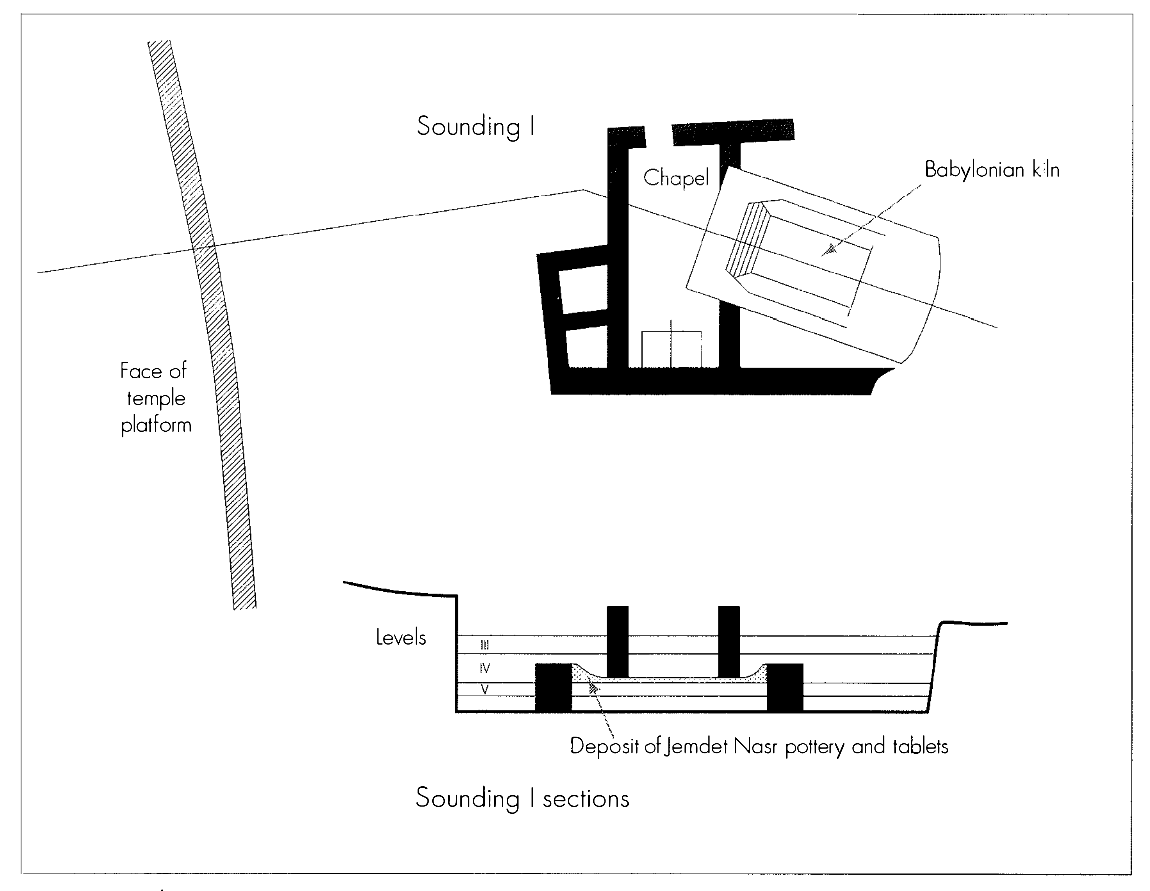


Figure 4: Tablet loci at Uqair
Plan of the presumable chapel ca. 15 meters east of the Painted Temple of Uqair, below which were found pottery and tablets of Uruk III date (after S. Lloyd and F. Safar, JNES 2 [1943] plts. IV and VI).

2.3. LARSA ?

The provenience of a group of 27[33] exceptionally well preserved tablets, all bought from antiquities dealers, can only be conjectured. P.E. van der Meer purchased 17 of the tablets in this group while inspecting oriental collections in the vicinity during his work at the excavations of Kish in 1935.[34] In his publication of the texts the following year,[35] van der Meer stated that the tablets in all likelihood came from a site close to Kish, probably Jemdet Nasr. The common underwriting officials PA_a AN MAR_a and NAM_2 BU_a PAP_a attested in these tablets and in texts from two other small collections, one bought by the Iraq Museum,

33 Now collected and republished as MSVO 4, nos. 41-67.

34 From a paper read by W. Delsman, Katholieke Universiteit, Nijmegen, delivered at the occasion of the presentation of the van der Meer collection as a permanent loan to the Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, on 21 February 1989, p. 2.

35 "Dix-sept tablettes semi-pictographiques," RA 33 (1936) 185-190. Of the 17 texts published by van der Meer, his no. 13 (p. 190) apparently never entered the Nijmegen, and so is not in the present Vrije Universiteit collection; see F.A.M. Wiggermann, Aan de wieg van het schrift: Mesopotamische spijkerschrifttabletten uit 2900-400 v.C. (Exhibition catalogue, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 24.4.-9.6.1992).

Baghdad, in 1933,[36] the second by the Yale Babylonian Collection in 1934,[37] suggest they were found together. The only information available from any of the individuals involved in the sale of these tablets was given officials of the Iraq Museum at the time of their 1933 purchase by a dealer in Baghdad, who stated that the tablets derived from (illicit) excavations at Senkere, ancient Larsa. Falkenstein discounted this information, however, and proposed instead that these texts as well as those published by P.E. van der Meer had been stolen during regular excavations of Uruk, with which he was associated [38]
Indeed, Uruk would at the time have been a likely target for thieves interested in ready access to tablet levels and A. Falkenstein may have been privy to information he was for professional reasons unable to divulge – and dealers are notorious sources of bad information –, yet the reticence of Falkenstein and others to ascribe tablet finds to sites which had otherwise produced no comparable material may have been overdone. We know from the archaic list of Babylonian toponyms[39] that Larsa assumed third place behind Ur and Nippur and before Uruk and so must have been a major center in the archaic period,[40] we know that the sign combination U_4 AB/$ARARMA_2$ (=Larsa) is also attested in seven archaic administrative texts from Uruk, in at least two of which the geographical nature of the combination is clear,[41] and we know that the plundering of the site Senkere in the early 1930s was so annoying to its excavator A. Parrot that he was relieved to terminate his work there[42]. Larsa, specifically a temple household within the settlement designated AN MAR_a,[43] can thus not be dismissed as a possible source of this archive, which deals almost exclusively with the administration of grain, in particular by the two officials named above and a small number of other officials apparently active in AN MAR_a. The accounts in this group of rather substantial

36 A. Falkenstein, "Archaische Texte des Iraq-Museums in Bagdad," OLZ 40 (1937) 401-410. The purchase was presumably made by the Uruk excavator J. Jordan, at the time director general of the Iraqi antiquities department.

37 F.J. Stephens in G.G. Hackman, Sumerian and Akkadian Administrative Texts from Predynastic Times to the End of the Akkad Dynasty, BIN 8 (New Haven 1958) p. 4. The accession of the first three archaic texts published in BIN 8 (nos. 3, 4 and 5) in the Collection of James B. Nies (=NBC), of the last (no. 9) in the Yale Babylonian Collection (YBC), implies they did not enter the United States in the same lot. The different subject matter (small cattle) and subscribing official (EN_a KU_{6a} RAD_a) suggest that this tablet probably does not derive from the same archive and is possibly not from the same site as the other 'Larsa' texts.

38 OLZ 40 (1937) 401.

39 See below, figs. 25-27.

40 The version of this list contained in the Jemdet Nasr 'city seal' places Larsa before Nippur; see R.J. Matthews, MSVO 2, 36-38 (to $ARARMA_2$).

41 ATU 5, pl. 13, W 6705,g obv. i 1 (?; the identification of the sign is not certain); W 17729,g obv. i 1 (unpublished), W 17729,o obv. i 2 (see ATU 3, pl. 88), W 20327,5 obv. i 2 (see ATU 2, pl. 32), W 20511,2 obv. v 2a5 and 4a (unpublished), W 24033,1 obv. i 3 (see A. Cavigneaux, BaM 22 [1991] 117), and W 24004,3b i 2 ($1N_1$ $ARARMA_2$ / $2N_1$ SAL, following $1N_1$ URI_5 / $1N_1$ SAL and before [col. ii] $1N_1$ BU_a+BU_a+NA_{2a} / [SAL], a list of female slaves donated to Uruk cults by major Babylonian towns?; see A. Cavigneaux, BaM 22, 78).

42 A. Parrot, RA 30 (1933) 175. See also the comments of L. Goldstein and K. Kintigh, American Antiquity 55 (1990) 585-591; C. Wilcke, FS Sjöberg 557-571.

43 Although the most common personal designation in the archive is the sign combination PA_a AN MAR_a, AN MAR_a is attested in isolated contexts suggestive of a sponsoring institution; see MSVO 4, pp. 14-19.

grain quantities[44] seem to support the contention that they reflect a household economy smaller than that of Uruk of the Late Uruk period,[45] but still larger than that registered in the grain accounts both from the 'Uqair' group,[46] and from the site Jemdet Nasr.[47]

2.4. Others

One small, and one large archive nearly complete the survey of those text groups from the archaic period which did not derive from regular Uruk excavations. Two small texts come from excavations of Tell Asmar[48], demonstrating that elites were active in the Diyala valley in the Late Uruk period. The second archive consists of 85 extraordinarily well preserved tablets from the former Erlenmeyer collection.[49] The archive deals above all with the administration of an archaic brewery and related grain depot; although this activity is poorly attested in the Uruk texts, the archive was, based on the use of professional names highly reflective of the Uruk professions list[50] and on the common attestation of the brewery office "KU ŠIM"[51], presumably pilfered from either Jemdet Nasr or Uruk in the late 1950's.[52] There

[44] Compare MSVO 4, nos. 44 (totals corresponding to 4N_{36} 2N_{46} 2N_{19}, corresponding to ca. 21,300 liters), 48 (8N_{34} 1N_{14} 2N_1, ca. 36,200 liters), 59 (2N_{34} 2N_{45} 6N_{14} 3N_1 1N_{39} + 2N_{37} 1N_{47} 8N_{20} 4N_{35} + [ ] ⌈2N_{14} 2N_1⌉ 1N_{39}, ca. 24,130 liters) and 62 (three subtotals corresponding to ca. 45,000 liters).

[45] Compare W 17729,ca (notation corresponding to 4711+ N_1, or ca. 118,000 liters), W 20740,6 (two subtotals of barley and emmer wheat corresponding to 4764 N_1 or ca. 119,000 liters), W 22123,c (a total corresponding to 5400 N_1 or ca. 135,000 liters; all three texts unpublished), and the account W 19726,a (a total corresponding to 36,032.2 N_1 or ca. 900,800 liters; see P. Damerow, R.K. Englund and H.J. Nissen, Spektrum der Wissenschaft, März 3/1988, p. 47, and H.J. Nissen, P. Damerow and R.K. Englund, Archaic Bookkeeping, pp. 32-34).

[46] Compare MSVO 4, 1-2 (totals corresponding to just 660 N_1, or approximately 16,500 liters).

[47] Compare MSVO 1, 65 (notation corresponding to 600 N_1 or approximately 15,000 liters); MSVO 1, 42 (somewhat more, but since it is from the antiquities market, its provenience remains uncertain). According to highly speculative models of calculation used in MSVO 4, p. 17[46], the often cited field measurement texts MSVO 1, 1-6, could represent a grain notational range of from 14,350 to 172,800 N_1, or ca. 360,000 to over 4 million liters for the largest account (see MSVO 4, p. 17[46]).

[48] MSVO 4, nos. 79-80; see fig. 1.

[49] See H.J. Nissen, P. Damerow and R.K Englund, Frühe Schrift und Techniken der Wirtschaftsverwaltung im alten Vorderen Orient (2nd edition, Berlin 1991; now available in English translation as id., Archaic Bookkeeping: Early Writing and Techniques of Economic Administration in the Ancient Near East [Chicago 1993]), and P. Damerow and R.K. Englund, The Proto-Cuneiform Texts of the Erlenmeyer Collection, MSVO 3 (Berlin, forthcoming). The majority (80) of the texts from this archive entered the antiquities collection of H. and M.-L. Erlenmeyer in the mid-fifties (only eight tablets were missed: the five texts from the Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Geneva, published by E. Sollberger, "Sumerica," ZA 53 [1959] 1,3, two tablets purchased in the 1960s (?) by G. Ligabue, Venice, and one bought by M. Thierry and published by J.-P. Grégoire, MVN 10, 81).

[50] See figs. 32 and 35 below.

[51] On an unpublished tablet from Uruk (unnumbered) in the Iraq Museum, but note also the attestation of the sign combination KU_{b1} $ŠIM_a$ in the Jemdet Nasr text MSVO 1, 216 obv. i 2, and further the peculiar form of the sign EN_c in the combination EN_c SAL, "wife of the EN", found both in Erlenmeyer texts (for example, in MSVO 3, nos. 61, 63 and 64; see below, fig. 72) and in those from Jemdet Nasr (especially in the field texts MSVO 1, nos. 1, 2, 3 and 5; see below, fig. 83)

[52] It may be stated for the record that the recently deceased J. van Dijk in a personal communication reported that he was shown the spot in Uruk where the tablets were removed, apparently in connection with the

is some evidence in the antiquities markets in Europe, in particular in London, that archaic levels of one or more sites have been reached by recent irregular excavators; the extent of this post-Kuwait-war activity will only become apparent in the coming years.[53]

2.5. Uruk

Despite their often impressive state of preservation, an effect on the one hand of the firing of the Jemdet Nasr tablets which took place in antiquity, on the other of the sifting effect the antiquities markets have on tablets leaving Iraq and destined for a buying public in Europe and the United States, the sizes, and the temporal breadth of those archives pale in comparison with the numbers of tablets unearthed by the German excavations in Uruk. The data base of the Berlin-Los Angeles research project *Archaische Texte aus Uruk* currently comprises some 5410 numbers representing as many archaic texts and fragments from the periods Uruk IV and III. Of this number, fully 5000 represent archaic documents from those levels in the district Eanna of Uruk.[54]

The early excavation and work on the objects from the southern Babylonian site of Uruk are inextricably linked with the names of two German scholars. The archaeologist J. Jordan[55] and the philologist A. Falkenstein[56] formed the early core of a group of Germans who have

removal in the same area of the Late Uruk 'snake bowl' published in W. Nagel, "Frühe Großplastik und die Hochkulturkunst am Erythräischen Meer," Berliner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte 6 (1966) 30-40 + plts. 2-8. While this must be understood as hearsay once removed, van Dijk had broad experience in Iraq, in particular with the Uruk finds, and was a garrulous and inquisitive scholar. The dealer M. Koutoulakis, Geneva, who moved almost the entire Erlenmeyer collection into European hands, was unable or unwilling to make any of the earlier circumstances of the tablets known to me.

[53] The confiscation by the Iraqi Department of Antiquities of hundreds of Ur III tablets pilfered in Umma has been widely, if informally reported; so too has the depressed market in London and elsewhere for texts from the same site due to the numbers of pieces currently being offered and their obviously unclear legal status.

[54] The archaic texts from Uruk are currently available for study in five Berlin publications: A. Falkenstein, ATU 1 (Berlin 1936); M.W. Green and H.J. Nissen, ATU 2 (Berlin 1987); A. Cavigneaux, in: A. Cavigneaux et al., "Uruk 33/34," BaM 22 (1991) 33-123 ("Die Texte der 33. Kampagne") and 124-163 ("Die Texte der 34. Kampagne") (copies and catalogue of the archaic texts from the 33rd and 34th campaigns); R.K. Englund and H.J. Nissen, ATU 3 (Berlin 1993); R.K. Englund, ATU 5 (Berlin 1994). A complete catalogue and four further volumes of archaic administrative documents are now in preparation, and a complete data base of all proto-cuneiform sources will be made available via the internet (currently [December 1997] in preliminary form under the URL http://early-cuneiform.humnet.ucla.edu/).

[55] J. Jordan studied architecture at the University of Dresden, and was introduced to Near Eastern archaeology by W. Andrae. His first excavation experience was with R. Koldewey at Babylon in 1903, then from 1903 to 1912 with Andrae in Assur, and from 1912 as director of excavations at Uruk.

[56] A. Falkenstein studied under B. Landsberger in Leipzig and completed his dissertation dealing with Sumerian incantations in 1929 (Die Haupttypen der sumerischen Beschwörung literarisch untersucht, Leipziger Semitische Studien, Neue Folge 1 [Leipzig 1931]). One year later, he assumed a position as research assistant at the Orient-Forschungs-Institut of the Max Freiherr von Oppenheim Foundation in Berlin. In the Vorderasiatisches Museum of the Berliner Staatsmuseen, Falkenstein further pursued his interest in literary texts, seeing to a very rapid completion the exemplary edition of 133 of the 250 such tablets (Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk [Berlin 1931]) discovered just two years earlier as part of the approximately 6000 cuneiform texts and text fragments from the 1928-29 German expedition to Uruk.

mounted yearly campaigns to Uruk since 1928, interrupted only, but often, by the effects of world and regional wars.[57] The first German campaign took place in 1912,[58] followed by a long hiatus caused by World War I and the subsequent convulsions in both the German diplomatic relations requisite to academic work in the British protectorate of Iraq and of course the financial capabilities of hard-pressed Weimar Germany to support and conduct large-scale excavations abroad.[59]

Excavations resumed in 1928[60] when with financing of the *Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft*, an organization created to secure short-term financing of projects which might otherwise have been irrevocably lost to German scholarship, Jordan began a large-scale attempt to recover the architectural remains of the major mound in the middle of the expansive remains, named, according to later identifications, Eanna, 'House of heaven' (figures 5, 6). A great appeal for the architect Jordan lay in the fact that in this central district archaic building levels were partially exposed, without the often tedious layers of later settlements which had to be removed and dutifully recorded. Nevertheless, the first campaign after the war was spent surveying the mound and making some preliminary cuts in areas including later deposits. Among the great numbers of neo-Babylonian economic documents from that campaign, only 4 archaic tablets were recovered, and these remained unidentified.[61]

[57] The campaigns through 1956 are described in some detail by R. North, "Status of the Warka Excavation," OrNS 26 (1957) 185-256.

[58] See J. Jordan, MDOG 51 (April 1913) 47-76, MDOG 53 (April 1914) 9-17, and WVDOG 51 (Leipzig 1928). In fact, Uruk had been the object of some historical interest since J. Fraser's visit in 1835, reported in his Travels in Koordistan, Mesopotamia, &c, [...], vol. 2 (London 1840) 139 (calling the mound 'Workha'); W.K. Loftus conducted a short excavation at the site in 1850 and again in archaic levels in the first months of 1854, as the result of which one archaic tablet and some other objects were sent to the British Museum. See J. Reade, "An early Warka tablet," FS Strommenger (Munich 1992) 177-179 + pl. 79. The text BM 1851-1-1-217, a numerical tablet of a type heretofore unknown in Uruk, bears a strong resemblance to a specific type of numerical texts from Susa, Tell Brak and Jebel Aruda (cf. A. Le Brun and F. Vallat, "L'origine de l'écriture à Suse," CahDAFI 8 [1978] 11-59, particularly p. 47; S.A. Jasim and J. Oates, "Early tokens and tablets in Mesopotamia [...]," World Archaeology 17 [1986] 358; G. van Driel, "Tablets from Jebel Aruda," FS Kraus [Leiden 1982] 12-25). Loftus was also the first to publish a map of Uruk (W.K. Loftus, Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana [...] [London 1857] betw. 160-161), which he had drawn together with H. Churchill during his 1854 visit. R. Koldewey, in a survey expedition (together with the Berlin Orientalist E. Sachau) which resulted in his choice of Babylon as excavation site, examined and presented a detailed report of Uruk. On the 18th of December 1902, finally, W. Andrae visited and drew up a rough map of the ruin, and gathered some surface objects, including a Seleucid period cuneiform fragment from the Irigal temple; see A. Kose, "Walter Andrae's Besuch in Uruk-Warka vom 18.12.1902," FS Boehmer (Mainz 1995) 299-306. Thus both men with whom Jordan first worked in Iraq had included Uruk among the possible sites of their own excavations.

[59] British officials in fact authorized R.P. Dougherty of Yale to assume control of the Uruk site in 1920; since Dougherty was unable to organize excavations in due time after the 1920 agreement, however, the director of antiquities in Iraq, S. Smith, returned excavation rights to Jordan.

[60] The 1928 campaign was designated the first Uruk excavation in the official publications of the excavators.

[61] W 1872,1-2, 2134 and 2352, see ATU 5, pl. 1; see the report by J. Jordan, Uruk-Warka nach den Ausgrabungen durch die Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, WVDOG 51 (Leipzig 1928); id., Erster vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft in Uruk-Warka unternommenen Ausgrabungen (UVB 1), APAW 1929/7 (Berlin 1930).

Over 200 archaic tablets and fragments were unearthed in the following campaign of 1929-30,[62] for which the Assyriologist W. von Soden acted as philologist as replacement for A. Falkenstein, who was completing work on his doctoral candidacy. From 1930 on a research assistant at the von Oppenheim Oriental Institute, Falkenstein was able to participate in the following Uruk campaign of 1930-31,[63] in the course of which over 650 texts and text fragments were recovered. The importance of these finds was immediately apparent to the excavation team. Not only were a number of tablets of the Jemdet Nasr, that is, the Uruk III type among the recovered texts – Uruk III period tablets exactly like those published from Jemdet Nasr excavations conducted several years earlier and published by Langdon in 1928 – but the great majority of the archaic finds from the early campaigns were, based above all on paleographic criteria,[64] still older than the Jemdet Nasr style texts and thus the oldest known texts from Mesopotamia altogether.

Unfortunately, the paleographic identification of archaic Uruk documents would come to play a leading role in Late Uruk chronology, rather than the stratigraphy of the site.[65] Generally speaking, eighteen stratigraphic layers, counting from top to bottom, were identified within Eanna for the time before the Ur III period. Layer I dates to the Early Dynastic, layer III to the Jemdet Nasr period.[66] The layers IV to VIII were ascribed to 'Late Uruk'. Excavations have shown that the Uruk III level buildings were erected over the grounds of razed Uruk IV constructions, and that the leveling of the many pits formed in razing the old buildings resulted in substantial earth moving, including the transportation of fresh and already deposited debris from the prior administrative centers. Thus trash heaps of shards, bones and discarded tablets were mixed with ancient excavations of still older debris and used to fill in holes and pits. It is not difficult to imagine the impact this mixing and depositing had on the original archival contexts of the tablets concerned.

The archaeological context of the tablets from the early campaigns is thus heavily contaminated, particularly so in the case of the difficult architectural and above all stratigraphic situation encountered by the excavators in the region, chosen for digging in the 1930-31 campaign, to the immediate southeast of the Ur-Nammu ziggurat in the central district, Eanna (figure 6). The superimposition of diverse building levels reaching from the Uruk III into the Uruk V strata in this area led the excavators first to assume they had uncovered there a homogeneous Uruk IV period monumental building, called by Jordan the "Red Temple".[67] Subsequent work, however, has weakened the case for a discrete architectural feature,[68] leaving but remains of walls and floors which seem to be associated with one another in large part through contextual finds, including tablets. The confusing stratigraphic situation is vexing, since it

[62] J. Jordan, Zweiter vorläufiger Bericht [...] (UVB 2), APAW 1930/4 (Berlin 1931), in particular pp. 28-29 and 43-47 for a short description of the finds.
[63] Cf. J. Jordan, Dritter vorläufiger Bericht [...] (UVB 3), APAW 1932/2 (Berlin 1932) pp. 11-12.
[64] These will be discussed below.
[65] See the commentary of Falkenstein's 'stratigraphic identifications' by H.J. Nissen in ATU 2, 26-28.
[66] Layer II has as a defective identification been dropped from current terminology.
[67] UVB 2, pp. 29-31 with pl. 4.
[68] H.J. Lenzen, ZA 49 (1950) 1[2]; H.J. Nissen, ATU 2, 28-34; R. Eichmann, Uruk: Die Stratigraphie [...], AUWE 3 (Mainz 1989) pp. 30-31, plts. 1-4 and plan 1.

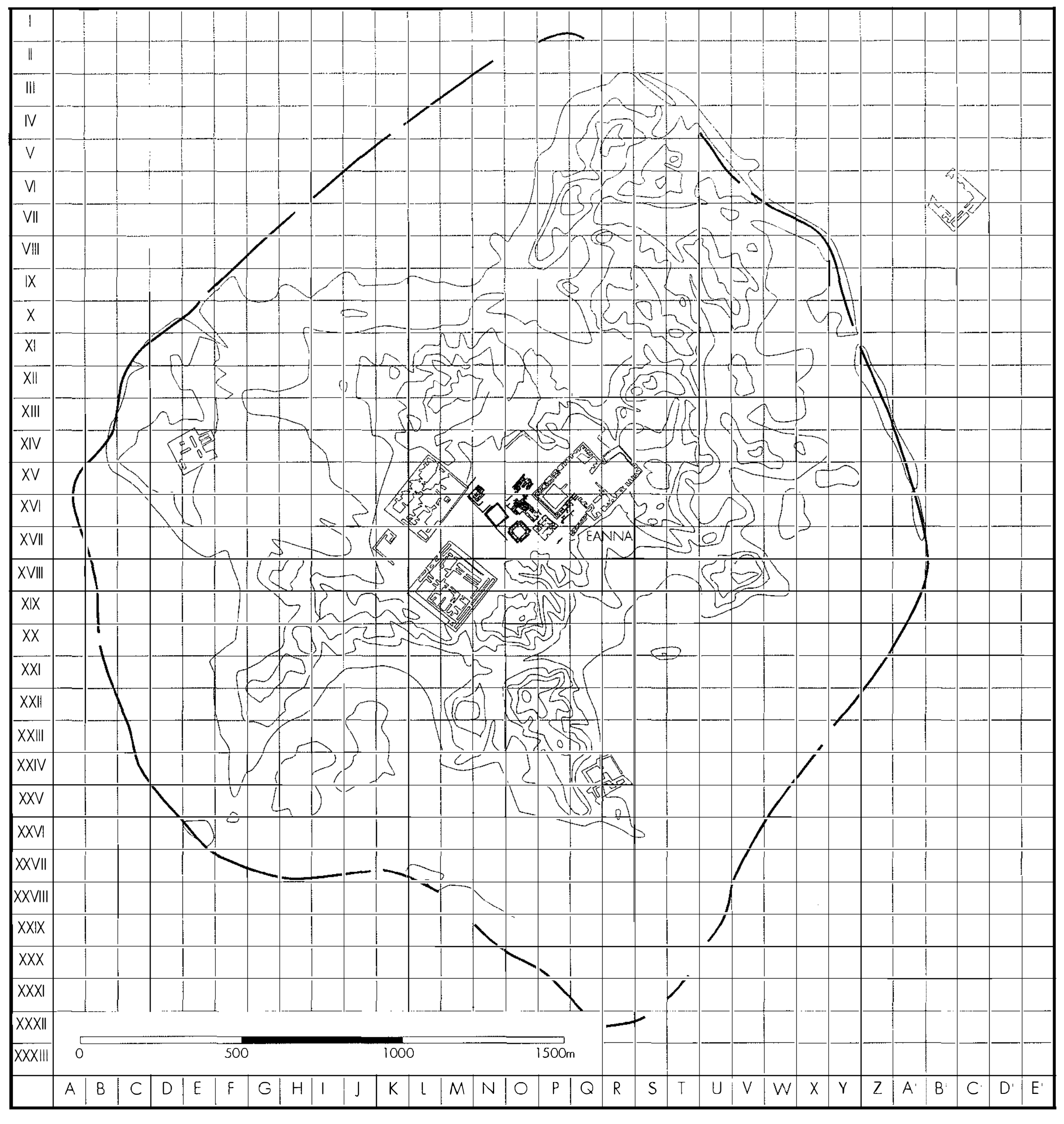


Figure 5: Plan of Uruk
Each square represents 100x100 meters. The district from which most archaic material was excavated is found in the middle of the mound. Its name Eanna, "house of heaven," derives from later identifications.

was precisely in this area that the largest groups of administrative tablets from the paleographic phase Uruk IV were unearthed.

The remains of the Red Temple and thus the tablets found there covered by a leveling of the area carried out in the beginning Uruk III period (Uruk IIIc) are now generally assigned to the building sub-phase Uruk IVa,[69] dated to ca. 3200 B.C. Large numbers of the pictographic tablets, however, are now ascribed by D. Sürenhagen to the stratigraphic levels Uruk IVc-b, and a small number of so-called numerical tablets (see below) to level Uruk V. Sürenhagen

[69] Nissen, ATU 2, 29-30, following Lenzen, explains the reasoning behind the correction of the original, paleographically determined dating of the building complex from IVb to IVa.

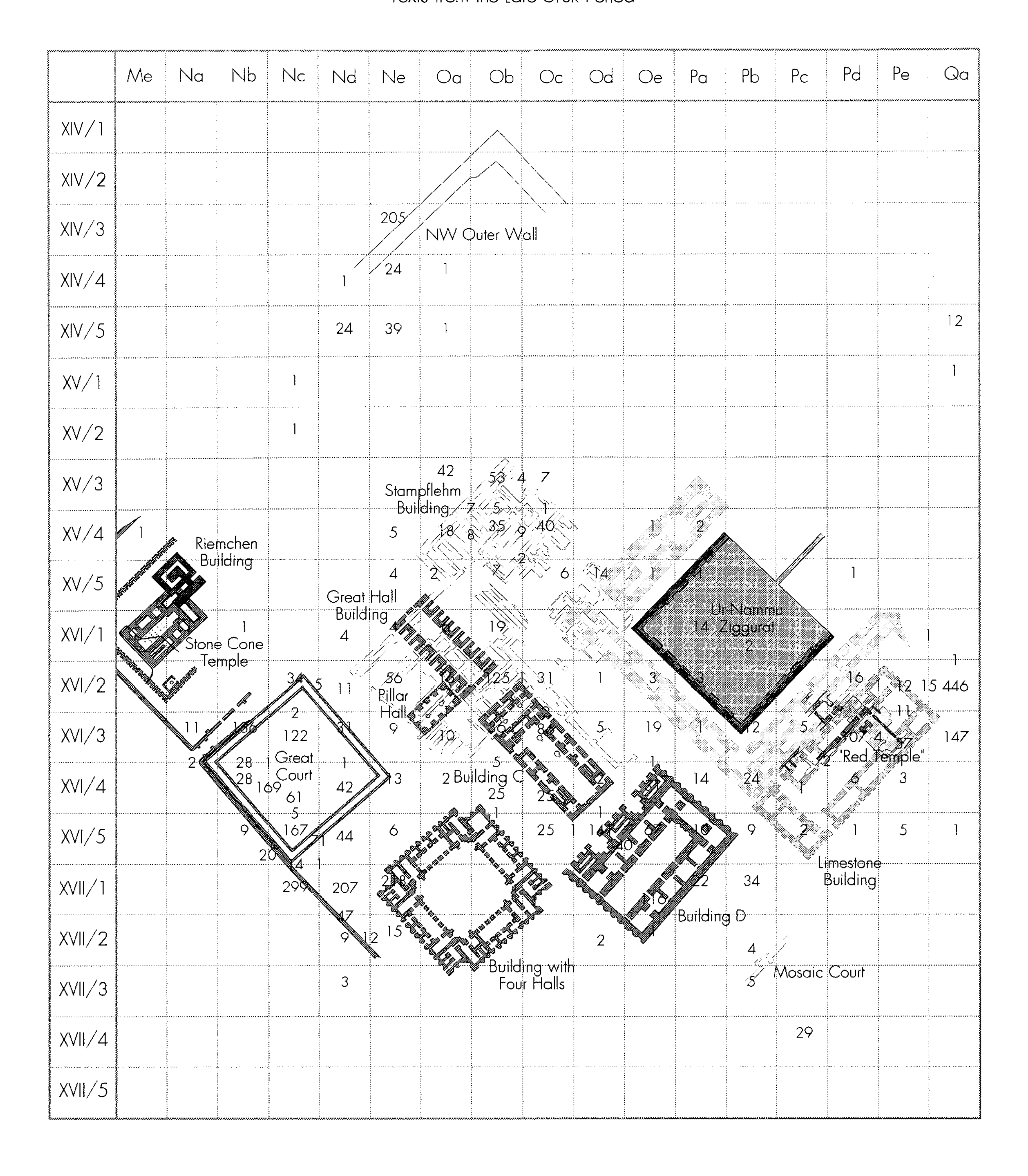


Figure 6: Plan of the central district Eanna
Each square represents 20x20 meters. The numbers of archaic texts found are indicated in the respective excavation squares. The highest concentrations of Uruk IV period texts came from in and around the area of the "Red Temple", that of the Uruk III period from in and around the area of the "Great Court".

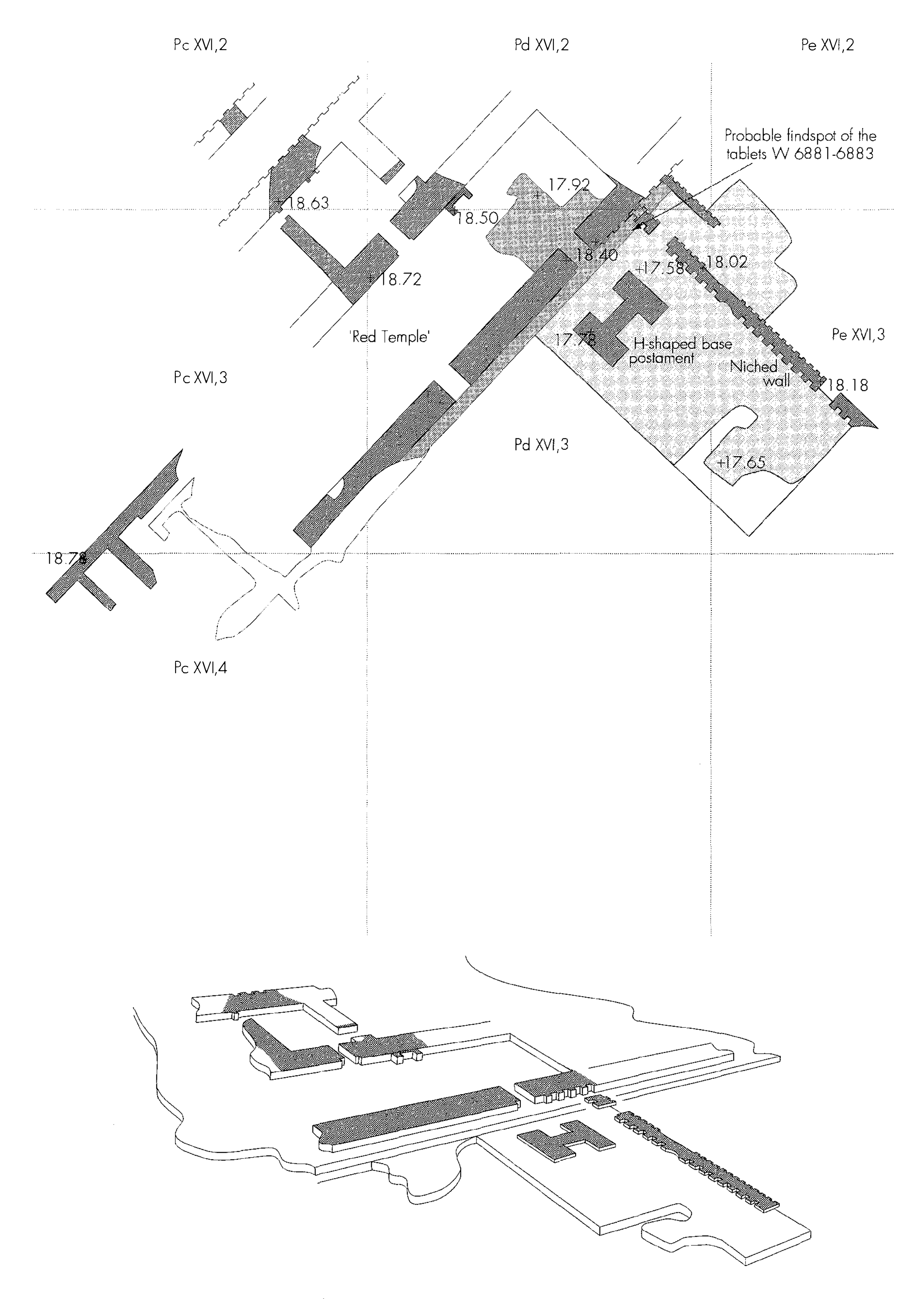


Figure 7: The so-called Red Temple
Wall elevations and the find spot of important numerical tablets are indicated.

bases this ascription on a review of the stratigraphy and architecture of this area and of the seal impressions and pottery found in association with groups of in particular the numerical tablets,[70] but above all based on his belief that the Red Temple through its association with the pillared terrace to the southwest is to be dated to Uruk IVb and that the niched wall shown in figure 7 above was in fact the enclosure wall of a temple below the Red Temple complex, of which only the H-shaped base postament was preserved. The tablets found in association with this wall will have thus been deposited at the time of the construction of the Red Temple or even earlier. This theory, if correct, would have severe consequences for the now conventionally accepted belief in an explosive development of proto-cuneiform during the Uruk IVa period.[71]

Toward the end of the third campaign, and again in the seventh, the Uruk excavators undertook to clear away and examine the remains of the White Temple (figure 8)[72] in the squares K XVII which exhibited architectural parallels to the larger temple complexes of levels IV and V of neighboring Eanna, two hundred meters to the east. The gypsum tablets found in various rooms of this structure will be discussed in a later section; unfortunately, the stratigraphical relationship of the building complex to the major architectural remains of Eanna cannot, despite the dating trench dug between the two areas, at present be clarified, nor is the relationship of the tablets themselves to the building obvious, as H.J. Nissen has pointed out.[73]

The publication of the archaic texts from the first three post-war Uruk campaigns appeared in 1936 as the volume *Archaische Texte aus Uruk*.[74] In this study, Falkenstein surveyed the material and techniques employed in the production of archaic clay documents, the text format of these tablets, and offered an outline of early cuneiform paleography, citing the sources and studies of early tablet archives known at the time.[75] The contents of the archaic

[70] For a preliminary summary of Sürenhagen's arguments for this chronology, hopefully to be laid out in full with publication of his Habilitationsschrift, see his article "Relative Chronology of the Uruk Period [...]," Bulletin of The Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies 25 (May 1993) 57-70, in particular the figs. 5-7.

[71] The matter will be discussed by H.J. Nissen in the introduction to a complete catalogue of the archaic texts from Uruk to appear as Katalog der archaischen Texte aus Uruk, ATU 4 (Berlin, forthcoming). It may be noted here in advance of Nissen's catalogue that D. Sürenhagen includes among tablets with a terminus ante quem of Uruk IVb those from the squares Pe XVI,2 and Pd-e XVI,3-4 assigned the excavation numbers W6150, 6216, 6611, 6705, 6748, 6759, 6782, 6860, 6881-4, 7204, 7227, 7881-4. R. Eichmann will in his forthcoming AUWE 14 volume on Uruk architecture offer a detailed review of the original excavation plans and an interpretation of the niched wall contrary to that of Sürenhagen (Eichmann believes this wall lay in the middle of and over the temple remains preserved at about 17.5 m above plain; note that the critical stratigraphic relationship between the niched wall and the southeast wall of the 'Red Temple' could not be clarified, since the section of the niched wall adjoining the Red Temple was completely missing).

[72] So-called because of the white plaster used on its walls. See E. Heinrich, Die Tempel und Heiligtümer im alten Mesopotamien [...] (Berlin 1982) 35-45 and 61-67, summarized in W. Orthmann, PKG 14 (1975), 132-133, and R. North, OrNS 26 (1957) 233-237. The temple was situated on the top level of the so-called Anu Ziggurat.

[73] ATU 2, 49.

[74] Now integrated into a series of the Berlin Uruk Project as ATU 1.

[75] ATU 1, pp. 4-43.

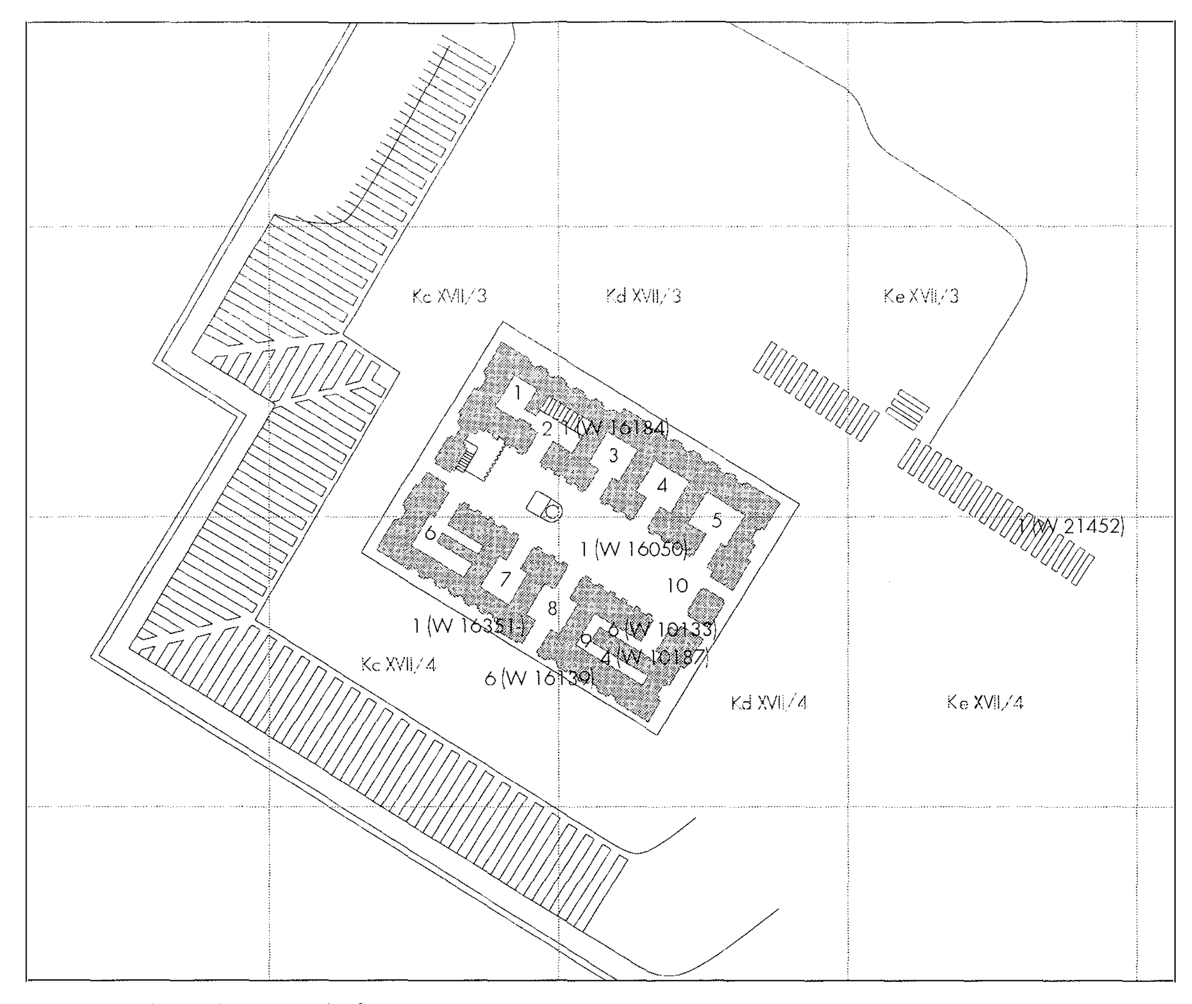


Figure 8: The White Temple from square K XVII in Uruk

texts could be roughly divided into two major categories. The large majority of the texts from the early Uruk campaigns were shown to be documents from the administrative sphere of activities, for example, lists of personnel, records of rations distributed to officials, to workers and to livestock, accounts of products deriving from agricultural households and from craftsmen. Far fewer texts contained lists of signs and sign combinations which, the same as two comparable tablets already known from Jemdet Nasr,[76] represented archaic lexical compendia probably forming part of the curriculum of early scribes.[77]
Tablets unearthed in subsequent campaigns were only very sporadically edited in preliminary reports of the German excavators. J. Jordan was named Director of Antiquities in Baghdad in 1931[78]; consequently, direction of the Uruk excavations was transferred to A. Nöldecke,

[76] MSVO 1, nos. 242-243, originally published by S. Langdon as OECT 7, nos. 194 and 101, respectively. See now R.K. Englund and H.J. Nissen, ATU 3, 66.
[77] The lexical lists are treated below, section 5.
[78] Replacing Sydney Smith in this position on the 21st of March and continuing as director through to mid-November of 1934, thereafter as advisor to Sati al Hasri until 1939, when he was replaced by S. Lloyd. His residency in Baghdad was marked not only by the highly successful continuation of German excavations

who together with the architects E. Heinrich and H.J. Lenzen continued work there into the 11th campaign in 1939, when events in Europe would discontinue German accessibility to Iraq. Above all the architects Heinrich and Lenzen influenced the archaeological planning and execution of the Uruk campaigns throughout this period,[79] laying free the foundations of the major presumable temples in the Eanna area, including Buildings(/Temples) C and D, the Pillar Hall and the Building with Four Halls, the intriguing 'Great Court', the function of which is entirely unclear (see figure 6). Tablets and other debris were used in the leveling and other architectural elements, including wall fill and the bricks themselves, of all of these buildings, in particular in and around the Great Court; however, none of the inscribed remains found could be shown to have been part of the original inventories of the buildings with which they were associated, so that any tentative reconstruction of an archival context of the texts will have to be proposed based on internal criteria.

H.J. Lenzen resumed excavations in Uruk after the Second World War in 1954 and continued work on archaic levels through the late 60's, with first A. Falkenstein, then H.J. Nissen, and finally A. Cavigneaux assuming responsibility for editing the archaic epigraphic finds. Despite the steady discovery of tablets among the debris of excavations subsequent to the early campaigns, no further systematic publication of the texts was presented by the editors following Falkenstein's ATU 1 in 1936 until Nissen and his collaborators in Berlin began to present the results of their cooperative effort to decipher the texts in 1987.[80]

Unfortunately, the level of record keeping by the Uruk excavators on their archaeological, in particular inscribed finds, was, by current standards, inadequate in campaigns before and after the War. As a rule, all objects were recorded according to two criteria: first, the locus

in the south of the country, and by a particularly close relationship to the then director of the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin, W. Andrae, but also by the developments in Nazi Germany and his own apparent anti-Semitism; see Agatha Christie: An Autobiography (London 1977) 561-562. Incidentally, Jordan had good contacts with representatives of the German Reichsaußenministerium in the early war years (see S. Wölffling, "Die Altertums- und Orientwissenschaft im Dienst des deutschen Imperialismus," Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Halle XX/2 [1971] 90-91) and presumably assisted in the planning of the Deutsches Orientkorps. The stated goal of its Sonderstab Grobba was, according to a memo from the office of J. von Ribbentrop from 6 November 1941, the "Vorbereitung des deutschen Vormarsches in den arabischen Raum" (Documentation center of the German Democratic Republic no. 368142). A. Falkenstein and H.J. Lenzen belonged to the military arm of the Orientkorps, the Sonderstab Felmy. Jordan died in February 1945 in Berlin.

79 Nöldecke was himself an historian of Islamic art who enjoyed some archaeological training with R. Koldewey in Babylon. Cf. the preliminary excavation reports published by Nöldecke, Heinrich, Lenzen and other contributors beginning with UVB 4 (Berlin 1932) through UVB 11 (Berlin 1940), and the considerable number of articles and monographs dealing with specific topics in the Uruk work, including E. Heinrich, Kleinfunde aus den archaischen Tempelschichten, ADFU 1 (Leipzig 1936); id., "Die Stellung der Uruktempel in der Baugeschichte," ZA 49 (1950) 20-44; id., Die Tempel und Heiligtümer im alten Mesopotamien [...] (Berlin 1982); H.J. Lenzen, "Die Tempel der Schicht Archaisch IV in Uruk," ZA 49 (1950) 1-20; id., "Mesopotamische Tempelanlagen von der Frühzeit bis zum zweiten Jahrtausend," ZA 51 (1955) 1-36; id., Die Entwicklung der Zikurrat [...], ADFU 4 (Leipzig 1941); A. Falkenstein, ATU 1. The early monographs and reports on the archaeological work are currently being thematically revised in the series Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka: Endberichte (AUWE).

80 M.W. Green and H.J. Nissen, ATU 2. See above, n. 54, for further references.

of the object in excavation squares 20×20m was noted, and second a rough description of the relationship the object bore to some architecturally interesting feature was made. This method of recording often led to entirely horrific generalities about large agglomerations of small finds.

Archival information which might have been derived from the excavated Uruk texts was in great part lost, due both to the recording method of the excavators, but also and fundamentally to the fact that the archaic texts from Uruk formed – seemingly without exception – part of the general debris of pottery shards, animal remains, etc., removed from administrative units of the central district Eanna and either deposited in trash holes or used as fill in constructions of walls and floors. This find situation is of course not only disruptive in any attempt to reconstruct tablet archives of specific periods, but more seriously it exacerbates the difficulties of placing the texts in their chronological framework. Thus the construction levels capping this debris serve as *termini ante quem*, that is, as chronological levels before which the tablets must have served their purpose as communication tools.[81] These stratigraphic aids, with few uncertain exceptions,[82] have at best been helpful in assigning rough chronological divisions in the inscribed finds, for instance, between texts of Late Uruk and Early Dynastic date, but not between texts of Uruk III and Uruk IVa date, let alone among texts of the subdivisions a-c of the construction level Uruk III in Eanna. In these cases, Falkenstein, Nissen and others have attempted to define paleographical characteristics peculiar to specific subdivisions[83] which might serve to define essentially stratigraphic sequences.

Despite these difficulties, cataloguing and research of the Uruk text corpus have shown that in many cases at least the tablets found in particular loci formed substantially coherent and discrete administrative and lexical archives, that is, that often tablets from an individual accounting or school unit will have been gathered and directly deposited at a construction project, thus retaining some of the original integrity of the writing units. Precise information concerning the find locus of the tablets might consequently be expected to aid in the important analysis of archival relationships.

[81] H.J. Nissen has written an extensive commentary on the chronology of the archaic texts in ATU 2, pp. 21-51 ("Datierung der archaischen Texte aus Uruk"), to which I make general reference as the current standard of our understanding of stratigraphic questions relating to the archaic epigraphic finds from Uruk. See also R. Eichmann's detailed treatment of the entire stratigraphy and architecture of the site in his Uruk: Die Stratigraphie [...], AUWE 3 (Mainz 1989) and Uruk: Die Architektur I [...], AUWE 14 (Mainz, forthcoming).

[82] Disregarding the gypsum tablets from the White Temple (see the discussion above), it appears that only the group of texts ascribed the excavation nos. W 21300 might have belonged to the original inventory of the Uruk IV period Building C (fig. 6) where they were found. Excavation records place the tablets "von Brandschutt überdeckt auf dem obersten Estrich im T-förmigen Langraum des Tempels C der Schicht IVa, dicht neben der Ecke aus nordöstlichem T-Arm und oberem Ende des Langraumes" (see ATU 2, pp. 39-40).

[83] H.J. Nissen, "Innere Datierungskriterien," ATU 2, pp. 53-62. The divisions chosen by Nissen are formally independent of the building levels Uruk IIIc-a, since there was no stratigraphic justification for assigning representative texts to the 'writing phases' he designated Uruk III.3-1. See my discussion below.

Writing may be thought of as a set of commonly accepted graphic signs used to represent communication, historical writing a set of signs which represent a spoken language. There can be little debate about whether proto-cuneiform fulfills the criteria of the former definition. That writing system was a set of symbols commonly accepted and indeed transmitted from one generation to the next, and with it pieces of information were graphically communicated from one partner to another – from the transmitter to the receiver. Whether or not proto-cuneiform was used to represent a spoken language, for instance Sumerian, as many assume, or some other unknown language, is still a matter of debate. Certainly this was not its initial, nor ever its primary purpose.

As an accounting system, proto-cuneiform served above all to communicate and store administrative data. However, there is some evidence that despite its accounting role archaic writing could not but reflect elements of the early scribes' language. Personal names and toponyms can scarcely have been entirely iconographic combinations in proto-cuneiform, particularly in light of the contact with foreign peoples implicit in the Uruk expansion of the late Uruk period. Further, the lexical lists from the 15% of proto-cuneiform documents *not* classifiable as accounts contain evidence of writing conventions which could reflect spoken language, ranging from some standardized sign sequences in combinations which represented attribute – noun (see below, section 4) to a canonized composition which in all likelihood represented our earliest example of literature (see below, section 5).

Since the earliest ideographic system unearthed in Uruk, from the Uruk IV period, appears to have been highly developed and conventionalized, some historians have assumed that there must have been pictographic precursors before proto-cuneiform was in use in Uruk, which have either heretofore fallen prey to the vagaries of excavations and remain buried in Near Eastern tells, or were written on materials that could not survive the millennia as did clay and stone.[84]

This conservative *argumentum ex silentio* can, however, be disregarded. The precursors to Uruk IV period proto-cuneiform are clearly found in the archaeological record from Uruk itself, as well as from nearly every major Late Uruk site excavated in the Near East. The increasingly involved administrative tools employed by accounting offices of emerging urban centers in the 4th millennium B.C. included stamp and cylinder seals, counting devices and clay tablets, to name those devices which remained intact in Near Eastern ruins.[85]

[84] For instance, S.J. Lieberman, "Of Clay Pebbles, Hollow Clay Balls, and Writing: A Sumerian View," AJA 84 (1980) 339-358, argues p. 358 that the level of standardization of the Uruk IVa texts "can only have resulted from a long development". The more recent and concrete example of I.L. Finkel, "Inscriptions from Tell Brak 1984," Iraq 47 (1985) 187-189, is unsatisfactory for two reasons. Aside from the fact that the two purportedly pre-Uruk-IVa tablets discussed by the author derived from fill above an apparent Old Akkadian level at Brak, the objects themselves cannot be shown to contain texts; rather, they may contain simple sketches of animals as ornamentation, and the 'numerals' (in both cases one circular impression at the top center of the tablets, giving the appearance of an unsuccessful string hole) might well serve some purpose unclear to the excavators.

[85] H.J. Nissen has most forcefully presented the view of a measured development of controlling devices employed in the Uruk period, of which proto-cuneiform was merely the most obvious. See his comments in

3.1. Seals[86]

As Adams and Nissen have shown, the Uruk period saw a substantial population movement into the Babylonian alluvial plain, above all into the region surrounding the southern center of Uruk.[87] At the same time, and well before the initial appearance of inscribed tablets, the first cylinder seals appear,[88] replacing the earlier used stamp seals. These devices carried some motif – from simple geometric incisions to highly plastic and naturalistic representations of animals and humans – and were impressed on a malleable surface, in Mesopotamia clay. The clay thus sealed might be a coil wrapped around a cord tying up a leather bag or fastening the door of a grain depot, it might also be a stopper pushed into the neck of a jar containing valuable dairy fat. The very act of sealing represents an expression of the authority of the person or office that owned the seal. With his 'signature', the sealing individual assumed responsibility for the correctness of a certain transaction and assured the integrity of the clay 'document' as long as it remained intact.

It has been noted that there were a large number of seals, based of course on the sealings they left, found in Late Uruk assemblages (some few examples are depicted in figures 9-10), and that the larger the settlement the greater the number of motifs attested there.[89] The jacket

Archaic Bookkeeping p. 11. See also his "Aspects of the Development of Early Cylinder Seals," BiMes 6 (1977) 15-23; Grundzüge einer Geschichte der Frühzeit des Vorderen Orients (Darmstadt 1983) 83-87; "The Context of the Emergence of Writing in Mesopotamia and Iran," in: J. Curtis (ed.), Early Mesopotamia and Iran: Contact and Conflict 3500-1600 B.C. (London 1993) 54-71; further, M.A. Powell, "Three Problems in the History of Cuneiform Writing: Origins, Direction of Script, Literacy," Visible Langauge 15 (1981) 419-440, esp. 423-424 (remarking on the fact that the work of D. Schmandt-Besserat offered the best evidence of a conceptual development prior to the emergence of proto-cuneiform).

86 Beyond the standard 'seal books', see R.J. Matthews, Clay Sealings in Early Dynastic Mesopotamia: a Functional and Contextual Approach (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1989); id., MSVO 2; R. Dittmann, "Seals, Sealings and Tablets [...]," in: U. Finkbeiner and W. Röllig (eds.), Ǧamdat Naṣr, 332-366; M.J. Shendge, "The use of Seals and the invention of Writing," JESHO 26 (1983) 113-136; D. Collon, First Impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East (London 1987); R.L. Zettler, "Sealings as Artifacts of Institutional Administration in Ancient Mesopotamia," JCS 39 (1987) 197-240; and the general survey McG. Gibson and R.D. Biggs (eds.), Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East, BiMes 6 (Malibu 1977). Early stamp seals have been recently studied in an exemplary publication by A. von Wickede, Prähistorische Stempelglyptik in Vorderasien, MVS 6 (Munich 1990).

87 R.McC. Adams and H.J. Nissen, The Uruk Countryside [...] (Chicago 1972); R.McC. Adams, Heartland of Cities [...] (Chicago 1981). Adams notes in the latter study, pp. 67-94, that the settlement patterns showed a decided movement of Middle Uruk inhabitants of the northern alluvium around Nippur and Adab to the south around Uruk in the Late Uruk period (compare his tables on pp. 69 and 90); using the conventional assumption of a population of 125 persons per inhabited hectare, the population of his northern settlement enclaves decreased from 38,500 in the Middle, to 21,300 in the Late Uruk period, while in the south it increased from 20,000 to 41,000.

88 As early as Uruk VI. See H.J. Nissen, "The Development of Writing and Glyptic Art," in: U. Finkbeiner and W. Röllig (eds.), Ǧamdat Naṣr, 316-331.

89 See, for example, R.J. Matthews, MSVO 2, 14. The motifs in fig. 9 were possibly not simply chosen at random to represent some characteristic of archaic life, although that is certainly also the case. The cult represented in the first scene, the martial actions of the second, or the representation of domestic animals, including hunting dogs, in the next two, were clearly a common part of archaic existence well if indirectly documented in the written sources. R. Dittmann in his treatment of the practice of sealing in Late Uruk and

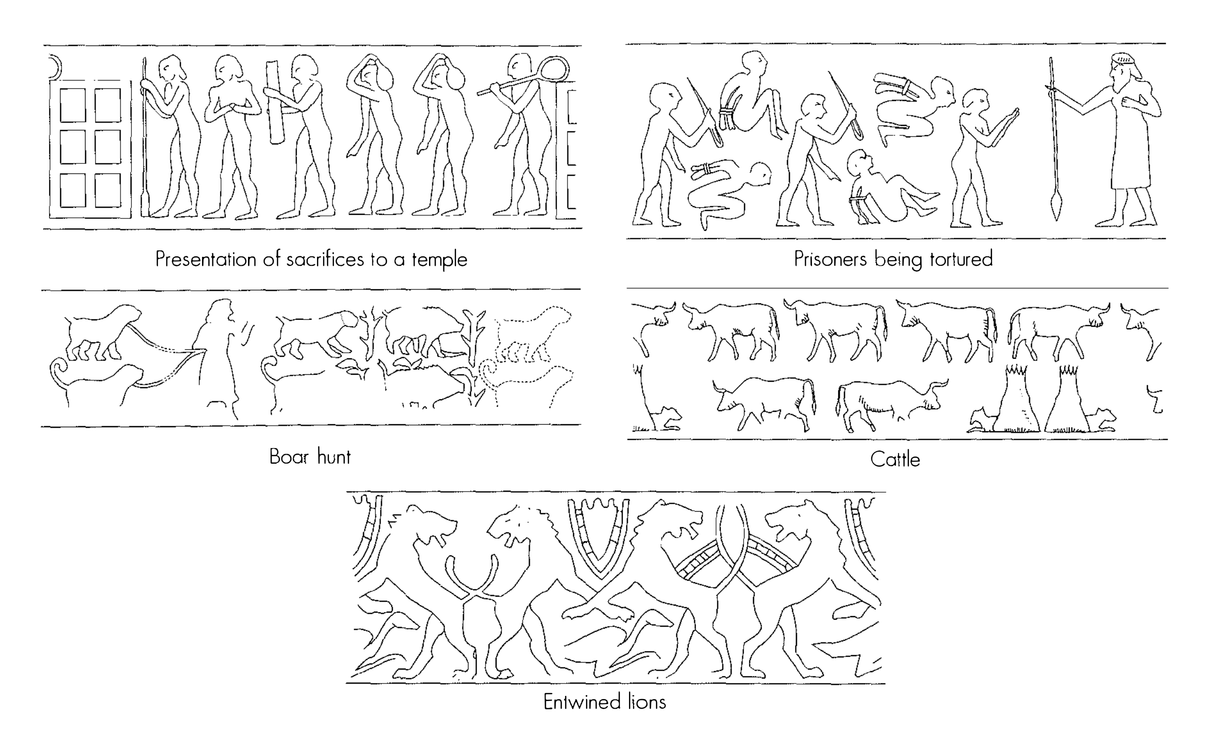


Figure 9: Common archaic seal motifs

of a cylinder seal offered space for a broad variation of forms, and we should assume that each seal represented one, and possibly several officials from a single office in a household administration. The seals had to serve as irrefutable proof of authorship should a sealed transaction be in any way contested. The need for clear correspondences between sealing individuals or offices and seal impressions also explains the large number of figurative seals – extrapolated from published sealings – in the Late Uruk period. At the same time, the numbers of seals are indicative of an increasing control of economic movements, and the need to store over time information bearing on the authority of numerous offices charged with controlling those activities.

proto-Elamite Susa in: U. Finkbeiner and W. Röllig (eds.), Ǧamdat Naṣr, 332-366 (following M. Brandes, FAOS 3 [1979]), has suggested that more than containing characteristic scenes, the seals may have borne motifs directly related to the activities the sealing officials were controlling, thus, for instance, the flow of sacrifices to a temple household in the case of the first scene (here from Uruk) in fig. 9. This will scarcely be true in the case of the many hunting scenes attested in the Late Uruk period. Fig. 10 contains eight separate scenes of boar hunts alone. The boar was known as a very dangerous beast with phenomenal charging strength, and hunting this animal will have been a sign of particular courage, to which the several depictions attest in those scenes of the hunt led by an elite of the archaic period (evident for instance in scene 'c' in his beard, headdress and his long spear; see also the second scene in fig. 9). These scenes must have derived from seals representing the authority and the household of a high-status official, presumably the ruler of the settlement in which the seals were used. See also the important contributions of P. Amiet, Glyptique susienne, des origines à l'époque des Perses achéménides [...], vols. I-II, MDP 43 (Paris 1972); M.A. Brandes, Siegelabrollungen aus den archaischen Bauschichten in Uruk-Warka, FAOS 3 (Wiesbaden 1979); and M.J. Shendge, JESHO 26 (1983) 113-136.

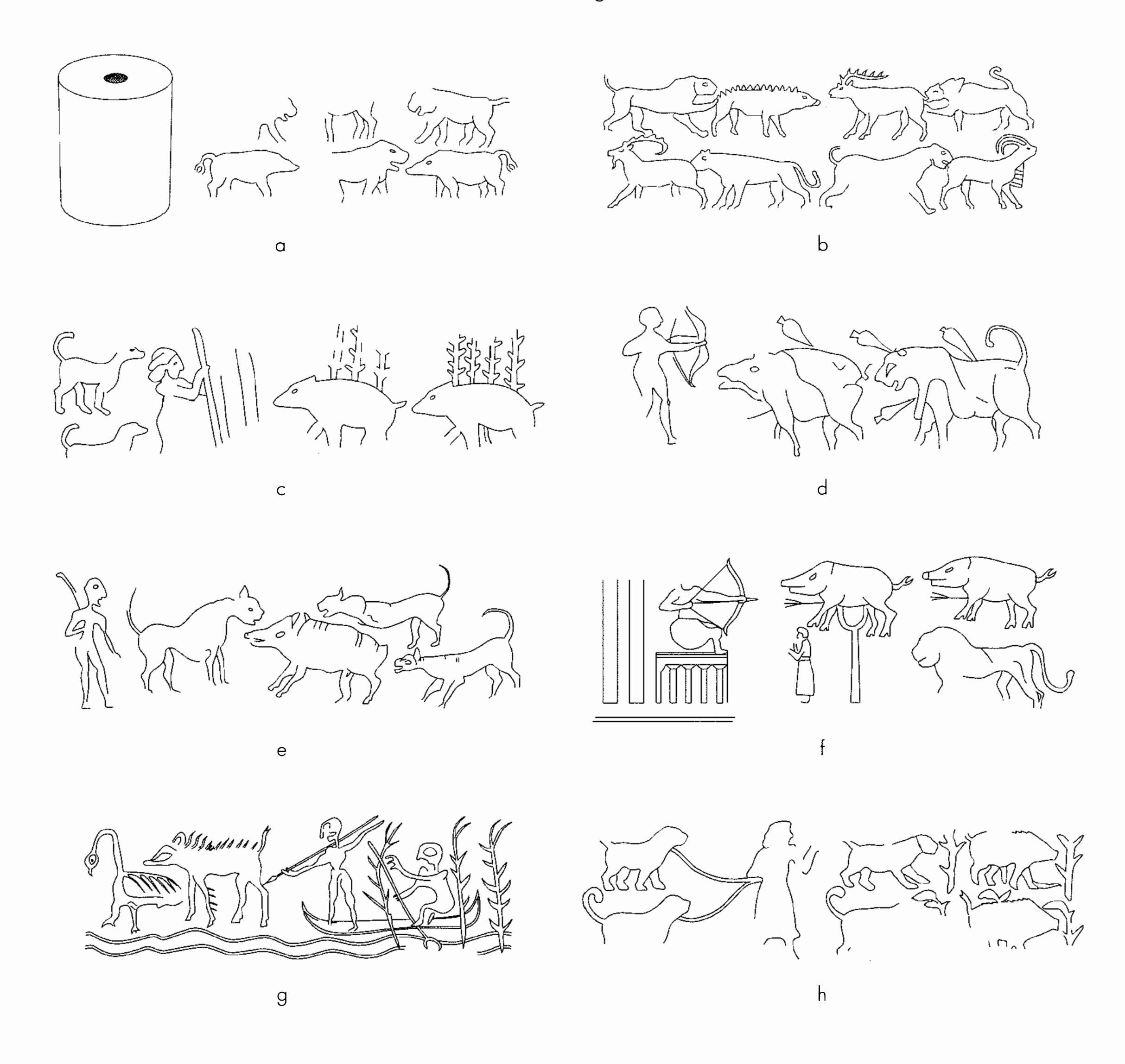


Figure 10: Archaic seals with scenes of wild pigs
Reconstructed seal impressions depicting lions and boars (a), lions, boar and caprids (b), and apparent hunting scenes (boars being hunted in seals from Uruk, Susa and Habuba Kabira, as a rule with dogs) (c-h) (scale ca. 1:2).

The seal impressions in the figure were drawn after the following publications:

a) R. Boehmer, in: R.K. Englund, ATU 5, pl. 131, no. 7 (cf E. Schott, UVB 5 [1934] 43, pl. 25b, and P. Amiet, La glyptique mésopotamienne archaïque [Paris 1961] pl. 10, no. 184).
b) J. Jordan, UVB 2 (1931) 42, fig. 32 to W 7229,a-b, and Schott, op.cit., 43, pl. 24e (cf. Amiet, op.cit., pl. 10, no. 182)
c) Boehmer, op.cit., pl. 139, no. 16 (cf. Schott, op.cit., 43, pl. 25a, H.J. Lenzen, ZA 49 [1950] 11, fig. 14, and Amiet, op.cit., pl. 10, nos. 187-188 [one seal]).
d) L. Legrain, MDP 16 (1921) pl. 16, no. 243 (cf. L. le Breton, Iraq 19 [1957] 106, fig. 20, no. 22, and pl. 24, no. 6, and Amiet, op.cit., pl. 39, no. 604)
e) Legrain, op.cit., pl. 16, no. 245 (cf le Breton, op.cit., 106, fig. 20, no. 3, and Amiet, op.cit., pl. 39, no. 607).
f) E. Strommenger, Habuba Kabira. Eine Stadt vor 5000 Jahren (Mainz 1980) 62, fig. 55(d) (cf. Strommenger, AJA 84 [1980] 485, fig. 3).
g) Amiet, op.cit., pl. 40, no. 609.
h) H.J. Nissen, P. Damerow and R.K. Englund, Frühe Schrift und Techniken der Wirtschaftsverwaltung im alten Vorderen Orient (Berlin [2]1991) 43 (the seal impression on a tablet from the former Erlenmeyer collection purchased by the authorities of the Metropolitan Museum, New York, was originally drawn by Abdallah M. Kahil; a commentary will be published by H. Pittman and J. Aruz)

3.2. Tokens

Although the use of seals continued into the period of ideographic writing, it seems obvious that individuals and offices under whose authority goods and services were moving could identify themselves with use of the new script; the seal impression imparted a personal verification that a transaction was above-board and reconstructable. But the critical information, namely the objects and their numbers or measures that were being accounted for, was stored using other accounting tools. Since her early publications in the mid-1970's, D. Schmandt-Besserat has systematically gathered and studied small, often quite unassuming clay and stone objects found in nearly all excavations of pre-literate sites in the Near East, and based on her understanding of the use of these objects as the earliest preserved accounting tools in the Near East has presented a theory of the emergence of proto-cuneiform which substantially undermines the presumption that the conventionalized Uruk IVa writing system presupposes earlier pictographic forms. Her research into the form and function of the objects she called 'tokens'[90] has provoked a heated discussion of their meaning, with occasionally harsh criticism of her methodology and conclusions.[91]

In reviewing her work, it is important to first note those elements which are, based on the archaeological and epigraphic material, currently generally understood to be valid. Undecorated small geometric objects, Schmandt-Besserat's 'plain tokens', were present already

[90] These small objects had been collected in Near Eastern excavations since the turn of the century; however, they were invariably catalogued by the excavators as cult objects or gaming pieces. A. L. Oppenheim, "On an Operational Device in Mesopotamian Bureaucracy," JNES 18 (1959) 121-128, published a clay ball from the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. which contained 48 pebbles in an inner cavity, and bore on its outer surface a list of small cattle, altogether 48 head. It was thus clear that the pebbles as counters represented, in a one-to-one correspondence, the individual animals. The director of the Oriental department of the Louvre Museum, P. Amiet, recognized the connection between the pebbles identified as counters by Oppenheim and similar clay objects found within clay envelopes from Susa dating to the Late Uruk period ("Il y a 5000 ans les Elamites inventaient l'écriture," Archeologia 12 [1966] 16-23), and his student Schmandt-Besserat, finally, connected these clay pebbles with the innumerable small objects from pre-literate levels throughout the Near East which she had been studying in conjunction with work on the earliest examples of ceramics. See her "The Use of Clay before Pottery in the Zagros," Expedition 16/2 (1974) 11-17; "An Archaic Recording System and the Origin of Writing," SMS 1/2 (1977) 31-70; "The Envelopes that Bear the First Writing," Technology and Culture 21(1980) 357-385; "Before Numerals," Visible Language 18 (1984) 48-60; "The Origins of Writing [...]," Written Communication 3 (1986) 31-45; "From Tokens to Tablets: A Re-evaluation of the So-called "Numerical Tablets"," Visible Language 15 (1981) 321-344. These studies were merged in her recent Before Writing vols. I-II (Austin 1992), which unfortunately due to a poor editorial effort did not offer a synthesis of her current understanding of early accounting and pictography (an abridged edition of vol. I was published in 1996 under the title of How Writing Came About). See the generally negative reviews by R.K. Englund, Science 260 (11 June 1993) 1670-1671; P. Michalowski, American Anthropologist 95 (1993) 996-999; P. Damerow, Rechtshistorisches Journal 12 (1993) 9-35; J. Friberg, OLZ 89 (1994) 477-502; P. Zimansky, Journal of Field Archaeology 20 (1993) 513-517; and S.C. Brown, CSMS Bulletin 31 (May 1996), 35-43.

[91] The first stinging rebuke of her work was made by S.J. Lieberman, AJA 84 (1980) 339-358; more recent criticism has come from G. Sampson, Writing Systems: A Linguistic Introduction (Palo Alto 1984) 57-61, S.A. Jasim and J. Oates, "Early Tokens and Tablets in Mesopotamia: New Information from Tell Abada and Tell Brak," World Archaeology 17 (1986) 349-350, and most recently by the reviewers of Before Writing cited in the preceding footnote.

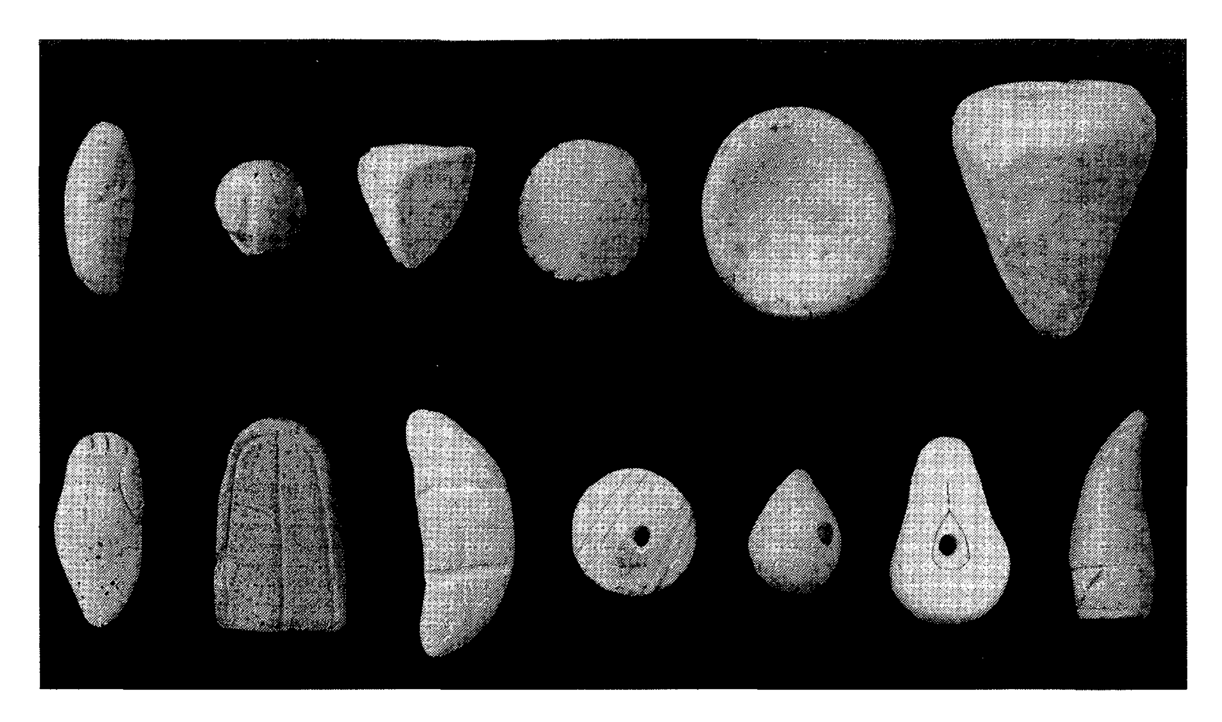


Figure11: Examples of tokens from Uruk

in Near Eastern excavation levels dating to 8000 B.C. and continued to be found in levels representing the centuries immediately before the appearance in ca. 3200 B.C. of true writing in Uruk. In the 4th millennium, decorated (in Schmandt-Besserat's terminology "complex") tokens, i.e., clay tokens of plain and complex form which had been punched through and so probably hung on a string, or had been decorated with varying numbers of hatching incisions, or both, begin to appear. Many of these decorated tokens bear a striking resemblance to signs found on the earliest tablets, leading Schmandt-Besserat to identify them as symbolic three-dimensional precursors of two-dimensional proto-cuneiform signs; these tokens, too, generally ceased to exist with the emergence of writing. Archaeological context makes it very difficult to evaluate the true function of these objects (see figure 11); they were found or at least recorded with no convincing administrative context, and in some cases derived from loci which would seem to undermine any administrative function, for instance in the graves of children.[92]

[92] One of the less successful claims of Schmandt-Besserat's publications is that these early token assemblages represented a cogent and conventionalized interregional accounting system, which is unsupported by the archaeological record, on its surface improbable, and which led in many instances to ad hoc explanations of small finds that could have remained unexplained without damage to her basic ideas. Small clay objects found in sites of hunter-gatherers and herders in caves of 8th and 7th millennium Persia – really evidence of the need for skilled accountants? Tokens found in rubbish – really a reflection of the practice of discarding accounting tablets in Babylonia upon completion of a transaction? Small clay objects found in graves of adults, small stone objects in graves of children – really markers of the high status of archaic bookkeepers on the one hand, vicarious offerings of grain meant to last for eternity on the other?

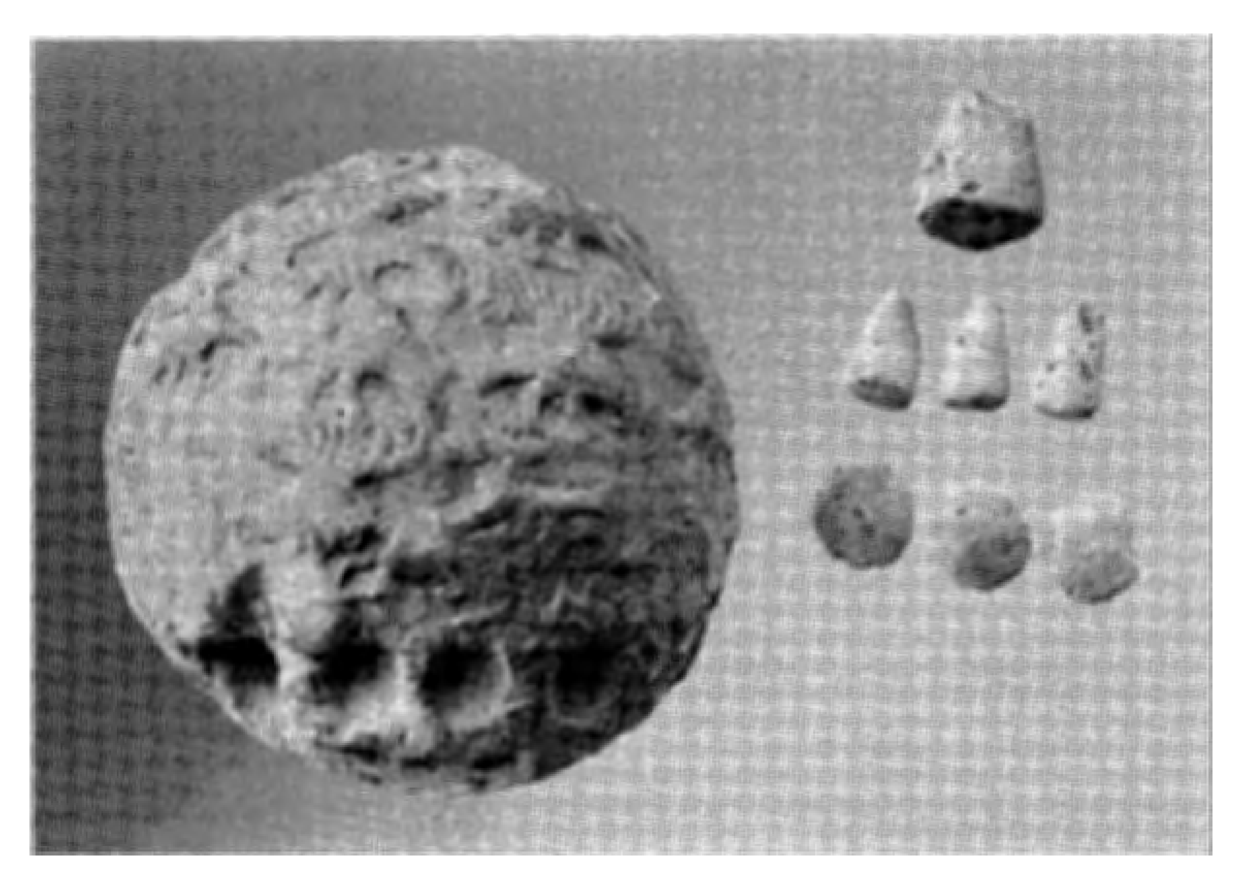


Figure 12: Clay envelope with contents, from Susa

3.3. Clay envelopes

More recent excavations in Persian Susa seem to demonstrate that, in levels immediately prior to the Uruk IV period,[93] administrators enclosed plain tokens in clay envelopes and sealed the outer surfaces of these hollow balls with figurative seals. In numerous Late Uruk settlements, including Persian Chogha Mish,[94] southern Babylonian Uruk and Syrian Habuba Kabira, such clay balls have been found both opened and in context with enclosed tokens, and still intact, thus withholding from inspection token assemblages which could be heard moving loosely within the balls. These groups of tokens were thus the first contextually meaningful assemblages of accounting tools in the Uruk period, a reasonable first link in the very long use of simple geometrical shapes to represent discrete units or measures of commodities transferring through accounting offices of the Late Uruk period. The role of the tokens found within or at least in context with clay balls as forerunners of the highly developed and conventionalized numerical signs of the earliest Near Eastern tablets (see below, section 6.1) is now unquestioned, although the reticence particularly of museum staff and

93 A. Le Brun, "Recherches stratigraphiques à l'Acropole de Suse, 1969-1971," CahDAFI 1 (1971) 163-216; F. Vallat, "Le matériel épigraphique des couches 18 à 14 de l'acropole," Paléorient 4 (1978) 193-195; A. Le Brun and F. Vallat, CahDAFI 8 (1978) 11-59.

94 A final report of excavations has recently appeared: P. Delougaz and H.J. Kantor (edited by A. Alizadeh), Chogha Mish vol. I:1-2, OIP 101 (Chicago 1996); see I:1, pp. 120-133, I:2, plts. 34-40, 134.

excavation directors to open all clay envelopes, ostensibly to protect the integrity of the seal impressions on the surfaces, remains a vexing problem in our attempts to decipher their meaning.

It may come as a surprise that fully eighty of the total of ca. 130 excavated clay envelopes remain completely intact.[95] The prospect of using tomographic analysis in the future is no excuse for this obstruction, especially given the fact that the process is very expensive, time-consuming, and of limited value even if conducted.[96] Yet though limited, radiographic analyses of all clay envelopes would add some statistical evidence concerning the likely numerical systems employed in this early method of bookkeeping, and the particular signs within the systems. The current state of our understanding of the tokens does not allow us to postulate with confidence whether the best attested numerical systems in archaic Babylonia, namely, the sexagesimal and the grain capacity systems, are represented in the envelope groups and thus to make an educated guess concerning the types of commodities being controlled with these devices, and the quantities of those goods. Certainly the notion of an Uruk expansion driven by luxury demand in southern Babylonia would suffer if it could be shown that the clay envelopes from reputed Late Uruk trade colonies in Syria and Persia contained without exception symbolic representations of small numbers of animals and of grain measures consonant only with the bureaucratic needs of a local administration, as I suspect is the case based on the little material currently available.

[95] D. Schmandt-Besserat, Before Writing I, 117, puts at just five, or less than 3% of the total, the number of envelopes whose contents are known with certainty: four specimens from Susa opened with a knife, one from Tepe Yahya sawed open (the latter statement, however, has been questioned by the Yahya excavator C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky; see P. Damerow and H.-P. Meinzer, "Computertomographische Untersuchung ungeöffneter archaischer Tonkugeln aus Uruk W 20987,9, W 20987,11 und W 20987,12," BaM 26 [1995], p. 28[39]).

[96] Two analyses of tomographically inspected envelopes have been published, both resulting from the generous permission of officials to 'misuse' the radiological departments of major medical centers. The first, F. Drilhon, Pr. M. Laval-Jeantet, and A. Lahmi, "Étude en laboratoire de seize bulles mésopotamiennes appartenant au Département des Antiquités Orientales," in: Préhistoire de la Mésopotamie. La Mésopotamie préhistorique et l'exploration récente du djebel Hamrin, Paris 17-18-19 décembre 1984 (Paris 1987) 335-344, dealt with sixteen envelopes from Susa housed in the collection of the Louvre. The second, P. Damerow and H.-P. Meinzer, "Computertomographische Untersuchung ungeöffneter archaischer Tonkugeln aus Uruk W 20987,9, W 20987,11 und W 20987,12," BaM 26 (1995) 7-33 + plts. 1-4, examined three unopened envelopes from Uruk in the Uruk-Warka collection of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI), currently housed in the University of Heidelberg. Despite the high resolution afforded by the choice of 0.3mm scanning cuts of the envelopes in the former study, and the differing density of the fired tokens as against the unfired envelopes in the second, neither publication could claim to have sufficiently identified all of the tokens within the analyzed envelopes. Objects in the Louvre collection were often only summarily noted and described according to a typology of forms employed by the museum curator P. Amiet; those in the DAI collection were in some cases possibly fractured parts of original tokens. In both studies, the resolution was such that eventual incisions on the surfaces of the tokens would not have been and were not recognizable, so that the question of whether decorated tokens were enclosed in these discrete assemblages could not be answered. However, even in the case of the crescent identified within the envelope Sb 1931 (Drilhon et al., pp. 339-340; that noted for Sb 1937 on p. 339 is not obvious in the images on pp. 340-341), strokes across its surface would not necessarily identify the token as 'complex' and so for Schmandt-Besserat plastic ideograms; instead, these could represent early forms of decorated numerical signs, for which see below, section 6.1.

3.4. Numerical tablets

At the same time or possibly somewhat later than the occurrence of sealed clay envelopes, two types of accounting devices clearly related to them came into use. In the first case, on the surface of some clay balls shapes were impressed which reflected in form and number the tokens enclosed within the balls (figure 12).[97] These impressions were evidently made with the tokens themselves, with other objects, presumably including styluses, mimicking in form the enclosed tokens, and even simply with fingertips. The ordering of these impressions gives us the first opportunity to speculate about the possible numerical structure, if any, of the system of counting or measuring which the tokens might have reflected. In the second case, clay lumps were pressed flat and, apparently dispensing with the enclosing of tokens, similar impressions were made on the surfaces of these 'tablets', and the whole sealed. The 'numerical tablets', obviously part of the accounting repertoire from archaic Uruk which entered settlements to the northeast, north and east of Babylonia (for primitive Syrian examples see figure 13)[98] quickly assumed the form of Uruk IV pictographic tablets[99] and are generally considered the immediate antecedent of the earliest true writing.

[97] A. Le Brun and F. Vallat, CahDAFI 8 (1978) 13-18, 45, 54-56; E. Strommenger, Habuba Kabira. Eine Stadt vor 5000 Jahren (Mainz 1980) 64, fig. 58.

[98] In addition to the those unearthed at Habuba Kabira (D. Schmandt-Besserat, Before Writing I, 136) and Jebel Aruda (G. van Driel, FS Kraus, 12-25), numerical tablets of a more primitive form were found at Tell Brak (S.A. Jasim and J. Oates, World Archaeology 17 [1986] 358), Mari (A. Parrot, "Les fouilles de Mari. Quatorziéme campagne (Printemps 1964)," Syria 42 [1965] 12), Nineveh (D. Collon and J. Reade, "Archaic Nineveh," BaM 14 [1983] 34), Khafaje (H. Frankfort, OIC 20 [1965] 25), Godin Tepe (H. Weiss and T.C. Young, "The Merchants of Susa [...]," Iran 13 [1975] 9-10; ca. 30 numerical tablets from Godin Tepe remain unpublished), Chogha Mish (E. Porada, "Iranian Art and Archaeology: A Report of the Fifth International Congress, 1968," Archaeology 22 [1969] 58, number 432 A, and P. Delougaz and H.J. Kantor, Chogha Mish vol. I:1, p. 120, I;2, pl. 33B-G), and of course Susa (A. Le Brun and F. Vallat, CahDAFI 8 [1978] 18-20, 47, 57; D. Schmandt-Besserat, Before Writing I, 134-136; a number of numerical tablets, presumably from Susa, are in the collection of the University of Sao Paolo [71/5.36-37, 72/4.44-45]). Apparently, none were found at Tall-i Malyan. Until all tablets are published, and more examples from the north are unearthed, it will be difficult to state with confidence whether a preliminary categorization of these texts into early and late formats is justified. As a working hypothesis, it seems that the numerical tablets from Syria and northern Mesopotamia were of a more primitive form than most exemplars from Susiana and Uruk. This primitive form, attested at all sites (including an exact parallel to the Syrian documents from Uruk recently published by J. Reade, "An Early Warka Tablet," FS Strommenger [Munich 1992] 177-179 + pl. 79 [and ATU 5, pl. 121; see there p. 17[+26]]), is characterized by a more rounded format, earlier seal motifs, and often numerical notations impressed along the edge of the tablets; note also the fact that the early tablets from Jebel Aruda in fig. 13 contained notations which were not in accordance with bundling rules attested both in later numerical tablets from Susa and Uruk, and in Uruk IVa period tablets from Uruk. The later tablets were flatter, cushion-shaped, contained more structured numerical notations and later seal motifs. This diachronic typology suggests that Late Uruk influence from southern Babylonia broke off earlier in the north than in Persia.

[99] The text in fig. 14 derives from a group of gypsum tablets excavated from the White Temple in Uruk (see above, section 2). All contained seal impressions and the circular impressions of round objects of varying diameters. The function of these, in some cases quite large and heavy tablets, i.e., whether they really contain numerical (grain measure) notations or are decorated stands of some kind, is not obvious to me.

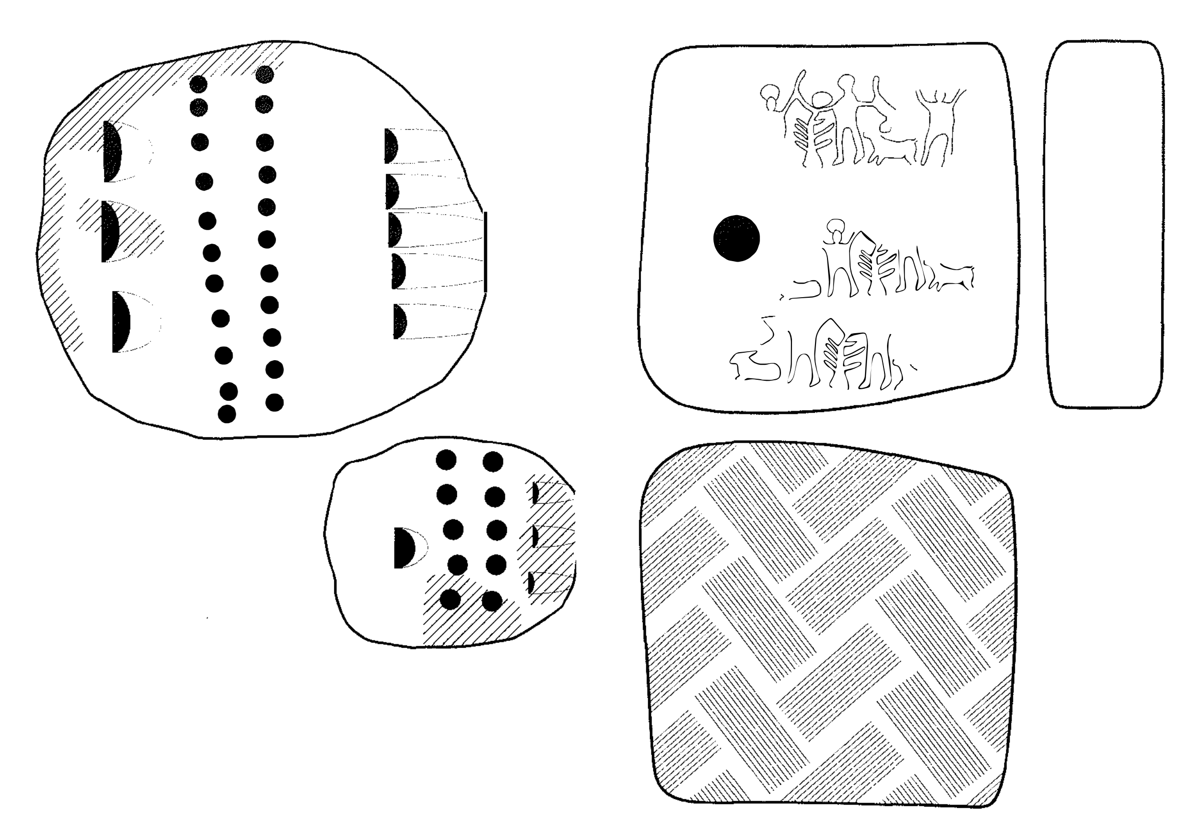


Figure 13: Early numerical tablets
Two preliterate numerical tablets from Jebel Aruda (after G. van Driel, FS Kraus, 14 fig. 1a, 6, and 2) document the repetition of signs exceeding the limit known from later texts.

Figure 14: The gypsum tablet W 10133,a
The gypsum tablets were placed on reed mats while still wet, leaving impressions of the matting on their bottom surfaces. The seal impressions have been dealt with most recently by R. Boehmer, ATU 5, 26 and 28. Scale of W 10133,a ca. 1:2.

The Uruk tablets in figures 15-16 contain interesting examples of features peculiar to this stage of writing and common to both Uruk and Susa. A stylus with a rounded end was used in both centers to impress numerical signs, in contrast to the use of a flat-ended stylus in the following ideographic phases, and only at this time, and again in both centers, was the shank of the stylus used to impress dividing lines between discrete notations, instead of the sharp edge of the 'ideographic' stylus.

3.5. Numero-ideographic tablets

The most intriguing sign of contact between Uruk and the Susiana up to the very time of their respective development of separate ideographic scripts is evident in a number of 'numero-ideographic' tablets from both regions (fig. 16). These tablets share with the numerical tablets the characteristics of simple numerical notations, seal impressions, but the inclusion of one, at most two of a group of ideograms, common to both regions, which represent discrete

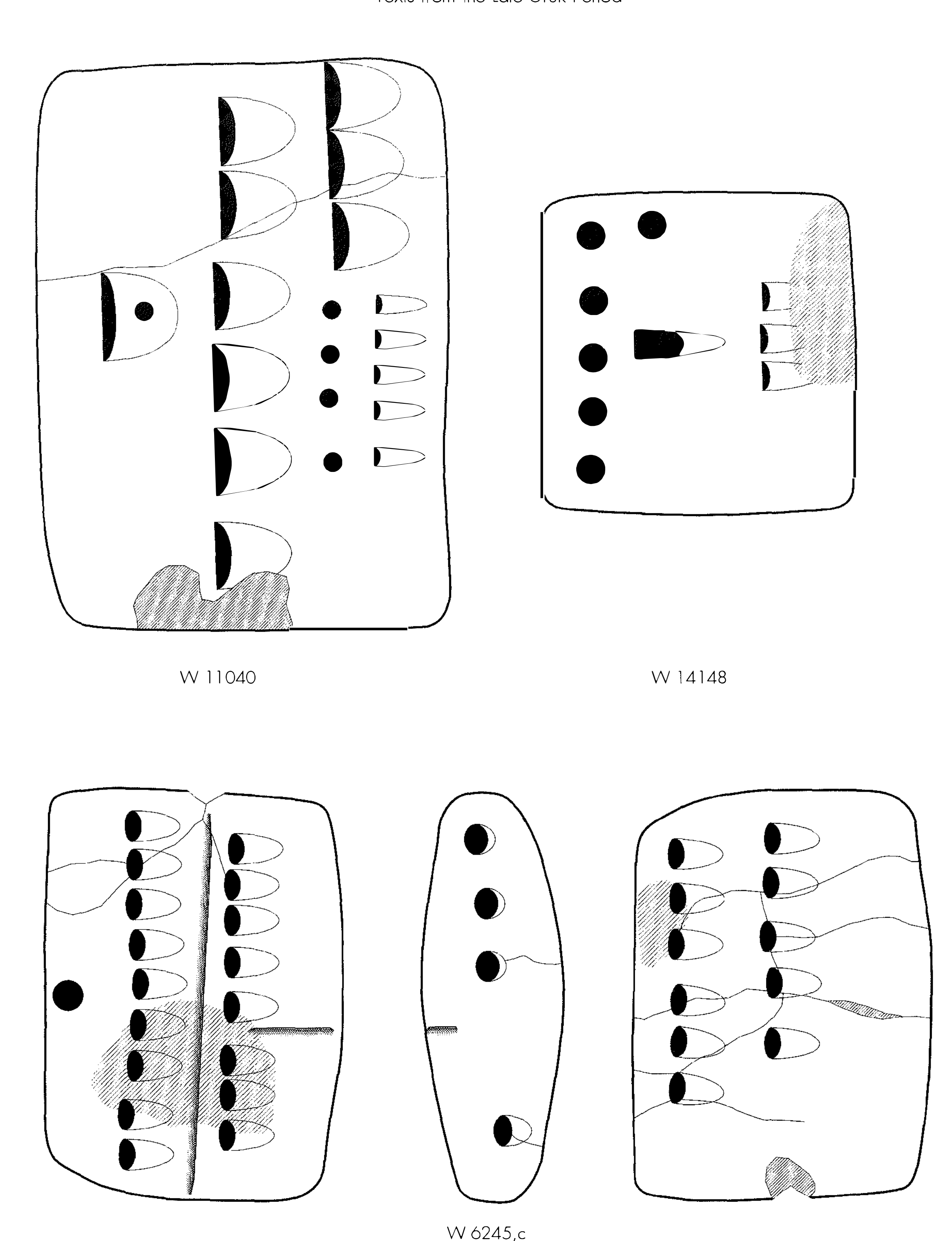


Figure 15: Three numerical tablets
The tablet to the upper left appears to be a numerical tablet recording a large sexagesimal number (corresponding to 1185 units); that to the upper right a field of ca. 120 acres. The reverse faces of both texts are uninscribed. W 6245,c exhibits numerical signs created by the rounded butt edge of a stylus; this characteristic and the use of the stylus shank in drawing lines of case separation are common features of such tablets from Uruk and Susa of the pre-ideographic period.

objects (sheep, jugs of beer and dairy fats, strings of dried fruits, textile products).[100] Such object designations are in my opinion the missing link between numerical notations which according to context imply an ideographic meaning, for instance a grain notation, and the mixed notations of numerical signs and ideograms which mark the inception of proto-cuneiform. That the immediate influence of Uruk on its surrounding territories waned at this time is demonstrated by the fact that in the north no development into an ideographic script occurred until Babylonian cuneiform was imported in the Early Dynastic III period, and that to the east a writing system was introduced, conventionally called 'proto-Elamite', which, although having borrowed some conceptual elements from the Uruk sign repertory, employed entirely different signs.

The presumption that decorated tokens appearing from approximately the middle of the 5th millennium B.C. in Uruk (but only from ca. 3500 B.C. in Iran and Syria) led directly to pictographic script is the element of Schmandt-Besserat's work which has been most debated. Comparing the graphic forms, she was able to propose the correspondence of a large number of decorated tokens with later ideograms, and these identifications are now moving through the secondary literature as if they had been justified or even in part accepted by experts. The basic argument against such facile identifications is that we know graphic similarity, in the absence of contextual proof, can be notoriously misleading, placing as it has Sumerian scribes as far afield as Rumania and China. This is the more dangerous when not even the objects being analyzed can be shown to have been included in meaningful token assemblages, i.e., when complex tokens are not found within, or at least in context with clay balls. Of these, there are few; in fact, only the so-called oil token (presumed to correspond to the proto-cuneiform sign NI_a, ⌽) was clearly enclosed in clay envelopes,[101] and it may be questioned whether this key evidence is not simply a derived numerical sign

[100] See R. Dittmann, in: U. Finkbeiner and W. Röllig (eds.), Ǧamdat Nasr, 344-345; R.K. Englund, ATU 5, p. 33, to W 6782,a. The upper two tablets in fig. 16 contain ideograms which based on Uruk IV and later tradition represent textiles or possibly apparati employed in the textile manufactories (see below, section 6.3.2 and the signs ZATU644 and ZATU662-663 [see the conventions listed above, n. 1]). W 6881,d to the lower left contains a clear precursor form of the Uruk III sign DUG_c, Iran 13, 9:2, to the lower right a possible early form of the sign DUG_b, both signs representing containers of dairy oils (R.K. Englund, "Archaic Dairy Metrology," Iraq 53 [1991] 101-104). All objects were apparently qualified with numerical notations derived from the sexagesimal system.

[101] The 'crescent' noted above is the second clear candidate for a complex token in discrete administrative context. Indeed, the referent proto-cuneiform sign, KU_{3a}, has been translated by some, based on later cuneiform tradition, with 'silver', or more generally, 'precious metal', so that a successful identification might even be used in an argument about the use of this Late Uruk accounting device in controlling the movement of such metals into Babylonia. However, the simple form of this token, without incised strokes, is likely a simple numerical sign, and even if a decorated example of this token were in future found within one of the many unopened clay envelopes, it could represent either a numerical sign from one of the derived (incised) numerical systems, or really the sign KU_{3a} in its meaning of 'one-half' (container of dairy fat), as I have discussed in an earlier article ("Late Uruk Period Cattle and Dairy Products: Evidence from Proto-Cuneiform Sources," BSA 8 [1995] 42[+40]). A third candidate for a complex token tradition can be seen in the group of tokens found associated with Uruk clay envelopes and labeled W 20987,27 (P. Damerow and H.-P. Meinzer, BaM 26 [1995] pl. 4). Among the plain tokens in that collection are not only the oil token, but also three exemplars of what Schmandt-Besserat fancifully interprets to be "trussed poultry" (closer to the sign ⊳, "bull").

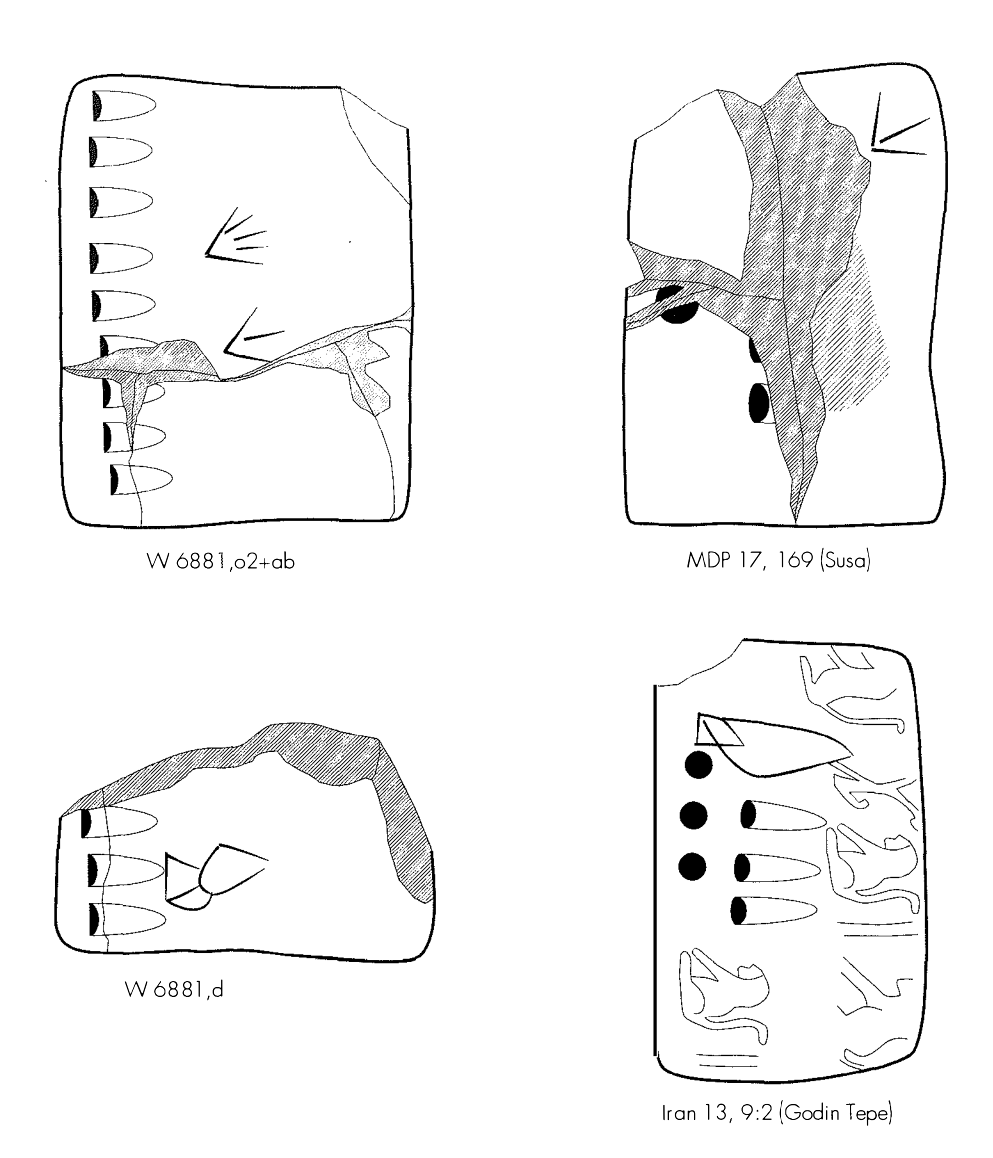


Figure 16: Examples of numero-ideographic tablets from Uruk and Susiana

much like the sexagesimal signs impressed with a single stroke and used, for example, to qualify a particular container of dairy oil in the archaic texts from Uruk. Certainly on the basis of this token, found in Uruk and in the Syrian site Habuba Kabira, no judgment is possible about the ultimate role of the myriad of decorated tokens from this period. One might rather wonder why other products of the archaic economies – beer, wool, etc. – were not so represented.

Further, a possible connection of some of these complex tokens with corresponding signs in the proto-Elamite script, which evolved after the emergence of proto-cuneiform in Mesopotamia, has gone unmentioned, despite the fact that the majority of contextually determined tokens derive from Elamite Susa. And proto-Elamite texts would seem to offer the best evidence for a limited transfer of decorated tokens into Late Uruk writing systems. Signs for small cattle – in both cases so-called abstract signs of the type often mentioned in

Schmandt-Besserat's work – are not only graphically, but also semantically related in the two archaic scripts, for example, the proto-Elamite seems clearly related to proto-cuneiform ⊕, meaning collectively "sheep and goats".[102]

A corollary development in the discussion put in motion by Schmandt-Besserat is the currently espoused belief that the evolutionary view of the origin of writing from a primitive stage of pictography through levels of abstraction, best stated by I.J. Gelb in his famous *A Study of Writing* in 1952,[103] has been discredited.[104] It has not. The basis of the argument put forward by Schmandt-Besserat and others is that the archaic repertory consisted of a large number of abstract signs, indeed that there were but relatively few pictographic signs in the earliest stages. However, once the proponents of an abstract sign system – and we need to remember that Schmandt-Besserat is really speaking of a two-dimensional representation of plastic complex counters – have cited the sign UDU_a (the sign ⊕), representing both sheep and goats, as evidence of this archaic abstraction, there is little more discussion of further evidence.[105] That is understandable, since among the Uruk IV period signs few, if any others can be demonstrated to be non-pictographic, given the fact that we often cannot judge what the real referents behind difficult graphemes might be.[106]

[102] The most current treatment of the proto-Elamite texts is found in P. Damerow and R.K. Englund, Tepe Yahya; to the question of signs representing small cattle, see pp. 53-55, and compare the earlier works of J. Friberg, ERBM I-II, and A.A. Vajman, "Über die Beziehung der protoelamischen zur protosumerischen Schrift," BaM 20 (1989) 101-114 (translation of his Russian article from VDI 1972/3, 124-133).

[103] In the second edition of his A Study of Writing (Chicago 1963), p. 201, Gelb states that "writing must have passed through the stages of logography, syllabography and alphabetography in this, and no other, order."

[104] See for instance J. Friberg, OLZ 89 (1994) 478; P. Damerow, Rechtshistorisches Journal 12 (1993) 27-29 and 32-35. P. Michalowski, "Writing and Literacy in Early States: A Mesopotamianist Perspective," in: D. Keller-Cohen (ed.), Literacy: Interdisciplinary Conversations (Cresskill, NJ, 1994) 49-58, goes so far as to parodize an evolutionary concept; however, the author seems himself a victim of traditionalist views when he states p. 55 that "earliest Mesopotamian writings include phonetic [he means Sumerian] elements, so one cannot conclude that this was a later development," thereafter citing various scholars who also believe this to be true. This radicalism of conviction in specialists, who then are cited by general historians of writing, cannot be welcomed. More general treatments of the history of writing have been kinder both to Gelb's teleological view of the evolution of writing and to Schmandt-Besserat's handling of her data; see for instance M. Kuckenburg, Die Entstehung von Sprache und Schrift. Ein kulturgeschichtlicher Überblick (Cologne 1989), and H.M. Röhr, Writing: its evolution and relation to speech (Bochum 1994).

[105] It is not even obvious what these critics of the pictographic theory understand abstract signs to be, wholly artificial constructs or signs including abstracted representations of original pictograms. Friberg, loc.cit., has validly mentioned the numerical signs themselves as abstract signs in this connection; there has, however, been little controversy in ceding the point that contextually charged numerical symbols had a long history in preliterate societies such as those of the 4th millennium Near East.

[106] Indeed, all of these signs seem to be pictograms representing either complete or, according to the common graphic practice of pars pro toto, partial objects. Since, moreover, it is not possible to isolate and identify any phonetic use of signs in the archaic period, we cannot presume that the original use of proto-cuneiform signs was not simply as referents of the objects they represented, presumably with the rapid development of multivalency in sign usage. Thus particularly the very many phonetic values ('readings') of cuneiform signs in later periods could point towards precisely the graphic development Gelb had in mind, whereby 'Sumerian' readings of signs can be object names derived from the language of those who created pictographic proto-cuneiform.

4. The nature of proto-cuneiform and the Sumerian question[107]

Unfortunately, the 'numerical tablets' unearthed in archaic levels of Uruk were found in secondary locations among debris and other, Late Uruk tablets,[108] making it impossible to archaeologically ascribe those texts to a level preceding that of ideographic texts. This may be inferred, however, from comparable finds from Susa, where in the levels Acropolis I 19 through 17B-A both clay envelopes and numerical tablets are found, in some cases bearing the same seal impressions.[109] 'Numero-ideographic' tablets have been tentatively ascribed to the level 17A 'contact' or 17Ax,[110] immediately before the level 16 from which the earliest proto-Elamite tablets derive.

4.1. Tablet formats

Even something as seemingly unassuming as tablet format is a good indication of chronological development of writing during the archaic period. It may be reasonably speculated that the clay envelopes and their contents, as well as the sealed numerical tablets, and at the end of this preliterate development the numero-ideographic tablets, each represented one discrete transaction within a complex administration. For instance, the tablet *Iran* 13, 9:2, in figure 16 above, might have contained the record of the receipt by an official of a temple household – the person who sealed that tablet – of thirty-three jars of dairy oil from a representative of Godin herders. This documentation was presumably only of importance during a short accounting period, so that a precise dating was not included, or was recorded in some other fashion invisible to us.[111]

[107] For an excellent recent summary of the major characteristics of the cuneiform writing system, see M. Krebernik and H.J. Nissen, "Die sumerisch-akkadische Keilschrift," in: H. Günther and O. Ludwig (eds.), Schrift und Schriftlichkeit (Berlin 1994) 274-288, with literature. Jerrold Cooper kindly discussed the following section of this paper with me; the mistakes and misconceptions that remain are my own.

[108] See ATU 5, nos. W 6245, 6613, 6881, 6883, etc. Even in those cases which appear to represent a modicum of archival deposition, for instance, the uniformly numerical or numero-ideographic appearance of the tablets with the excavation numbers W 6881 and 6883, there are grounds for deep suspicion that these 'archives' were constructed by the Uruk excavators. All tablets W 6881-6883 were found in the square Pd XVI,3 (see fig. 7 above) "against the northern edge of the niched wall belonging to level IV, 1-2 m northwest of the door, partly in a depot in the wall recess 1.5 m northwest of the door" (ATU 5, p. 34), including those numbered 6882, a group of sixteen with a somewhat irregular tablet format, but without exception of Uruk IVa period sign forms.

[109] A. Le Brun and F. Vallat, CahDAFI 8 (1978) 11-59. In line with this sequence is the fact that inscribed material in Syria (Habuba Kabira, Jebel Aruda, possibly Mari) and northern Mesopotamia (Nineveh) ceases after the occurrence there of numerical tablets, that is, that sealed numerical tablets at those sites derived from distinct strata prior to the appearance of ideographic writing.

[110] R. Dittmann, BBVO 4/1 (1986) 296-297 and 458, tab. 159e, following A. Le Brun, discussed level 17Ax or 17X. The "contact 16-17" proposed by Le Brun, CahDAFI 1 (1971) 210, is derived from unstratified material from earlier de Mecquenem excavations; tablets edited by F. Vallat, CahDAFI 1 (1971) 237 as "contact 17A-16" were apparently equally unstratified (cf. Dittmann, in: U. Finkbeiner and W. Röllig [eds.], Ǧamdat Nasr, 171[1]). See also D. Schmandt-Besserat, "Tokens at Susa," OrAnt 25 (1986) 93-125 + plts. 4-10; A. Le Brun and F. Vallat, CahDAFI 8 (1978) 11-59; R. Dyson, BAR International Series 379 (Oxford 1987) 648-649.

[111] In fact, much information which we cannot see was doubtless in play in this, and in less involved numerical

Essentially the same format is found in the least complex, and the oldest tablets from Mesopotamia, those texts dating to the Uruk IV period (ca. 3200 B.C.) and, based on current excavation records and on our best understanding of objects dealt through the antiquities markets, without exception from the Eanna district in Uruk. Only the obverse of these texts is inscribed, and only with one entry (an entry will usually consist of either a numerical notation, or one or a combination of ideographic signs, or, most frequently, both[112]). Each tablet was meant to carry one concise unit of information (see figures 17:1 and 19, W 19592,n).[113]

One subtype of these single-entry accounts known as 'tags' (figure 18) is characterized by a peculiar cushion-shaped format, by a perforation through the long axis of the tablets certainly used to hang the tablets on a string,[114] and by the absence of any numerical notations. While a number of the ideographic notations on these texts contain no obvious object designations and so probably represent proper nouns, either personal or official names, but not, it appears, toponyms,[115] several do consist of signs which denote presumable beverages and dried fruits and so might indicate their use to tag shipments or stored amounts of these commodities.[116]

The more common single-entry tablets correspond fully to the sealed numero-ideographic accounts in their use of numerical notations and object designating ideograms to qualify the

tablets and envelopes. The inclusion of these documents in baskets tagged with global qualifications, to name one example, would add much specificity to this and accompanying texts; to name another, we have no way of knowing whether further qualifications to simple accounts were kept on perishable materials or were signaled simply by the holder of these accounts.

112 There is some, if not strict, organization evident in the position of signs within individual entries. The first and thus most prominent position in the entry is assumed by the numerical notation, always found at the head of a single-entry, or of an individual case of a multiple-entry text. Numerical signs within a numerical notation follow a strict sequential pattern dictated by the value of individual signs within the numerical system the notation reflects. As a general rule, signs representing counted objects are situated closest to the numerical notation, inscribed, insofar as this is discernible due to the existence of sign distortions caused by subsequent inscription, immediately after the numerical notation and before the impression of the accompanying ideograms.

113 For an overview of archaic text formats see M.W. Green, "The Construction and Implementation of the Cuneiform Writing System," Visible Language 15 (1981) 345-372, esp. 349-356; further, A.A. Vajman, "Formale Besonderheiten der proto-sumerischen Texte," BaM 21 (1990) 103-113 (translation of his Russian article in VDI 1972/1, 124-131).

114 This transversal perforation, like that of cylinder seals, suggests that the strings holding the tablets were knotted at one end such that the tablets hung like pendants from the objects – or persons – they qualified.

115 In contrast to the published opinion of the German excavators of the predynastic Egyptian site Abydos that the tags found in the grave complex Uj there documented the place names of those settlements from which the tagged goods (according to the excavators bolts of cloth) derived (see G. Dreyer, Umm el-Qaab I: Das prädynastische Königsgrab U-j und seine frühen Schriftzeugnisse, AV 86, [forthcoming]). These tags contained the earliest known examples of writing in Egypt.

116 The sign DIN in the texts W 20883 and 21183 in fig. 18 is conventionally understood to represent a type of wine; the sign combination DUG_a LAM_b on the tag W 9656,n1 might too represent a type of wine, considering the fact that the simplified form of LAM_b, KUR_a, is known to qualify a type of DIN (see ATU 2, pl. 6, with photo of W 20907,2) and that DUG_a represents a jar with a spout, used to store liquids, in particular beer. The text W 7000, finally, consists only of the sign ḪAŠḪUR, a stringed fruit, in later texts a type of apple (see I. J. Gelb, "Sumerian and Akkadian Words for "String of Fruit"," FS Kraus [Leiden 1982] 67-82; ATU 2, 150[28]; R.K. Englund, Ur III-Fischerei, 38-39, with footnotes).

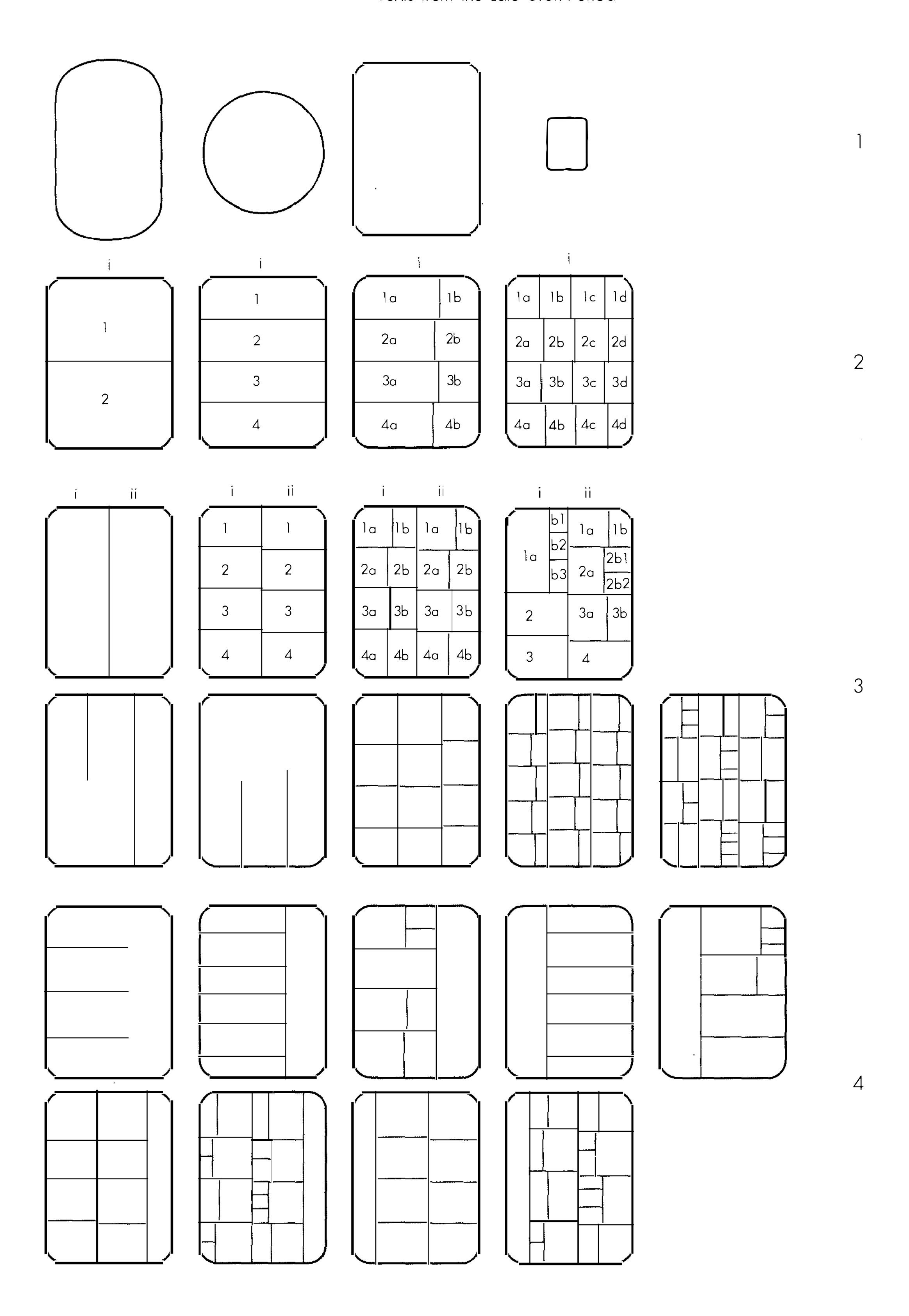
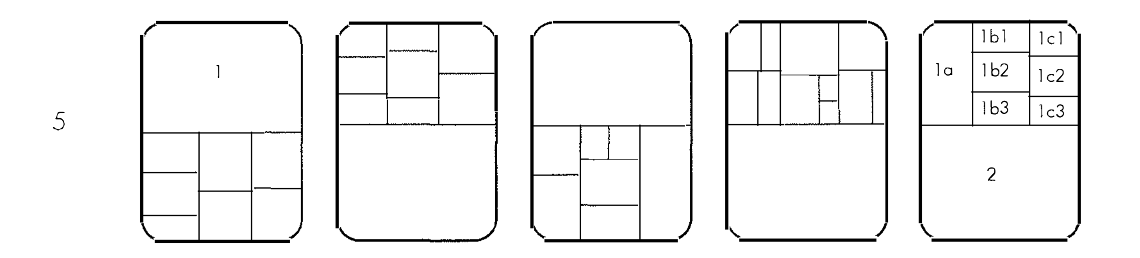


Figure 17: Tablet formats found in the archaic texts

5



obverse

i ii iii

reverse

iii ii i

6

Axis of
Rotation

Direction
of Script

obverse

i ii iii

reverse

ii iii i

7

Axis of
Rotation

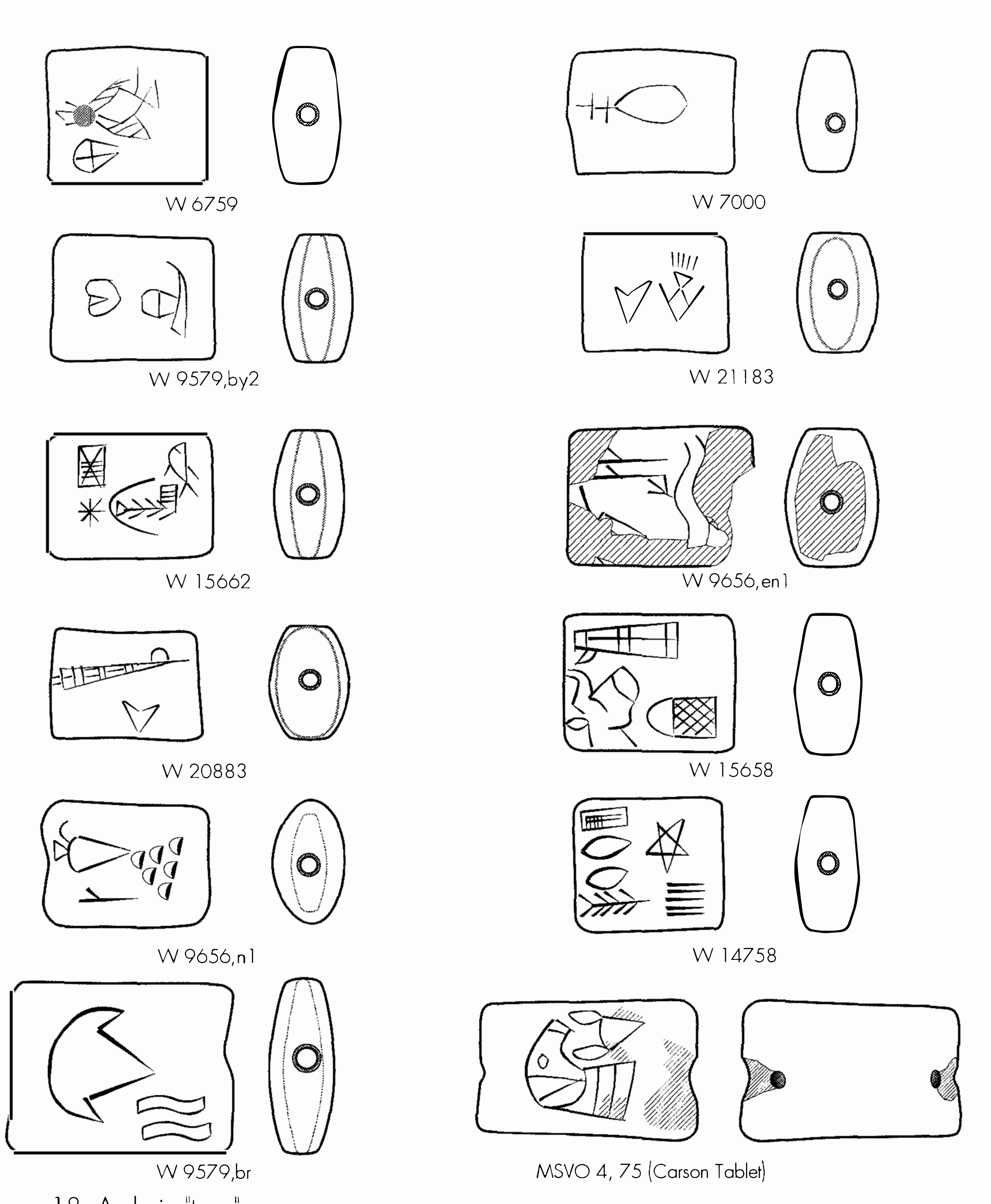


Figure 18: Archaic "tags"
Small tablets characterized by a lack of numerical signs and by perforation through their length, and so presumably strung, might represent tags attached to commodities. The inscriptions seem to qualify either persons or offices, or in some cases the commodities themselves, including beverages and dried fruits.

object of the recorded transactions, and of a further ideographic notation qualifying the person(s) or office responsible for the correctness of the data. Such accounts probably represented receipts and formed the lowest order in a hierarchy of texts leading into large, consolidated accounts (figures 17:2-6 and 19, W 20368,2, 20044,38, and 20044,58). More complex texts are characterized by the division of the tablet surface into columns and cases, each case containing a single entry and so corresponding to one of the single-entry texts discussed above. Thus Uruk IV period accounts could consist of two or more entries

recording numbers and measures of objects together with an accounting official, and these single entries could themselves be further divided to attach to the main unit of information such qualifications as were deemed necessary to fully identify a given transaction (figure 17:2[117]); still more single entries were entered into a single account by dividing the length of the tablet into two or more columns, each column consisting of one or more individual entries[118]. The relationship of these single-entries to each other in an administrative sense is obvious when with smaller texts two or more entries consisting of only numerical notations and ideograms representing objects are globally qualified by an ideographic notation physically distinct from the numerical notations (figure 19, W 20368,2); with larger accounts, the scribes will often include, as a rule on the reverse face of the tablet, summations of numerical notations included in individual entries. Both types of information correspond to the colophons of later cuneiform tradition. These totals consolidate multiple entries into a single notation, thus documenting the fact that the individual entries represent intrinsically comparable goods, and that they all fell under the responsibility of a single accounting office. Ideographic notations accompanying numerical totals act as global qualifications of objects recorded in the accounts, of the responsible offices or officials, and of the type of transactions recorded. This accounting typology became substantially more complex, just as the quantities of goods became substantially greater, in the Uruk III period, that is, in the period of purported decline after the great building activities, and the presumable colonizations of the 'Uruk expansion' ending in the Uruk IV period.[119]

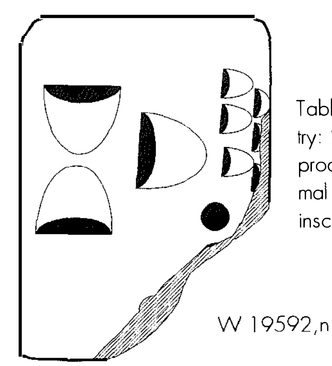
The two account types in figure 17:6-7 represent high levels of accounting, found only in the Uruk III period. Multiple entries filling three obverse columns in the former text are consolidated in three steps on the account's reverse surface. A concrete example of this involved procedure is shown in figure 20 in a (reconstructed) summation of the Jemdet Nasr account MSVO 1, 185.[120] Various summanda are here totaled through three levels of commonality. This reconstruction of the reverse side of the text implies that, as is obvious from the entries on the tablet's obverse, the text consists of the accounts of three years (1-3N_{57}+U_4) and that the counted objects "DUR_b" (meaning unknown) are qualified either as BA or GI. The tablet is then rotated around its horizontal axis and each yearly account individually itemized in the right-hand column of the reverse face. The first summations consist of the addition of BA DUR_b and GI DUR_b for each year; secondly, all the BA DUR_b and all the GI DUR_b are totaled, and finally the two sub-totals of BA and GI are subsumed in a general total of all DUR_b.

[117] The numeration within the text formats indicates the entry sequence, counting the cases 1 ff. from the top, and 1a, 1b etc. within particular cases.

[118] Fig. 17:3; the columns are in conventional transliterations qualified with the use of Roman numerals i, ii, etc. Note that this simple multiple-entry format was that of the so-called lexical texts discussed below, section 5.

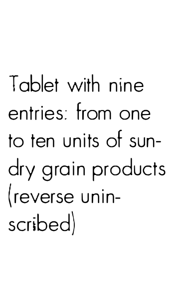
[119] The apparent economic expansion documented in the accounts in a time of seeming decline – note also that the commodities represented in proto-Elamite accounts far eclipse in economic value any goods documented in such preliterate accounts as clay envelopes and numerical tablets, insofar as we can understand their meaning (see P. Damerow and R.K. Englund, Tepe Yahya) – should act as warning to proponents of an expanding southern Babylonian administration in the Late Uruk period, followed by decline and withdrawal from regions bordering Mesopotamia in the Jemdet Nasr/Uruk III phase.

[120] See also the example MSVO 1, 95, in fig. 21 below.

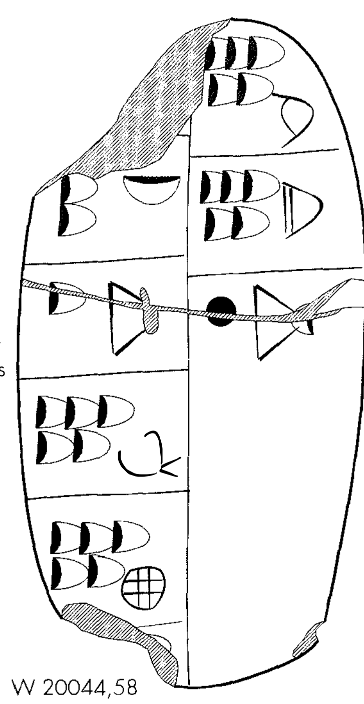


Tablet with only one entry: 216+ units of a grain product in a bisexagesimal notation (reverse uninscribed)

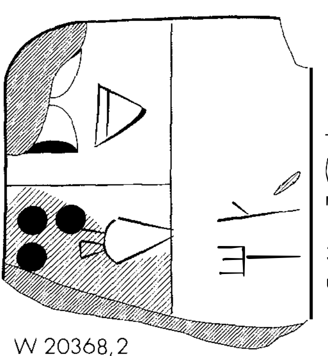
W 19592,n



Tablet with nine entries: from one to ten units of sundry grain products (reverse uninscribed)

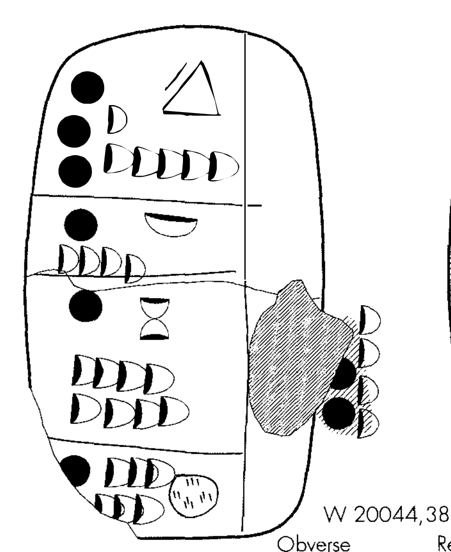


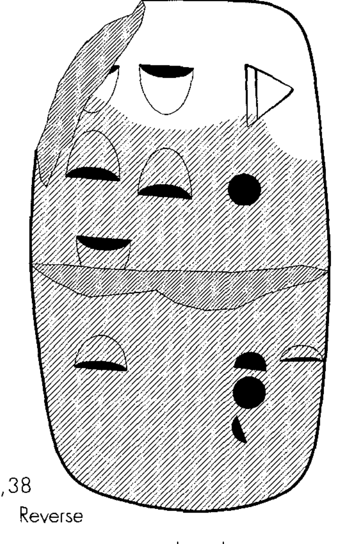
W 20044,58



Tablet with two entries (first column) and a signature (second column): 120 grain rations and 30 jars of 'beer' (reverse uninscribed)

W 20368,2





W 20044,38

Obverse Reverse

Tablet with four entries on the obverse, a notation on the edge and possibly a double summation (?) on the reverse (damaged): The obverse contains entries concerning various grain products, collectively designated (NINDA), i.e., "grain rations," on the reverse. A second notation at the lower right of the reverse might represent the amount of grain used in the grain products.

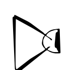
signs for grain products:

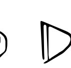


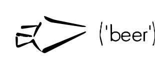












numerical signs of the bisexagesimal system:

= 1

= 10

= 60

= 120

Figure 19: Tablets with varying degrees of complexity

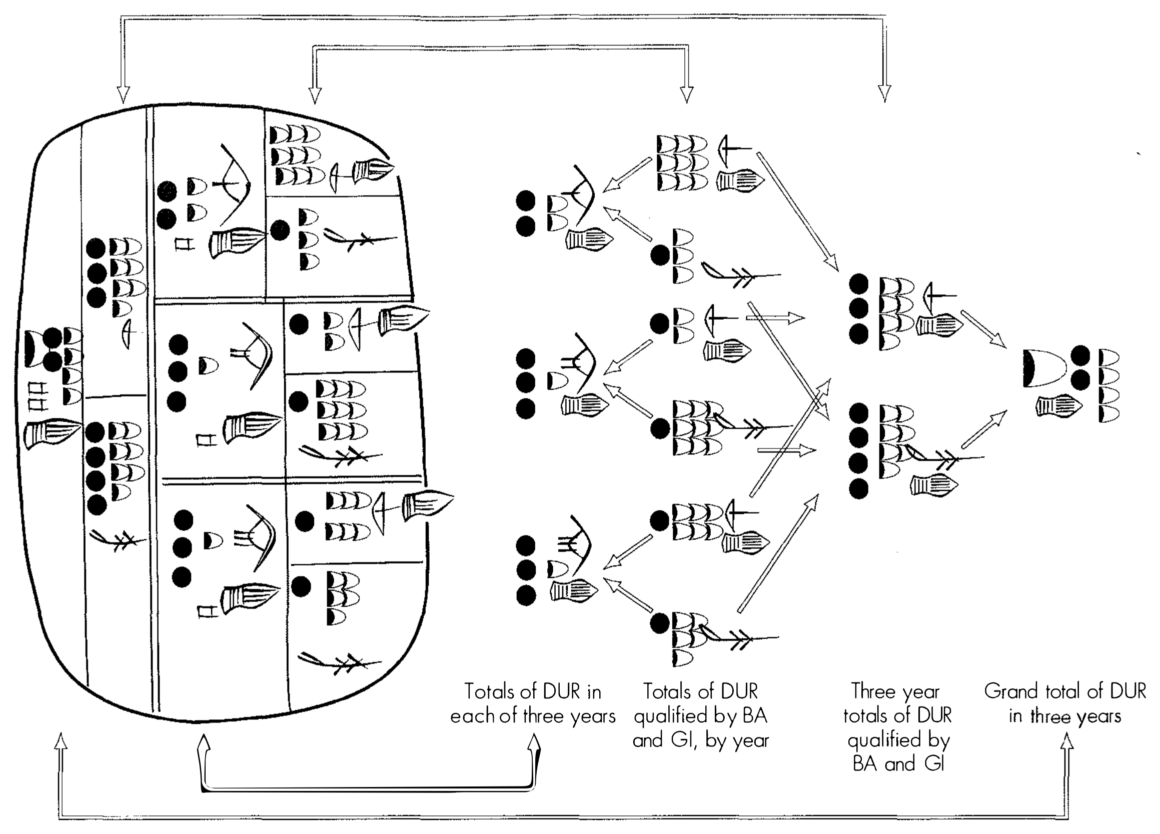


Figure 20: Complex summations
The totals contained on the reverse face of the Jemdet Nasr tablet MSVO 1, 185, could be confidently reconstructed based on preserved numerical notations. The sign DUR has not been deciphered.

In those cases in which the obverse did not offer enough space to complete all separate entries – represented by the latter text – , the tablet was first rotated around its *vertical* axis, the entries completed, and then, before the summations were written, the tablet was either turned 180° or, as seems more likely, was turned over to begin tallying the numerical notations, after which it was again rotated around, this time, its *horizontal* axis to use the normal space for totals. A second Jemdet Nasr account, MSVO 1, 99, in figure 21, presents an example of such an accounting procedure. This is a phenomenon noted also in the Jemdet Nasr period proto-Elamite texts from Persia.[121]

With one or two possible exceptions, we have in the archaic text corpus no clear examples of the early use of proto-cuneiform to reproduce in writing a spoken language (see the discussion below of the so-called Sumerian question). Rather, the formal division of the administrative tablets reflects the 'grammar' of the archaic accountants' syntax. Roughly speaking, assuming that the accounts available to us are the records of distribution, of which receipts are the simplest form, then numerical notations and object designations of individual cases or receipts represent direct objects, attached personal designations indirect objects of verbal actions explicit or implicit in global qualifications of text colophons. Divisions of individual cases into two or more sub-cases correspond to the adjectival, divisions of colophons to adverbial qualifications in more advanced syntax.

[121] Cf. P. Damerow and R.K. Englund, Tepe Yahya, 11-13 + fig. 6.

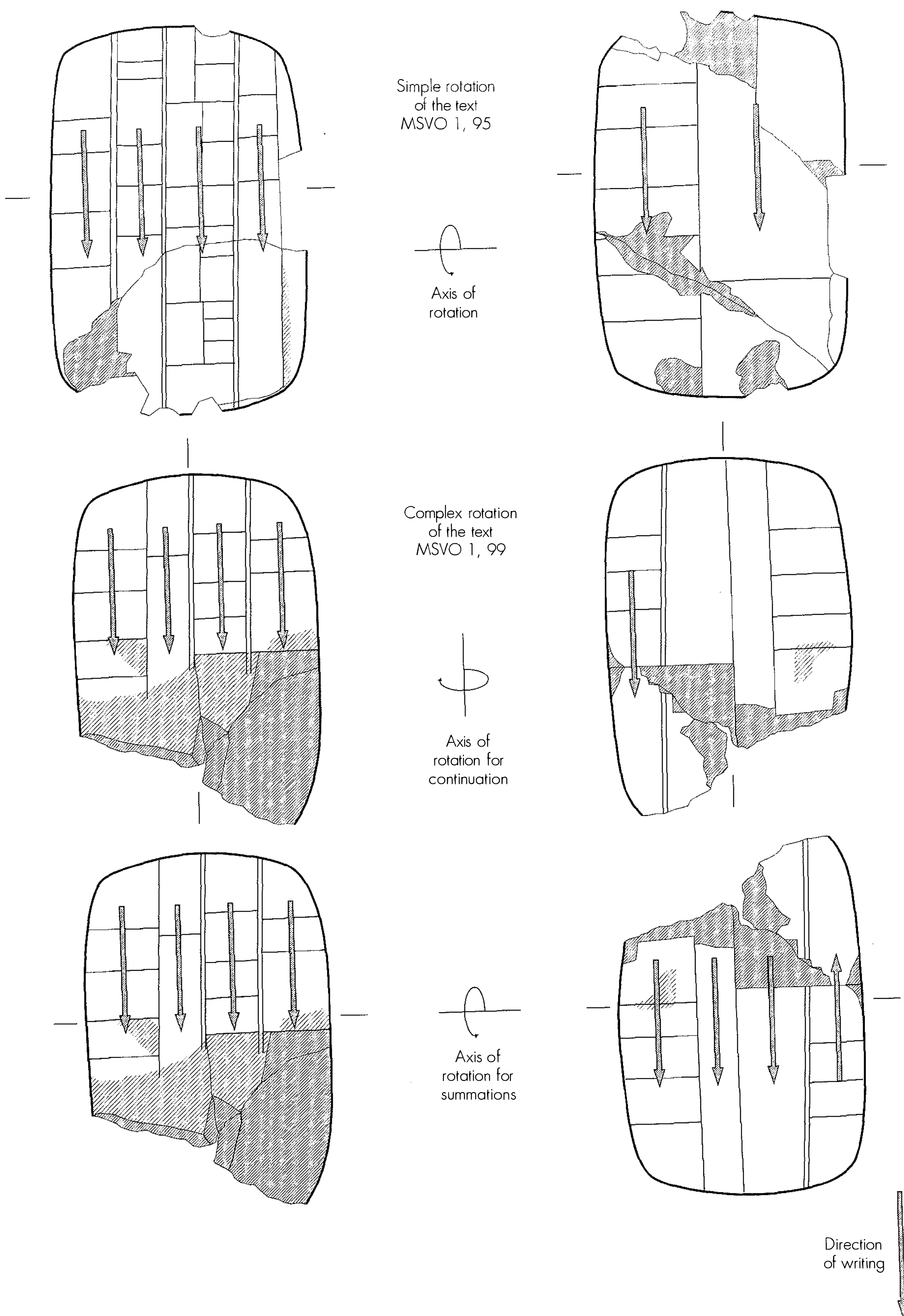


Figure 21: Tablet rotation in complex archaic texts (examples from Jemdet Nasr)

4.2. Research of proto-cuneiform

Our basis for judging the characteristics of the proto-cuneiform writing system is not small. Some 5820 archaic texts and fragments containing close to 35,000 individual entries (cases) and 42,000 individual occurrences of ideograms[122] are currently catalogued and transliterated according to values assigned the signs in the sign list ATU 2.[123] Despite the impressive amount of material, it has not been possible to positively identify the language of those scribes who developed and used proto-cuneiform in the periods Uruk IV-III, so that when we speak of advances that have been made in the decipherment of the writing system, we mean formal advances in our understanding of the context of the archaic texts and in the meaning of individual signs, and not a classical decipherment of an unknown language. Beyond our own limitations, several factors act to hamper work, be it systematic or intuitive, to effect this classical decipherment. In the first place, it may well be that the language of the archaic scribes no longer existed following the Late Uruk period, given the fact that major upheavals apparently disrupted Babylonia following Uruk III and before Early Dynastic I, upheavals which might themselves have led Sumerians into the southern alluvium.[124] Second, the script was not used to represent a spoken language in a large majority of texts available to us. Approximately 85% of all archaic texts are administrative accounts; the conciseness of such texts is known to anyone who has tried to reconstruct the history of a transaction using them – and such difficulties are, one might say luckily, more pronounced for the auditor than the taxed citizen, who has some background knowledge of the circumstances surrounding particular receipts. Further, even the non-administrative records, the so-called lexical lists (see below, section 5), are with one exception comprised of simple lists of semantically related words, such as lists of domestic animals, of professional names,

[122] That is, excluding numerical signs, which are individually the most numerous. Counting iterative notations of one numerical sign in discrete notations as one attestation of that sign (e.g., counting a notation $7{\times}N_1$ [="7" in numerical systems used to qualify discrete objects] as a single notation of the sign N_1), the total number of sign attestations reaches over 62,000.

[123] Of the 5820 texts, fully 5000 represent archaic documents from the levels Uruk IV and III in the district Eanna of Uruk. The remaining 820 texts derive from regular and irregular excavations of archaic levels of Babylonian settlements, including the approximately 245 Uruk III period texts from the small northern Babylonian mound of Jemdet Nasr, 85 extraordinarily well preserved tablets from the former Erlenmeyer collection, and 410 texts from Early Dynastic I-II levels from Ur (published by E. Burrows, UET 2 [London 1935]. 17 clay documents from Early Dynastic levels of Uruk may now be included in this writing stage, as well as most if not all of the inscriptions on stone tablets recently edited and erroneously dated to the Late Uruk period by I.J. Gelb, P. Steinkeller and R.M. Whiting, OIP 104 [1991] 39-43; see ATU 5, 127). Also included in this latter group are 80 tablets today found in various small collections and deriving mostly from the antiquities market, now collected in MSVO 4.

[124] This is a view held by few in the field; see, for instance, C.H. Gordon, The Ancient Near East (New York [3]1965) 34. A. L. Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia [...], (Chicago 1964) 49, recognized the incongruencies of proto-cuneiform in writing Sumerian; he believed, however, that the creators of the script, and their writings, dated to a period before Uruk IV: "It is quite likely that the Sumerians had adapted for their own use an already existing system and technique of writing. This seems to have been the creation of a lost and earlier, either native or alien, civilization, which may or may not have had some relation to the foreign elements in the Sumerian vocabulary, the topographical names of the region, and possibly, the names of the gods worshipped there".

and so on, with no syntactical interrelatedness such as is offered in the shortest of royal inscriptions; the exceptional 'Tribute List' (see below, section 5, under *Literature*) has unfortunately also led to no successful decipherment attempts, and was apparently not understood even by successive redactors in the Fara, and even into the Old Babylonian period.
The formal advances in understanding the context of the archaic texts are really no small accomplishment, since a detailed description of the archaic script as found in the archaic levels Uruk IV-III is a rewarding endeavor in terms of the light it sheds on the administrative and scholarly world of late 4th millennium Babylonia, and will be helpful in defining the contours of the decipherment possibilities the script holds; it may, however, be disappointing to those who have found in secondary literature evidence for identifying Sumerian as the language of the creators of writing.
A. Falkenstein's archaic signlist ATU 1 was in its time, following just three excavation campaigns in the Eanna district of Uruk, a substantial achievement. The Sumerologist was able, in this publication of the first 600 tablets unearthed in Uruk, to catalogue a total of 50 numerical[125] and 890 ideographic signs. The latter signs were categorized and numbered according to graphic form. Falkenstein recognized early forms of later cuneiform signs in many of his entries, but was on the whole reticent to ascribe these values to the archaic material.
The work of H.J. Nissen and M.W. Green on the subsequent finds from Uruk, above all on the great numbers of witnesses to a growing compendium of lexical lists attested in the archaic period, represented a substantial advance in the means to identify meaningful correspondences between the archaic sign repertory and that of following periods, from which line for line copies of the lexical lists were known. The comparisons of those signs which assumed the same positions in respective lists made possible a large number of *formal* identifications of the archaic signs with later counterparts. The belief of both editors of the revised archaic sign list, ATU 2, that there was sufficient evidence to identify Sumerian as the language of the archaic scribes, and of M.W. Green that the same scribes frequently used graphic variants to represent specific signs, resulted in the decision to publish the list in a particular form. In the first place, nearly all graphically similar signs were, often regardless of contextual usage, grouped together under one 'lexeme'. This policy led to a substantial reduction of signlist entries to 770, plus nearly 60 numerical signs.[126] In the second, Sumerian readings (i.e., phonetic realizations) were assigned to all those archaic signs found to have counterparts from Fara period and later lexical list witnesses, for which readings could be inferred, as well as to those not lexically attested but presumed to be clear graphic precursors of later signs.
The second decision is perhaps most easily excused, although there is precious little, if any evidence for any Sumerian readings of archaic signs. We have in subsequent work and publications of the archaic material used these readings, always with the understanding that they are entirely conventional. There is even a certain mnemonic advantage in the

[125] See below, section 6.1.
[126] The editors, moreover, felt charged to limit their efforts to the archaic texts from Uruk, leaving aside all evidence from the text corpus from Jemdet Nasr and from other collections.

transliterational system these readings offer us, since it is often easier to make note of the sign denoted AMAR than its correspondence from the Falkenstein list ATU 1, 458. However, the graphically similar groups formed by Green are more difficult to excuse, not only because following the publication of ATU 2 large numbers of 'variants' gathered in this way under a single entry have proven to be distinct signs, but because this likelihood should have been evident based on a simple consideration: all graphemes which do not share very close forms with those signs identified through the lexical lists as precursors of identified cuneiform signs can only be assigned the same 'readings' if their contextual usage can be shown to be the same.[127] If that is not the case – and it is not the case in many sign identifications in ATU 2 – it would be imperative to assign such signs other 'readings', or at least codes which would serve to preliminarily differentiate them from the sign of comparison. As a result of this error of judgment, the signs identified in ATU 2 were retroactively differentiated using a series of indices adapted to the indices already used in the signlist.[128]
In fact, following this supplemental differentiation, the current list of archaic signs gives us 60 numerical signs, and nearly 1900 ideograms. This more than doubling of the total published in ATU 2 in all likelihood errs on the side of caution, assigning separate codes to all signs whose contextual usage cannot be shown to demonstrate an allomorphic relationship to a sign whose identification is supported by lexical attestations. Thus until it can be shown that signs rotated to the right or left, so-called *tenû*-forms, have no meaning which differentiates them from the same signs in a conventional orientation – sign rotation in a number of cases can be shown to fulfill simple space needs, that is, rather than distorting to fit it into a prescribed space, scribes are known to rotate a sign – such forms receive distinct names (for example, TI_a and TI_b). These types of rather obvious variations are numerous in the earlier archaic period Uruk IV (see, for instance, the signs EN and SANGA in figure 22) and can lead to an inflation of identified signs. Another example of probable overcautiousness are the many sign identifications resulting from the more or less pictographic renderings of animals' heads in the Uruk IV period. In these cases, sign name differentiations were chosen as a stop-gap measure to keep some control of Uruk IV as opposed to Uruk III forms, remembering just the same that it is precisely the series of animal heads from the Fara signlist

127 This is also the major criticism of the reviewers cited below, n. 130.

128 The indexing of suspect signs was already underway at the time of publication of the signlist (see ATU 2, pp. 347-350). New sign forms are for the moment being assigned consecutive numbers following the last attested number in ATU 2, ZATU783. We have attempted to make this information available to interested scholars in two ways. In the first, all of our pertinent files current at the time of publication were included on diskette with the volume ATU 5; those relational files, in ASCII format but prepared for loading into a common data base program, included a complete catalogue of all archaic texts, a signlist and a text file with all transliterations, corrected (i.e., published) and uncorrected (unpublished; these latter transliterations, and thus the entries they bring into the project glossary, are unevenly collated, with a high reliability in those texts from European collections, and for obvious reasons a relatively lower reliability in those from the Iraq Museum). In the second, we are currently preparing for internet publication a data base with digitized images of all accessible tablets (photos or originals), published copies and individual sign forms linked to text transliterations and catalogue entries. The WWW address of this data base is "http:\\early-cuneiform.humnet.ucla.edu", with European mirror on the server of the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, Berlin.

which remains a major stumbling block in any attempt to write a paleography of cuneiform for the period 2500-2000 B.C.[129] Unnecessary differentiations can, moreover, be much more easily dismissed at a later date than necessary differentiations retroactively introduced.[130]

While compared with a logographic script such as classical Chinese with its 50,000-60,000 signs[131] the current archaic sign list appears rather modest, is should be noted that like the Chinese script our proto-cuneiform is a very productive writing system. The two best-known means of creating new signs in cuneiform are by graphically changing a discrete sign, and by forming sign combinations. Graphic changes of discrete signs include rotations (*tenû*, *inversum*, and in the Uruk IV period often mirror images[132]) and decorations with added strokes and dots (*gunû*, *šessig*[133]). Signs were, moreover, combined in a variety of ways, the most popular being the insertion of a qualifying sign into a free space offered by another sign. For instance, the majority of the long series of signs inscribed within the sign DUG_b representing a jar found in the lexical list "Vessels" (see figure 29 below) are nowhere else attested and might represent the paradigmatic 'fullness' felt in many lexical lists of the third millennium, resulting in such improbable designations as 'old calves' not because scribes considered this a reasonable entry, but because it satisfied an appetite for completeness and symmetry in the lists. Thus all commodities which one might have imagined within a pot were included, even if not practically feasible.

If the current sign list is cleansed of combinations and of those sign derivations which seem least likely to be meaningful, the number of ideograms remaining is just under 900, and there is little doubt that this will decrease even more with further work on the archaic texts. This total, while again comparable with those of both Falkenstein (ATU 1) and Green and Nissen (ATU 2), must be considered a more valid basis for judging the sign repertory of the archaic period, which at this complexity might still assume the role of a reduced logographic, and not an ideographic writing system.[134]

[129] Specifically, LAK 239-264.

[130] The need for these differentiations has been made clear in a number of reviews of ATU 2, including most forcefully those of D.O. Edzard, ZA 83 (1993) 136-141, M. Krebernik, OLZ 89 (1994) 380-385, and P. Steinkeller, BiOr 52 (1995) 689-713.

[131] V. Mair, "Modern Chinese Writing," in: P.T. Daniels and W. Bright (eds.), The World's Writing Systems (New York, Oxford 1996) 200, notes that dictionaries starting at the end of the 1st century A.D. went from ca. 9350 to 12,800 logograms in 400 A.D., to 26,900 in 753, to 33,200 in 1615. The most recent dictionary of single graphs lists about 60,000. At the same time, studies have shown that 90% of all text occurrences in China are covered by 1000 signs, 99% by 2400. Similarly, 625 of the 'extended' proto-cuneiform sign repertory of 1950 are attested just once, 239 twice, and 134 three times; this means that more than half of the listed graphs represent just 2.5% of the total sign occurrences of ca. 62,000 (ideograms and numerical signs).

[132] See fig. 22, signs EN, SANGA, and $MUŠ_3$.

[133] The addition of one or more impressions of the blunt end of a 'numerical' stylus might be included here, inexplicably called '+TAR' in ATU 2 (see, for example, fig. 22, sign GURUŠ, but also NUN).

[134] This judgment must await a better understanding of the functions of the signs, but we need to remember that the classical logography of Chinese reduces to just 500 discrete graphs in a myriad of combinations, and that Babylonian ideograms introduced in later periods were rarely new, but merely combinations of old elements.

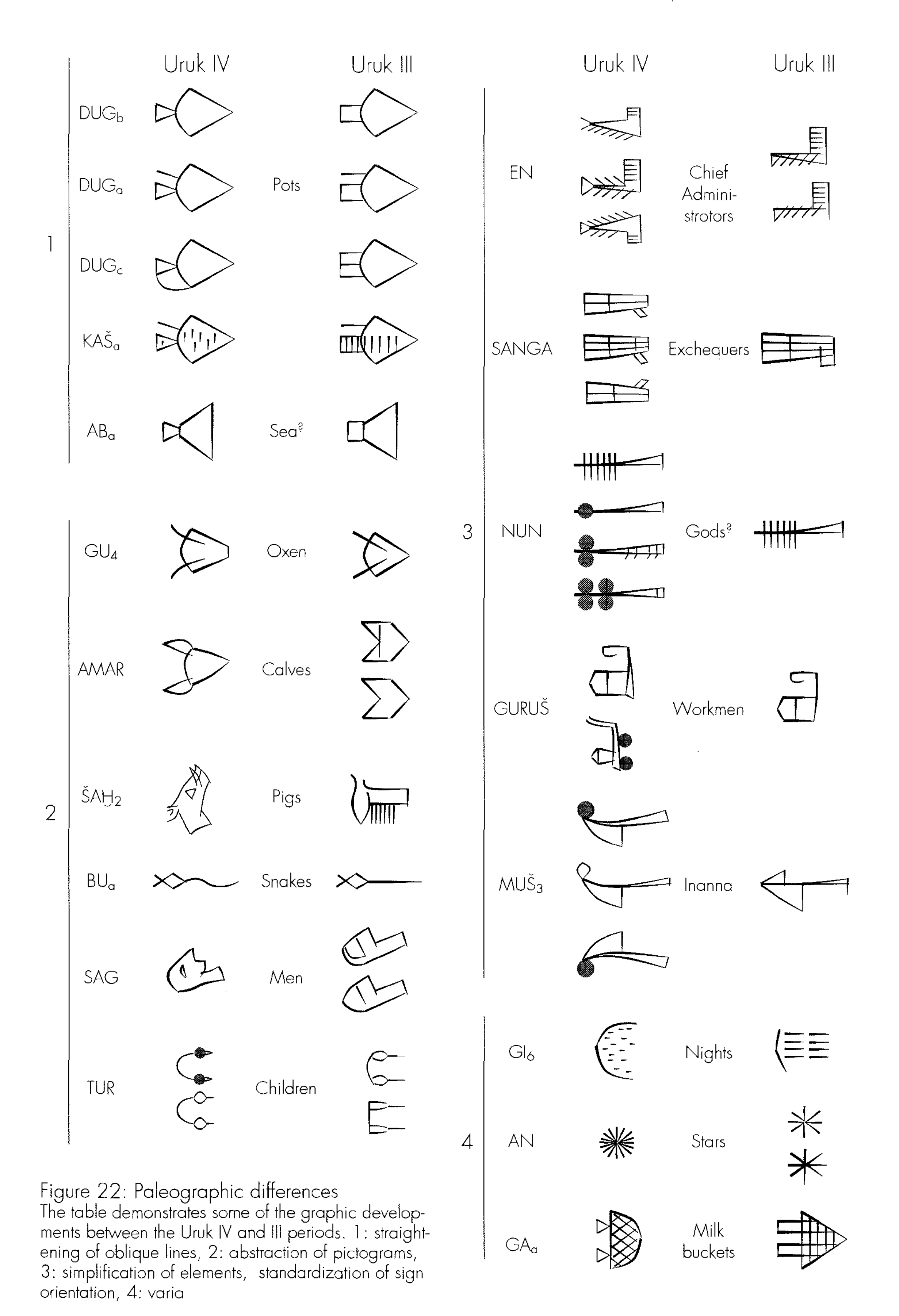


Figure 22: Paleographic differences
The table demonstrates some of the graphic developments between the Uruk IV and III periods. 1: straightening of oblique lines, 2: abstraction of pictograms, 3: simplification of elements, standardization of sign orientation, 4: varia

Counting signs might seem an effete exercise, yet we know that such efforts can tell us much about the purpose of the texts these signs appear in. The list presented below indicates those non-numerical signs of greatest frequency (from 1000 down to 100 attestations; translations are for the most part hypothetical) in the administrative text corpus dating to the periods Uruk IV-III, beginning with EN_a, which seems to represent the highest official in archaic administration.[135] This sign is attested more than twice as often as the next-most numerous sign, ŠE_a = 'barley'. The sign BA of about the same frequency as ŠE_a represents an administrative function, presumably 'distribution' or 'inspection'. AN and NUN_a are both likely designations of deities (possibly An and Enki, respectively; notice that MUŠ_{3a} = Inanna is quite low in this list!). The object designations with the highest frequency are, not unexpectedly, ŠE_a, followed by SAL = 'female slave', and UDU_a = 'small cattle'.

sign	meaning	frequency
EN_a	"chief administrator"	996
ŠE_a	"barley"	496
BA	"distribution"	495
AN	"An?"	485
NUN_a	"Enki?"	456
PAP_a	"overseer?"	409
SAL	"female slave"	388
GI	"delivery?"	368
SANGA_a	"accountant"	365
GAL_a	"large (person)"	353
E_{2a}	"household"	335
UDU_a	"small cattle"	330
ŠU	"hand, receipt"	298
U_4	"day"	286
TUG_{2a}	"bolt of cloth"	268
BAR	"?"	265
BU_a	"? (snake)"	265
ŠITA_{a1}	"an official"	252
A	"water"	250
AB_a	"large household"	242
ŠU_2	"cap?"	238
DU	"? (foot)"	237
PA_a	"supervisor?"	236
KI_a	"place"	229
SAG	"human"	224
ME_a	"a textile?"	223
GU_7	"ration"	220
MUŠ_{3a}	"Inanna?"	219
GAR	"grain ration"	212
NAM_2	"official qualification"	209
AB_2	"cow"	202
TUR	"small (person)"	197
DUG_c	"dairy oil jug"	196
IB_a	"household?"	195
UNUG_a	"Uruk"	190
NE_a	"red?"	186
SI	"? (horn)"	183
DUG_a	"beer jug"	181
ḪI	"egg?"	180
SUḪUR	"dried fish"	179
KU_{6a}	"fresh fish"	176
TE	"an official"	162
GA_a	"milk bucket"	155
ERIM_a	"prisoner?"	153
MA	"string (of fruit)"	151
KU_{3a}	"half measure of oil"	146
ZATU753	"?"	132
SU_a	"leather"	131
APIN_a	"plow"	115
MAŠ	"male kid"	115

[135] This is to be noted to the curious fact that EN is not listed in the lexical professions list Lu_2 A, for which see below, section 5. This might suggest that the term is a general designation of household administrators (compare below, section 5 [with n. 227-228], to ll. 14-22 of the lexical list UKKIN), or that the profession list merely included those members of the administration who answered to the EN.

GAN_2	"field"	114	ŠUBUR	"pig"	106
KUR_a	"male slave"	113	ZATU752	"seal?"	106
DA_a	"?"	111	$ŠE_3$	"dung?"	105
MUŠEN	"bird"	110	NI_a	"dairy oil container"	104
GU_4	"ox"	108	SIG_{2b}	"wool"	104

Another form of 'sign-crunching' which might have been used to derive statistics from the texts helpful in establishing statistically significant sign sequences is the frequency of signs in first and last position of isolated sign combinations, the frequency of signs in a 1-2 and 1-2-3 sequence, and so on. The same graphotactic characteristics of proto-cuneiform which make an identification of language elements difficult, however, also hamper a necessary further cleansing of variants. For although sign notations follow a strict sequence insofar as numerical and object designating signs are concerned, ideograms which represent persons and administrative functions are notoriously fluid in their case positioning. This phenomenon has been noted throughout the ED II and IIIa (Fara) periods; a standardized sign sequence reflecting spoken Sumerian seems first attested in the early pre-Sargonic Lagash period around 2500 B.C. Certain types of combinations do, nonetheless, seem to follow a prescribed sequence, at least in the Uruk III period. For instance, professional designations attested in the ED Lu_2 A list (see below, section 5, and figure 32) invariably exhibit the sequence NAM_2/GAL_a/EN_a+qualifier, whereas other lists suggest that qualifiers precede inanimate object designations.[136]

4.3. Characteristics of the script

The physical characteristics of proto-cuneiform signs have been discussed in earlier publications.[137] I have stated above my conviction that with few exceptions all proto-cuneiform signs are pictographic representations of real things. Such pictograms either took the form of a complete rendition of some object, or, using the method of *pars pro toto*, a part of an object, most often the head of an animal or human. It seems likely that with such pictograms as ŠU, 'hand', ideographic meanings are implied which would reflect actions related to the pictogram. The original meaning of the Sumerian composite verb šu–ti, 'hand–approach' will have had no more impact on its understanding by native speakers than the pedantic references in German middle schools to the literal meaning of *be-greifen* have on students today. Thus such administrative uses of ŠU in archaic accounts should be understood to represent actions of giving and receiving; a reduplication of the sign as a global qualification of an account in such texts as MSVO 1, 11 and 36, is even more suggestive of its ideographic use.

136 See , for example, the combinations with TUG_2 and GA'AR in the list "Vessels" below, fig. 29, and note the consistent sequences GAL_a + JAR and JAR + TUR in the text MSVO 3, 11, below fig. 76.

137 See still the admirable study of A. Falkenstein, ATU 1, 22-29. All general histories of writing have included descriptions of archaic signs, including recently M. Kuckenburg, Die Entstehung von Sprache und Schrift. Ein kulturgeschichtlicher Überblick (Cologne 1989); A. Robinson, The Story of Writing [...] (London 1995); P.T. Daniels and W. Bright (eds.), The World's Writing Systems (New York, Oxford 1996) (and see D.O. Edzard's contributions "(Die) Keilschrift" in: U. Hausmann [ed.], Allgemeine Grundlagen der Archäologie [...] [Munich 1969] 214-221, and in RlA 5 [Berlin 1976-80] 544-568).

Remembering that to achieve the original orientation of proto-cuneiform texts we would need to rotate all figures in this contribution 90 degrees clockwise, it is not difficult to find a strong tendency on the part of the scribes to achieve a symmetrical design through the vertical (conventionally, our horizontal) axis of most pictograms, including the abstracted numerical signs. This is not a fortuitous development but rather is grounded in cognitive experience of the world, and may have played a role in the entire process of abstraction which can be shown to have been at work between the Uruk IV and III periods in Uruk. The physical constraints on sign forms of writing on a clay surface using a carved stylus of wood or reed seem overemphasized, since we cannot say with certainty how scribes held either tablet or stylus. But is does seem likely that the natural tendency to increase the speed of writing in an administrative, and not a literary context, influenced the form of pictograms and gave archaic cuneiform the same 'flow' in the direction of writing – again, along a vertical axis – known from later cursive forms.[138] Thus a simple count of 'heads' and 'tails' of archaic wedges will show that those impressions drawn against the flow of writing in the Uruk IV period are dropped, and often replaced in favor of those drawn with the flow.[139]
Figure 22 attempts to demonstrate some of the common graphic elements evident in the Uruk IV period which in a process of abstracting and presumably more rapid writing were altered in the following script phase. These changes range from the most obvious of, in the interest of writing economy, straightening those oblique and curved strokes which better represented the form of pictographic referents, to simplifying physical elements in the heads of animals and humans, including deleting facial contouring and eliminating eyes. Gunification and cross-hatching can be standardized to a series of parallel strokes. For example, the impressed dots in the Uruk IV period sign KAŠ$_a$, probably borrowed from the numerical system used to qualify barley groats (below, figure 41), formed parallel lines in the Uruk III period sign (see figure 22:1). Cross-hatching in the Uruk IV period sign GA$_a$, representing the matting of reed baskets, was in the Uruk III period made to conform to a vertical/horizontal pattern (figure 22:4). Further, by the Uruk III period, sign orientation was so far standardized that variant orientations were no longer used, including, for instance, the mirrored forms of the signs EN and MUŠ$_3$. Attempts by Falkenstein and Nissen to assign, using less objective criteria, certain texts to paleographic subdivisions of the Uruk III period have by and large been unconvincing.[140]

[138] H.E. Brekle, "Konventionsbasierte Kriterien der Buchstabenstruktur am Beispiel der Entwicklung der kanaanäisch-phönizischen zur altgriechischen Schrift," Kodikas/Code Ars Semeiotica 10 (1987) 229-246, has emphasized the historical and cognitive importance of vertical symmetry in early alphabetic scripts. In "Some Thoughts on a Historico-Genetic Theory of the Lettershapes of our Alphabet," in: W.C. Watt (ed.), Writing Systems and Cognition [...], Neuropsychology and Cognition 6 (Dordrecht, Boston, London 1994) 129-139, the same author reminds us of the tendency of letters in the Phoenician-Greek-Roman line of script development to 'look' in the direction of writing, i.e., that the ideal letter consists of an initial vertical followed by one or two additions in the direction of writing.

[139] A. Falkenstein, ATU 1, p. 9 (with fig. 2).

[140] See ATU 2, 53-62, and Archaic Bookkeeping, 21-23 + figs. 24-25, with a division into Uruk III.3-1, reflecting, but not employing the archaeological subdivisions Uruk IIIc-a. The subdivisions were based on few texts and on a presumed mixing in those texts of sign forms from both phases Uruk IV and III.

4.4. The Sumerian question

It seems an inherently reasonable assumption that proto-cuneiform should have been invented and developed by Sumerian administrators. Despite the discontinuities obvious in the archaeological and epigraphic record of the third millennium, major architectural, artistic and administrative remains suggest that in fact a homogeneous culture reigned in southern Mesopotamia,[141] which was transmitted to the east, the north,[142] and, it seems, to the south.[143] The great preponderance of Sumerian readings of signs, both as logograms and as syllabograms in the writing of Semitic names in the Fara period, of entire Semitic texts beginning in the Old Sumerian period (Ebla), makes it appear that the cuneiform of this period was borrowed by East Semitic Akkadians from Sumerians and consequently that the Akkadians, as the second dominant cultural element in the Fara period, are not candidates to have been the inventors of proto-cuneiform.[144]

Attention should also be drawn to some few apparent elements in archaic orthography which may or may not have grammatical relevance. First, as an agglutinating language Sumerian also forms duratives and iteratives, as well as marks plurality of subject or object, by repetition of ideograms. There are some instances of this practice in archaic accounts, including a doubling of the signs ŠU and GI, both of which according to their position in

[141] This is most clear with respect to the major cultural diagnostics of the Late Uruk period, namely in the conception and realization of community buildings, in ceramic design and typology, in the production and administrative use of the cylinder seal, and in the exploitation of writing. Plans of temples and other monumental buildings show a progressive development beginning in the Ubaid period and continuing throughout the third millennium. The same applies for artistic representation in sculpture and relief, as well as in depictions on seals. Most important appears to be the continuous use of the same script as a general administrative tool, moreover of specific text formats, of specific numerical and metrological systems, and of specific signs and sign combinations as stable representative devices throughout this period of over a thousand years.

[142] Thus the long-lasting discussion of a 'Sumerian expansion' in the Late Uruk period. See, for example, G. Algaze, "The Uruk Expansion: Cross-cultural Exchange in Early Mesopotamian Civilization," Current Anthropology 30 (1989) 571-608; id., The Uruk World System: The Dynamics of Expansion of Early Mesopotamian Civilization (Chicago 1993); P. Michalowski, "Memory and Deed: The Historiography of the Political Expansion of the Akkad State," in: M. Liverani (ed.), Akkad, The First World Empire: Structure, Ideology, Traditions, HANE/S 5 (Padua 1993) 69-90, esp. 72.

[143] M. Tosi, "Early maritime cultures of the Arabian Gulf and the Indian Ocean," in: S. Al Khalifa and M. Rice (eds.), Bahrain through the ages: the Archaeology (London 1986) 103; H. Mynors, "An Examination of Mesopotamian Ceramics Using Petrographic and Neutron Activation Analysis," in: A. Aspinall and S. Warren (eds.), Proceedings of the 22nd Symposium on Archaeometry, School of Physics and Archaeological Sciences (Bradford 1983) 377-387.

[144] Note also that R.D. Biggs, OrNS 36 (1967) 55-66, refutes D.O. Edzard's suggestion, Genava n.s. 8 (1960) 243[10], that some names from the archaic texts from Ur, primarily of the so-called "Banana" type, can have been Semitic; they probably reflect a non-Semitic element in the population. See also the comments of I.M. Diakonoff, VDI 84/2 (1963) 168[8]. Given the high unreliability of ascribing Sumerian values to proto-cuneiform signs, P. Steinkeller's proposed Akkadian interpretations of the sign combinations MAŠ.GAN$_2$ (for *maškanu*; this was also the feeling of M.W. Green, who included this sign combination as a ligatur in the signlist ATU 2) and BA.DAR (for *patarru*; disregarding the speculation concerning E$_2$.DUR$_2$ for e$_2$.d u r u$_5$, of possible Semitic etymology) in BiOr 52 (1995) 695, can, based on the context of the available administrative attestations (BA.DAR is, in fact, only found on the ED I Blau tablet OIP 104, no. 11), be disregarded – a simple sorting program would generate hundreds of equally probable Akkadian readings.

texts and to their later cuneiform tradition would seem to represent administrative functions, and specifically probably verbal actions. The counterpart to GI mentioned above, BA, however, is never reduplicated in administrative context.

A certain Sumerian bias might explain the early identification of a presumed example of Sumerian multivalency in the archaic script by the Assyriologist and Archaeologist S. Langdon.[145] As excavator and epigraphist of the first large group of archaic texts unearthed in Mesopotamia, those found at the northern mound of Jemdet Nasr, Langdon isolated among the many apparent personal designations of the Jemdet Nasr texts the sign combinations EN E_2 TI, which he analyzed as a common Sumerian form (^{d})En.lil$_2$.ti, 'May Enlil give life'. This personal designation would share two characteristics with Sumerian prosopographical practice. In the first place, the name would exhibit devotion to members of the Sumerian pantheon, in which the god Enlil played the leading role. In the second, it would exhibit the feature that many Sumerian names consist of sentences with subject and predicate, or of other recognizably grammatical elements.[146] A correct analysis En.lil$_2$.ti would, moreover, provide us with clear evidence for the multivalent use of the sign ARROW in proto-cuneiform,[147] namely, in that the word for 'arrow' should be a homophone of the word for 'life', 'to live'. As has been noted to distraction, this homophone construction is known only in the Sumerian language.

A closer look at the combination EN E_2 TI, however, makes this analysis of the name unclear, if not improbable. Of the ca. 50 attestations of the sign, TI is found in no other case in the archaic corpus together with a presumable divine name and in only one case of a tablet from Uruk together with EN E_2 (W 17729,ee rev. i 3b).[148] This posited divine name

[145] Langdon was, in fact, so fixated on the Sumerian origins of Mesopotamian culture as to venture in "A New Factor in the Problem of Sumerian Origins," JRAS 1931, 593-596, that planoconvex builders [of the Early Dynastic I period] were a "recrudescence of the culturally retrograde indigenous inhabitants of South Mesopotamia," although, to the contrary, planoconvex bricks may have been the earliest contribution of Sumerians to Mesopotamia!

[146] See the introduction to H. Limet, L'Anthroponymie sumérienne [...] (Paris 1968) 61-112, and more recently W. Heimpel, "Sumerische und akkadische Personennamen in Sumer und Akkad," AfO 25 (1974-77) 171-174, and R.A. di Vito, Studies in Third Millennium Sumerian and Akkadian Personal Names, StPohl SM 16 (Rome 1993) 18-122.

[147] The sign itself is a pictogram of an arrow and a bow. This would more precisely be called a paronomastic use of pictographs, since multivalency is defined as the use of a graph paronomastically and parasemantically (the same graph represents variable, phonetically distinct words). Only after a growing ambiguity – resulting from increased multivalency – has led to confusion will the use of semantic and phonetic 'determinatives' be introduced, as these are posited for the archaic writing system by some scholars (see below, n. 158).

[148] A.A. Vajman, "Die Zeichen É und LÍL in den proto-sumerischen Texten aus Djemdet Nasr," BaM 21 (1990) 114-115 (translation of the article which appeared in Peredneaziatskij sbornik 1979/3, 57-59), thus analyzed the combination EN E_2 TI either as e_2 en.ti, "house of the god Enti," or as e_2 ebiḫ, "house of Ebikh". The hypothetical divinity En.ti could be analyzed as 'Lord (Bow and) Arrow' or as 'Lord Life', dependent on the proclivity of the philologist concerned. Some support of this interpretation may be derived from a comparison of in particular entries AB_a EN_a.TI_a in the Uruk III period text W 14355 obv. i 3 and $E_{2a/b}$ EN_a.TI_a in Uruk III period texts from Uruk (W 17729,ee rev. i 3b) and from Jemdet Nasr and elsewhere (for example, MSVO 1, 196 obv. i 2, 212 rev. i 3a, 4a, and MSVO 4, 13 obv. ii 2, 36 obv. iii 6). Both AB_a (later reading eš$_3$) and E_2 represented households nominally headed by gods. Ebikh was a settlement in the northern Diyala region, thus probably in at least commercial contact with the region

EN E_2 is on the other hand represented in about 30 archaic attestations, however only in texts from the northern settlement of Jemdet Nasr together with TI.[149]

MSVO 1, 196 obv. i 2 $1N_1$; EN_a E_{2a} TI_a
MSVO 1, 212 obv. ii 1a $1N_1$; ⸢KUR_a EN_a TI_a E_{2a}⸣
MSVO 1, 212 rev. i 3a $1N_2$; E_{2a} EN_a TI_a
MSVO 1, 212 rev. i 4a $1N_2$; SAL E_{2a} TI_a EN_a
MSVO 1, 213 obv. ii 2a $1N_2$; SAL+KUR_a E_{2a} EN_a TI_a
MSVO 1, 213 obv. ii 3a $1N_2$; SAL+KUR_a EN_a TI_a E_{2a}
MSVO 1, 213 obv. ii 4a $1N_2$; SAL+KUR_a EN_a E_{2a} TI_a
MSVO 4, 13 obv. ii 1 ; E_{2b} EN_a TI_a
MSVO 4, 36 obv. iii 6 $1N_1$; EN_a E_{2b} TI_a[150]

While it may be that EN E_2 represents something other than the expected 'administrator of the household', its ascription to the god Enlil would appear to be excluded by the only clear lexical attestation of the sign combination. The Uruk III period text W 21126, the only witness containing the initial lines of the archaic city list (fig. 24 below),[151] attests in its

around Jemdet Nasr. The presumable Jemdet Nasr geographical list MSVO 1, 243 (tablet purchased by the trustees of the British Museum in 1924 from the Parisian dealer J.E. Géjou; see MSVO 1, p. 7) contains obv. iii 4 an apparent reference to this settlement with the entry A.A EN.TI, and the Uruk IV period administrative text W 9579,ao obv. i 1 contains the entry $1N_{14}$; PAP_a TI_a ⸢EN_a IDIGNA GAL_a $UNUG_a$⸣ with a possible association between EN.TI and the Tigris IDIGNA. Note the presumable attestation of the same place-name in the Abu Salabikh list OIP 99, 39-43 (see 39 vi 4 // 43 vi 5).

[149] Note that the text MSVO 1, 213, represents a copy of a section of 212, thus reducing the number of real attestations in Jemdet Nasr to four. It is not clear to me whether the use in the two MSVO 4 texts of the b-variant of the sign E_2 in this sign combination reflects a scribal or regional variation. See the following footnote.

[150] MSVO 4, 13 and 36, certainly the latter and probably both deriving from Uqair excavations, write the combination with the variant form E_{2b} (more than two horizontal strokes inscribed in the sign). The case before obv. iii 6 of the latter text contains the notation $1N_1$; EN_a $DARA_{4a}$ TI_a; the sign $DARA_{4a}$, parallel to E_{2b}, was used to qualify oxen/bulls and calves in the lexical list of domesticated animals and is believed to represent a color designation. See J. Krecher, "Eine unorthographische sumerische Wortliste aus Ebla," OrAnt 22 (1983) 179-189, esp. 184-185, and note the combinations $dara_4$ ti ab_2 in line 14 of the composition, understood by Krecher as "cow with dark(colored) rib (area)".

[151] The text was first discussed in M.W. Green, "A Note on an Archaic Period Geographical List from Warka," JNES 36 (1977) 293-294, with a reading – based on excavation photographs – of the second entry of EN E_2; this reading formed the basis of H.J. Nissen's short discussion of the sign combinations EN E_2/KID in "Ortsnamen in den archaischen Texten aus Uruk," OrNS 54 (1985) 228. My subsequent collation of the tablet in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad, (JESHO 31 [1988] 131-132[9], and see R.J. Matthews, MSVO 2, 34-40, and R.K. Englund and H.J. Nissen, ATU 3, 34-35, 145), showed that the second entry consisted of the signs EN KID_a. This correction is to be noted to the recent comments of Th. Jacobsen, "The lil_2 of ^{d}En-lil_2," FS Sjöberg, 267-276, to whose paleographical table on p. 267 the archaic form of KID_a may be appended (note that the variant KID_b should represent some type of comestible, in particular as attested in the Jemdet Nasr texts, for which see R.K. Englund and J.-P. Grégoire, MSVO 1 s.v.; P. Steinkeller's discussion of this matter in BiOr 52 [1995] 700, is uninstructive). Jacobsen in this article (p. 270, citing the early opinion of A. Deimel, Pantheon 356.Ib) incidentally analyzes the name Enlil again as 'Lord wind', against current opinion that the name represents a popular Sumerian etymology of a substrate name Ellil/Illil, whence the Akkadian *ellilu*, *ellilūtu*, derived (Jacobsen presumes an assimilation of n and l took place). Note finally that as Matthews has already stated in MSVO 2, 34, the element KID_a was in the Jemdet Nasr city seal impression replaced by the sign NUN, and that the reading of Enlil in an

second case the sign combination representing the city Nippur, which according to later tradition was written with the same signs as those representing the tutelary god of that city, Enlil.[152] In this and in one other probable lexical text dealing with apparent geographical designations,[153] the second element of the sign combination was not E_{2a} but KID_a, that is, the same sign which in its later Early Dynastic form was reserved for the position of /lil/ in the writing of the consort of Enlil in the Sumerian pantheon, Ninlil.[154]

A review of the attestations of this sign combination in the archaic text corpus exhibits its consistent usage in colophons and summations in a position which would make sense if it represented a geographical designation; it is attested only in texts from the northern settlement of Jemdet Nasr, and in these cases together with apparent designations of high officials, including a PA_a KALAM ('overseer of the land' ?; MSVO 1, 94 rev. i 1b1), a $SANGA_a$ ('exchequer' ?; MSVO 1, 185 obv. i 4), and an EN_a ('chief administrator', corresponding to the head of administration EN_a of Jemdet Nasr, for which see below, section 6.3.5; MSVO 1, 107).[155]

These considerations lead me to believe that the combination EN_a E_{2a} TI_a should provisionally be left untranslated; considering that the designation seems to be of an official who stands in some relationship to counted slaves in Jemdet Nasr texts, and that the pictogram TI represented a counted object registered also in baskets and, at least in proto-Elamite texts, in very large numbers, it would not be unreasonable to anticipate a meaning 'household of the bows and arrows', 'armory' of the term.

Another candidate which might represent a Sumerian rebus writing in the archaic corpus is the sign GI. A.A. Vajman first drew attention to the fact that the sign GI was found often in archaic texts in a context which excluded its interpretation as a representation of a reed stalk,[156] but rather in which the sign must represent an administrative action concerned with

apparently cryptographic orthography from the Fara period was UD.GAL.NUN, with UD = AN/dingir, GAL = EN, and NUN = e_2/lil_2 and, in the writing of Ninlil, KID (M. Krebernik, Die Beschwörungen aus Fara und Ebla [...], TSO 2 [Hildesheim, Zürich, New York 1984] 279). Whether the value /lil/ of KID, adduced by R.D. Biggs, OIP 99 (1974) 111[3] (and see Jacobsen, op.cit., p. 267[1]) for the Ur III period also obtains for the Early Dynastic texts is unclear.

152 This list of city designations was copied into the Old Babylonian period, attested by the text UET 7, 80, from Ur, transliterated in MSL 11, 62 (the reverse face of the tablet contains a list of gods). Of the three Early Dynastic witnesses of the same list, SF 23 and OIP 99, 21-22, the first text is damaged and commences with the 5th line of the city list, the latter two – both from Abu Salabikh – preserve only the sign E_2 of the second entry, suggesting that the city name was misrepresented or reinterpreted during the preceding, ED I period.

153 The text W 20921, an unidentified list with entries containing for the most part the sign EN_a together with other signs or sign combinations; obv. i 5 consists of the entry EN_a KID_a, and is followed by an entry reading EN_a $ŠURUPPAK_a$. This latter entry would seem to indicate an interpretation of EN_a in the preceding entry as a separate logogram – and of KID_a as a place name – and may serve as a warning to remain suspicious of all readings of archaic sign combinations based on later tradition.

154 The sign E_2/lil_2 was in this period found in the writings of En.lil_2 and Nippur (EN.LIL_2^{ki}). See R.D. Biggs, JCS 20 (1966) 84[85], and OIP 99 (1974) 111[3], and Th. Jacobsen, FS Sjöberg, 267-276.

155 See also MSVO 1, 95 rev. ii 1, with a possible time notation ($3N_{57}$ SU_a GIBIL) and a notation representing a chief cook (ENGIZ ŠAGAN) (this text was discussed by the author in J. Høyrup and P. Damerow [eds.], Changing Views on Ancient Near Eastern Mathematics [Berlin, forthcoming]), and MSVO 1, 115 rev. ii 1, with EN_a KID_a in similar context.

156 "Über die protosumerische Schrift," ActAntH 22 (1974) 16.

the control of goods and agricultural land. The natural choice of interpretation would seem to be that GI = /gi/ and thus the homophone of the Sumerian administrative term gi_4, 'to (cause to) return'. It is, however, difficult to explain the qualification with GI and BA of two quantities which are subsumed in a common total, since a Sumerian identification of BA as 'distribute' would result in the consolidation of entries qualified 'income' and 'expenditures'. Moreover, GI and BA can qualify parcels of land in archaic accounts, suggesting that both interpretations may need to be revised. Other attempts to identify within the proto-cuneiform sign repertory phonetic elements,[157] in particular phonetic indicators (signs added to indicate one reading of an ideogram which presumably had several) derived from Sumerian have, in the aggregate, been unsuccessful.[158]

A sophisticated attempt to locate Sumerian in archaic Mesopotamia derived from an analysis of ancient numerical systems. In 1972, M. Powell first stated his conviction that since the

[157] J. v. Dijk, "Ein spätaltbabylonischer Katalog einer Sammlung sumerischer Briefe," OrNS 58 (1989) 446, suggests a reading pa:nam$_2$:su$_x$/sa$_3$, interpreted further as nam$_2$-su$_x$-pa = nam sipa(d), of the professional designation PA.NAM$_2$.RAD/ZA known in the herding texts edited by M.W. Green "Animal Husbandry at Uruk in the Archaic Period," JNES 39 (1980) 1–35, to qualify a person responsible for accounted animals. su$_x$ is believed to be a plausible Sumerian reading of the sign RAD (derived from sud$_2$), variant sa$_3$ (ZA). ZA is however a different sign (NUNUZ, ZA$_7$), the author meant "A", a simplified form of RAD. PA is likely the designation of the administrative function of the persons involved, NAM$_2$.RAD the designation of their charges.

[158] M.W. Green suggested in ATU 2, p. 174, that the sign MA together with the sign DARA$_3$ or PIRIG represented a Sumerian phonetic determinative. Aside from the fact that 'MA' is only secondarily a Sumerian value of the sign (reading peš$_3$, a type of fruit; a meaning of 'ma' is not known), we have good reason to believe that MA represented a noose with which the animals DARA$_3$ or PIRIG were led into captivity. The same use of MA (the sign seems pictographically to represent the cord on which fruits were dried) is found in the sign SAG+MA found in only one Uruk text, but in a number of Jemdet Nasr accounts (MSVO 1, 212-217). Whether the sign NA attached to URI$_3$ represents the Sumerian moon god NANNA (p. 252, NA simplified to KI in later tradition) is provisional on an understanding of the meaning of the sign NA. M. Krebernik in OLZ 89 (1994) 383-384, and P. Steinkeller in BiOr 52 (1995) 694-695, have listed a number of other possible phonetic usages of proto-cuneiform signs which would indicate a spoken Sumerian at the time of earliest script development. Unfortunately, the context and continuity of application of the signs cited by both have not been sufficiently documented to lead to any firm conclusions about their phonetic realizations. The reading of /am/ for AN, as a presumable phonetic indicator of the sign AMA, is itself a construct of grammarians of Old Sumerian texts, and we cannot say whether this sign meant 'mother' in the archaic texts (nothing speaks for this interpretation, and only the form AMA$_b$ [GIŠ+AN] survives into the ED I texts from Ur), or whether, for instance, the sign AN was rather a semantic determinative. The same weakness applies to the sign MEN consisting of EN written within GA$_2$; here, we should expect that if EN was a phonetic indicator, the sign MEN should have had a reading which at least contained the full form of EN, namely /emen/, since over-full phoneticisms are unlikely (cp. J. Bauer, AfO 36-37 [1989-90] 78) and neither the reading emen of MEN, nor men of EN, is attested. Of the long list of 'certain or fairly certain' phonetic indicators given by Steinkeller, loc.cit., only NA in NANNA and ZA in AZ are not evidently ad hoc. Neither, however, would make a case for Sumerian writings in the archaic period (if I correctly understand such statements as "the fact that this sign [EŠGAR] appears to be a logogram for "female kid" is not sufficient grounds for assigning to it a phonetic value ..." in BiOr 52 [1995] 700 to no. 149 [and compare p. 701 to no. 184; LAK 490 is indeed related to ga.AR$_3$!], Steinkeller believes the majority of the Sumerian values ascribed by Green to the proto-cuneiform sign repertory in ATU 2 are proven). I have indicated above (n. 147) that the use of semantic and phonetic indicators should follow on a lengthy development of multivalency. It may be noted in passing that a homophonous relationship appears to exist between the signs ZI and SI$_4$ in ATU 5, pl. 35, W 9123,a1.

sexagesimal system of counting was found amply documented in the earliest texts from Mesopotamia, and since this numerical system was only known in Sumerian texts and documented as Sumerian-bound in lexical attestations of number words, the archaic script must have been invented by Sumerian-speaking scribes.[159] This theory seems disclaimed both by the historical facts and by Sumerian numeracy. On the one hand, it is more likely that the Sumerian number word series originated in the inscribed sexagesimal system rather than the other way around;[160] on the other, there is greater evidence for a vigesimal rather than a sexagesimal basis to those Sumerian number words attested in the third millennium.[161]
The strength of the assumption that Sumerians developed proto-cuneiform and that the script was used to write texts in Sumerian[162] seems so imbedded that it even hampers discussions of the inadequacy of cuneiform in representing the phonetic structure of Sumerian words. Both C.P. Boisson[163] and, following him, M. Schretter[164], have in recent publications

[159] ZA 62 (1972), 172.

[160] See P. Damerow and R.K. Englund, ATU 2, 150[22]. The attestations of Sumerian number words of the series of multiples of 60, that is, of 2×60 = $geš_2$.min, 3×60 = $geš_2$.eš, and so on, of 10×60 = geš'u, and of 60×60 = $šar_2$, are with the exception of attestations of the last sign, derived not from third millennium, but rather from first millennium scholastic texts, that is, from texts post-dating the end of the spoken Sumerian by some 1500 years. Such paradigmatic word lists need not be unreliable, given the extremely conservative lexical tradition in Mesopotamia, but the – understandable – lack of phonetic representations of numbers from periods of spoken Sumerian must serve as a warning to judge later representations with some skepticism. Even if the late lexical tradition were to present a true reflection of Sumerian number words, these would not in and of themselves offer any more than passing support of the Sumerian involvement in the invention of proto-cuneiform, since the attested word sequences could equally have arisen from the borrowing of the sexagesimal system from a precursor culture and the simple assigning of a descriptive terminology to these signs.

[161] As Powell and others have stated, the rather well attested Sumerian number word sequence below 60 exhibits a vigesimal structure, in which u = '10', niš = '20', ušu = 30 (ušu possibly derived from niš+u, 'twenty + ten', with loss of initial n and vowel harmony of a short i with a long u; first proposed by A.P. Riftin in 1927, for which see I.M. Diakonoff, "Some Reflections on Numerals in Sumerian […]," JAOS 103 [1983] 85+22), nimin = 40 (*niš.min, 'two twenties'), ninnu = 50 (*niš.min.u, 'two twenties, ten'), $geš_2$ = 60 (possibly derived from niš+eš, 'three twenties', with haplological reduction; this term, incidentally, may have been an early 'infinity' in Sumerian, since it would at the same time stand for 'many twenties', the number word eš, 'three', being a plural marker of this language. M.A. Powell, Visible Language 6 [1972] 17-18[8] has noted, however, the following complications in this identification: 1) a syncope of /š/ is poorly attested in Sumerian orthography, and 2) lexical attestations of the number word for 20 write NI-iš, and NI is never used for the /ñ/ phoneme [some grammarians do believe NI might be a nasalized vocalic /i/]; note further that it would be difficult in the proposed etymology to explain the /št/ Auslaut of the word for 60, most recently discussed by P. Steinkeller, "Alleged GUR.DA = ugula-géš-da and the Reading of the Sumerian Numeral 60," ZA 69 [1979] 176-187). This vigesimal structure seems, however, entirely missing in the numerical system, in which, for instance, the quantity '20' is not represented by an independent sign, but rather by the simple addition of two signs, each representing '10'.

[162] See also A. Falkenstein ATU 1, 37-43, and F.R. Kraus, Sumerer und Akkader […] (Amsterdam 1970) 55. A. Cavigneaux, "L'écriture et la réflexion linguistique en Mésopotamie," in: Auroux, S., Mordoga, P. (eds.), Histoire des Idées Linguistiques. Vol. I: La naissance des métalangages en Orient et en Occident (Liège-Brussels 1989) 100, identifies a "good argument for attributing to Sumerian the edition of texts for the period immediately following [Uruk IV] (called Uruk III or Jemdet Nasr, circa -3000): because they contain lists of words which are *without doubt* Sumerian, …" [my translation, my emphasis].

[163] "Contraintes typologiques sur le système phonologique du Sumérien," Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris 84 (1989) 201-233; "Topics in Sumerian Phonology," unpublished manuscript from 1991 cited by M. Schretter (see the following footnote).

[164] "Sumerische Phonologie: Zu Konsonantenverbindungen und Silbenstruktur," Acta Orientalia 54 (1993) 7-30.

underscored the difficult phonological situation with respect to the graphic realization of possible consonant clusters in initial or final position in Sumerian words.[165]

We have mentioned above the major factors complicating the determination of a possible substrate language in the archaic texts, be that Sumerian or some other language, namely, that bookkeeping is not language oriented, and that there appears to be no adherence to a language-bound sign sequence. Yet this apparent laxness can be demonstrated only to a certain extent. Number sign sequences within discrete notations are, as might be expected, very rigid and so follow a defined numerical 'syntax'. Within text entries, moreover, the position of numerical notations relative to ideographic notations is fairly rigid. The remaining ideograms are presumed to represent proper nouns, above all personal designations (names and professions) and place names on the one hand, and administrative functions, for instance GU_7 = 'rations', on the other. The need to represent personal names, and the known pattern of grammatical syntax within Sumerian names, would seem to invest these isolatable sign combinations with particular importance. Such texts as W 23999,1 and W 20274,2 in figure 65 below, as well as the series of texts MSVO 1, 212-214, present us with incontestable lists of personal designations, and yet the sign combinations in those text entries appear to be incompatible with Sumerian syntax and lexicon, regardless of the sign sequences chosen.

It may seem improbable that a script comprising close to 900 discrete signs, used in a highly eclectic fashion, should not have included elements of multivalency comparable to those found in early Chinese and Mayan, but more importantly in the approximately contemporaneous documentation from Egypt.[166] Candidates for a determination of a Sumerian

[165] Instead of considering the reasonable possibility that proto-cuneiform might have been borrowed and not developed by Sumerians, a hypothesis which would more simply explain the many incongruities found in the representation of their language through the use of that writing system, however, Schretter writes that "Boisson counters one possible argument against the assumption of consonant clusters in Sumerian, namely that cuneiform was developed for Sumerian and so must have been fitted to the language, with the case of the Luvian syllabic script, and indicates further that the Sumerian vowels are certainly inadequately represented ...". Such clusters are in current grammars considered anathema to Sumerian phonology, a view based, however, largely on a non-critical analysis of a lexical tradition founded in Old Babylonian Nippur scholasticism. M. Civil has often, for example, in "Studies on Early Dynastic Lexicography," OrAnt 21 (1982) 10 (discussing /lgudr/; see also his important survey of the presumed Sumerian syllabary in "From Enki's Headaches to Phonology," JNES 32 [1973] 57-61, and "The Sumerian Writing System: Some Problems," OrNS 42 [1973] 21-34), emphasized the very preliminary nature of our understanding of Sumerian phonology. See also G.J. Selz, ASJ 17 (1995) 255[13], to /dri/ etc., who presents further evidence for consonant clusters in initial and final position in Sumerian (and cp. id., OLZ 87 [1992] 140[10]; M. Yoshikawa, BiOr 45 [1988] 501; J.A. Black, RA 84 [1990] 107-118).

[166] The inscribed labels found in tombs in the Nile delta settlement of Abydos and recently edited by G. Dreyer, Umm el-Qaab I: Das prädynastische Königsgrab U-j und seine frühen Schriftzeugnisse, AV 86, (forthcoming), demonstrate the already developed nature of this script. The finds have been dated to a period of from 3350-3100 B.C., roughly corresponding to the Late Uruk period IVb-a in Mesopotamia. I find the presumption of Dreyer and others of the multivalent nature of this script convincing, yet I must draw attention to a possible chronological connection to Late Uruk developments. It has been shown that many of the products tagged by these labels were imports from Palestine and Syria, of which at least parts were in this period influenced by trade and possibly colonial contacts with southern Babylonia. Among the cultural elements brought into Syria during the Late Uruk period were both sealed clay envelopes and numerical tablets, indisputable administrative tools serving as precursors of writing in Mesopotamia. Such so-called 'bills of lading' will have been understood and exploited by native Syrian traders, who in turn may have been the source of some of the exports into Egypt.

component in the earliest inscriptions must be characterized as imposing. There is no need to burden the comparatively well understood Sumerian syllabary of the latter 3rd millennium to build a list of sign combinations from the archaic material amenable to multivalent analysis. Texts from succeeding settlement periods in southern Mesopotamia dated to before the inception of the Old Sumerian period of pre-Sargonic Lagash, during which a grammatically, syntactically and phonetically developed Sumerian was written, contain ample evidence of the use of cuneiform to write Sumerian.

The Fara period dates some three to four hundred years after the collapse in southern Babylonia of Uruk III. Texts from this period excavated primarily in Fara, ancient Shuruppak, and in Abu Salabikh, exhibit the homophonic use of Sumerian words in personal names and as grammatical elements in verbal forms.[167] The most obvious example of the latter phenomenon is the use of the sign MU, Sumerian /mu/, "name", to denote a prefix mu- in finite verbs, for example, the sign combination MU DU, literally "NAME FOOT", can be demonstrated to represent the verbal chain mu.ĝen, "I went". The sign GA, Sumerian /ga/, "milk (container)", to cite another example, is found often in Fara period texts together with the sign KA, "mouth"; the combination must be understood as the verbal form du_{11}.ga, in which the latter phonetic element represents the syllable-final consonant of the verb du_{11}(g), "to speak", combined with the independent element with nominalizing force, that is, /dug/ + /a/, "the spoken (thing)". Such writings prove the use of the early script to write Sumerian both from a phonetic as well as from a grammatical standpoint.[168]

A consideration of some readings of signs, finally, could present alternative, but very obscure candidates for the language behind the archaic texts. Doubtless most Sumerologists have paused at such readings as /bi/ of the sign KAŠ and any number of other readings noted in the course of sign 'acculturation'. If it is unlikely that such readings reflect entirely arbitrary decisions of early scribes or scribal schools, then /bi/ should represent some object or actions related to the production of beer (Sumerian kas/š). The most plausible explanation would seem to be that such readings represent loans from an unknown language; put another way, bi might be the word for beer in archaic Uruk. In the same vein, we might wonder why Sumerian 'foot' is written with the sign $giri_3$, a pictogram of an equid, and not with du, the pictogram of a foot. One possibility: /giri/ or /gri/ might be the name of an animal in a lost language, and its pictographic representation was chosen as a rebus by ED Sumerian intruders.[169]

[167] See the early treatment of the verbal forms from Fara by R. Jestin, Tablettes sumériennes de Šuruppak [...] (Paris 1937) 9-14, and the current review by M. Krebernik in this volume.

[168] In fact the period succeeding the Uruk III period after an apparent gap of some 200 years, represented epigraphically by texts on tablets found both in Uruk and, in much larger numbers, in archaic levels of Ur, seems to contain substantial numbers of sign combinations which can be so interpreted. See preliminarily R.A. di Vito, Studies in Third Millennium Sumerian and Akkadian Personal Names [...], StPohl SM 16 (Rome 1993) 23-24, and add such examples as MES.PA_3.DA (UET 2, p. 35, no. 529, // UM.PA_3.DA), MES.KUR.RA (p. 38, no. 710, sub UM.KUR.RA). I have profitably discussed the ED I texts with K. Abrahamson in Berlin.

[169] Such writings as ab.sin_2, 'furrow', might represent 'deep loans' into Sumerian from a consonantally inflected archaic language, whose word for plow was 'apin', as has been suggested elsewhere (B. Landsberger, "The Beginnings of Civilization in Mesopotamia," in Three Essays on the Sumerians, SANE 1/2 [Los Angeles 1974] 10).

While these explanations might appear all too *ad hoc,* there are a number of concrete examples from the archaic texts of signs whose pictographic referents cannot have represented the objects they denote, and so might present us with evidence for a vocabulary of the language 'Archaic'.[170] The sign AB in its Uruk IV form (figure 22) can scarcely represent a temple built on a high terrace; rather its graphic form seems more easily connected to the Sumerian referent of AB, 'sea', perhaps the depiction of the Persian gulf and the large swamp of southern Babylonia. However, the Jemdet Nasr texts[171] give very strong evidence for interpreting the sign to represent a (temple) household, consonant with the reading /eš/ of the sign and thus explaining the confused identification of the pictogram. Again, the archaic sign GURUŠ is a clear depiction of a sled, and appears in the Uruk IV period pictographically supported by apparent wheels or at least logs. Yet the large cereal field account MSVO 1, 1 (below, figure 87) places this sign in clear context together with SAL, 'female slave', such that its interpretation as 'male slave'[172] seems binding, consonant with the reading /guruš/ of the sign. I would suggest that /eš/ and /guruš/ or /gruš/ were homophonic words for 'sea' and 'household', and for 'sled' and 'worker', respectively, in the posited language 'Archaic', and that the rebus use of the signs (eš/household, guruš/ worker) was borrowed into later Sumerian. Accordingly, it would be reasonable to assume that, since only in the ED I texts (of the SIS 4-8 levels in Ur, with some further texts from Uruk and other sites) do we find apparent evidence of Sumerian phonetic determinatives, and there at once in some numbers, the Sumerians entered the southern alluvium shortly before the period represented by those levels, bringing with them the diagnostic planoconvex brick.[173]

[170] In avoidance of the term 'proto-Euphratic', which B. Landsberger coined to describe an important substrate language in existence prior to the invention of writing by Sumerians (Three Essays on the Sumerians, SANE 1/2, 9-12). Another straightforward element which should enter considerations of alternative choices in language decipherment of the archaic texts is graphotactics in those sources which offer an apparently static sequence of two or more signs. For instance, lexical lists discussed below, section 5, include entries of objects qualified in various ways. As a rule, when signs representing objects and attributes (colors, origins, forms, etc.) are clear, the attributive sign precedes the noun (see below, n. 349-350, for some examples), in contrast to the sequence noun – attribute in Sumerian. While this may be orthographic convention, the regularity of the sign sequence, which by the way also contradicts that of the proto-Elamite texts (see P. Damerow and R.K. Englund, Tepe Yahya, pp. 13-15 with fig. 7), is striking, and may be language-bound.

[171] See MSVO 1, 26, 79, etc., and the attestations together with NI_a+RU (compare the examples MSVO 1, 108, below, fig. 79, and MSVO 1, 2, fig. 83), which I have posited might represent the ancient name of that settlement.

[172] And so parallel to KUR_a; see below, section 6.3.3.

[173] J. Høyrup's understanding of Sumerian as a Creole type language would be consonant with this view. See his "Sumerian: the descendant of a proto-historical creole? An alternative approach to the "Sumerian Problem"," Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli: Annali del Seminario di studi del mundo classico, Sezione linguistica 14 (1992) 21-72.

Approximately 670 of the 5820 archaic texts and text fragments unearthed in Babylonia share specific features identifying them as lexical lists.[174] Such lists are above all recognizable by the strict and simple format of separate cases arranged into text columns; each case contains an inscribed notation consisting of a sign or sign combination preceded by the numerical sign which represents the basic unit in the sexagesimal system (i.e., the sign [175] according to the signlist ATU 2 = N_1),[176] in contrast to the great majority of administrative texts, whose individual entries contain, as a rule, numerical notations representing varying quantities of goods or measures. Further, the texts we identify as lists contain entries which with few exceptions follow a standard sequence such that copies of the same text can be compared and fitted together to form so-called scores (German *Partitur*). Finally, these texts from Uruk are merely the earliest witnesses of a very long scholarly tradition of copying lexical lists, apparently as part of the school curriculum of scribes. Their slavish adherence to tradition was of great importance for the reconstruction of the Uruk lexical material, since even very small tablet fragments containing some lines or even just some signs of a particular list could be included in an archaic text score based on the correspondence of these sign sequences with those found in canonized list copies from later periods in the third millennium.

5.1. Format of the lexical lists

The rigid format of tablets containing archaic lexical lists as a rule presents sufficient evidence for their categorization as such. The tablets are usually larger than administrative texts – and

[174] For a discussion of the secondary find situation of nearly all archaic texts from Uruk, and to my knowledge of all school texts, see above section 2 and H.J. Nissen, ATU 2, 21-51; R.K. Englund and H.J. Nissen, ATU 3, 10. See below for a discussion of the relationship between list witnesses dated to the earliest, Uruk IV writing level, and those dated to the following Uruk III period.

[175] The substantial number of text colophons including, as a total of the tablet entries, numerical notations with two or more of the signs N_{34} ( ) representing "60" prove that the sign N_1 was understood as the basic unit "1" of the sexagesimal system. For a general review of the lexical tradition of the early third millennium see H.J. Nissen, "Bemerkungen zur Listenliteratur Vorderasiens im 3. Jahrtausend [...]," in: L. Cagni (ed.), La lingua di Ebla (Naples 1981) 99-108; id., "Remarks on the Uruk IVa and III Forerunners," in: M. Civil (ed.), The Series lú = *ša* and Related Texts, MSL 12 (Rome 1969) 4-8; A. Cavigneaux, "Lexikalische Listen," RlA 6 (1980-83) 609-641; and most recently R.K. Englund and H.J. Nissen, ATU 3, 9-37 (cf. the comprehensive review of this volume by N. Veldhuis, BiOr 52 [1995] 433-440).

[176] Only two such texts from the Late Uruk period have been found outside of Uruk. L.Ch. Watelin's 1928 Jemdet Nasr campaign unearthed the fragment MSVO 1, 242 (= S. Langdon, OECT 7, 194 and JRAS 1931, 842, no. 6; see OECT 7, p. VIII) with a copy of the archaic list "Vessels". The tablet MSVO 1, 243 (=OECT 7, 101; for both texts, see also ATU 3, 66 and plts. 67, 79, and X), with a list of toponyms, was purchased in 1924 from the Parisian antiquities dealer J.E. Géjou, who had himself bought a group of archaic tablets including this text from the dealers Dumani Frères. This group of documents was said to have derived from illicit excavations in Iraq conducted before 1915; see R.K. Englund and J.-P. Grégoire, MSVO 1, p. 7. The Vessels witness is of particular importance as our only incontrovertible evidence of the use of such school texts outside of Uruk, indeed well to the north close to the large settlement Kish, from which a number of archaic administrative texts were also recovered. There can be little doubt that, beyond all the other key text archives which have been suspected to exist in unexcavated levels of Kish, large numbers of archaic texts, both administrative and lexical, remain buried.

this size is also demonstrable in the case of badly damaged fragments, since their thickness and the curvature of their preserved surfaces help to deduce their original size – and are divided by lines drawn the length of the tablets into columns of regular size. The columns, inscribed from left to right, are further divided into regular cases inscribed from top to bottom. An inspection of preserved tablets demonstrates that the dividing lines closing cases were drawn after completion of the individual entry. The upper dividing line of such an entry could, but need not necessarily be used as a line of orientation for the physical impression of signs, just as in later periods signs generally 'hung' from this rafter.[177] Composition of signs within cases seems for the most part, however, to have been up to the scribe, although some effort was made to center signs or sign combinations on a vertical axis through the case. Care was taken to justify the columns by inscribing one or more signs of the entry to the right of the case.

The reverse faces of list witnesses are seldom inscribed with list entries, but rather if inscribed then usually only with a colophon which indicates with a sexagesimal notation the number of entries recorded on the tablet obverse, and with ideograms possibly the scribe or office responsible for the inscription. In some few cases, the list found on the obverse of a tablet is continued on its reverse; here, scribes followed the bookkeeping practice of administrators and turned the tablet around on its vertical axis (see figures 17 and 21 above) and continued the list in columns from left to right.[178] I am aware of no exception in the archaic lexical material to this rule.

The individual entries of all archaic lists generally began with the sign N_1, representing the basic unit "1" of the sexagesimal numerical system.[179] The actual entry consisted of one or a number of ideographic or numerical signs representing an enclosed concept. Dependent on the nature of the list, such entries might consist of signs standing for substantives, i.e., logograms, as a rule a designation of an object; of signs standing for qualifiers, for example, definitions of physical composition referring to colors, to age, to size, and so on; signs presumably standing for abstracta and other specific language concepts like kin relationships, justice, piety, etc. The relative position to each other of signs in multiple sign entries – remembering that the numerical sign introducing the entry is always the first sign in the case – is generally rigid. For instance, the first nine entries of the list Lu_2 A all consist of a numerical

[177] See, for example, ATU 3, pl. 4, W 15895,s; pl. 47, W 15895,p+; pl. 51, W 21208,2.

[178] See, for example, ATU 3, pl. 4, W 11986,a (Lu_2 A on the obverse, Metal on the reverse face of the tablet; in both cases, columns reading from left to right); pl. 23, W 9656,h (Uruk IV!); pl. 36, W 12139; pl. 39, W 21075,3; pl. 43, W 22090,2+ (note that, in accordance with administrative practice, the tablet was initially rotated around its vertical axis to continue inscription of individual entries, then returned to its original obverse position to be rotated around its horizontal axis for the inscription of a tablet colophon); pl. 79, 8: MSVO 1, 243.

[179] It may be noted that the corresponding entry identifier in the Fara lists was the sign N_{34} ( ) representing "60", that is, the same oblique impression, but made with a rounded end of a large stylus. Both signs correspond to the vertical wedge representing "1" in entries of the lexical lists of the second and first millennium, and were in all cases simply visual and memory aids in counting the number of lines inscribed on tablets so as to be able to collate line totals on original and copies. The same means of rechecking line numbers are often found on tablets containing literary texts, with, for example, a check mark impressed before every tenth line.

sign representing "1", followed by two ideograms representing the designation of a profession in the archaic Uruk administration.[180] The first of these ideograms, either GAL_a or NAM_2,[181] seems to represent a qualifier of the second sign designating an office. No Uruk III period writing of these lines – on average over twenty witnesses per line – deviated from the sequence NAM_2 SIGN,[182] suggesting either that writing conventions dictated specific sign sequences in defined environments, or that the signs represent the sequence of words or concepts in a spoken language.

It was above all the tablet formats and the evident copying of these texts which led A. Deimel in his initial publication of the Fara texts to identify them as "school texts,"[183] akin to the writing exercises and text copies well attested in later periods. Practice exercises are found among the archaic texts (figure 23); they are, however, rare. The large majority of lexical list witnesses appear to be the result of a practiced hand, and few examples are know of sections of lists either on small tablets, or inscribed together on larger tablets.

5.2. Use of later lists

A very conservative view of knowledge and organization of concepts is obvious in the transmission of school curricula in Mesopotamia. The possible gap of one or at most several centuries between the latest archaic lexical witnesses from the Early Dynastic I period represented by the SIS 4-8 level texts from Ur[184] and the highly conventionalized and in many cases nearly completely preserved list witnesses from the Early Dynastic IIIa period in Fara and Abu Salabikh may seem imposing in modern terms. But the absolutely clear correspondence of texts from both periods allows of no doubt as to the uninterrupted use of these lists in scribal schools. We must imagine the movement and expansion of schools from

[180] See below, fig. 32. The first entry is only an apparent exception to this rule; NAMEŠDA is simply the conventional name given the combination ŠITA+GIŠ NAM_2. It is to be noted, however, that the common sign NAM_2 otherwise always assumes first position in the sign sequence of a professional name.

[181] The sign might be a pictogram and represent some sort of pedestal or 'seat of office', and so bear graphic and semantic relationship to the sign KU_a/DUR_2. There has been some speculation about whether this sign might have assumed the function of a true abstract-builder and so borne a linear relationship to the sign NAM in later, Sumerian practice. The etymology of this latter word is still debated but most seem to assume that it is to be analyzed as either *ana-am or *na-am, in both cases Sumerian stative phrases meaning "what is it" or "it is indeed", respectively; it need not have a Sumerian etymology at all, however, assuming that the original sign NAM_2 represented a discrete object or an abstract concept in a non-Sumerian language, phonetically realized as /nam/, and that this phoneme assumed the same function as, for example, *-ūt-* in Akkadian or -tum in German. That the sign NAM_2 functioned as a qualifier in the list Lu_2 A seems best supported by the fact that in the Uruk IV period witness W 9206,k the sign was omitted in the first entries.

[182] The Uruk IV period witnesses W 9656,h and W 20421,1 (ATU 3, pl. 23) are less consistent, as are Uruk IV period administrative texts, for example, W 6611 obv. i 1 and W 9579,dc obv. i 1 ($ŠU_2$ KAB NAM_2) compared to W 6738,c obv. i 1a (with $ŠU_2$ NAM_2 KAB), W 9656,g obv. i 2, W 21060,2 rev. i 1 (both KAB NAM_2); W 9656,ar (with DI? NAM_2), and W 8274 (with ERIN NAM_2).

[183] A. Deimel, Die Inschriften von Fara II: Schultexte aus Fara, WVDOG 43 (Leipzig 1923) 2*-6*.

[184] The texts E. Burrows, UET 2. Archaic Texts (London 1935) nos. 14, 264, 299-301, all contained copies of the professions list (Lu_2 A); no. 234 represents the only substantial archaic witness of the fish list. The SIS 4-8 texts can be placed in the ED I-II period and so only roughly dated to ca. 2700 B.C.

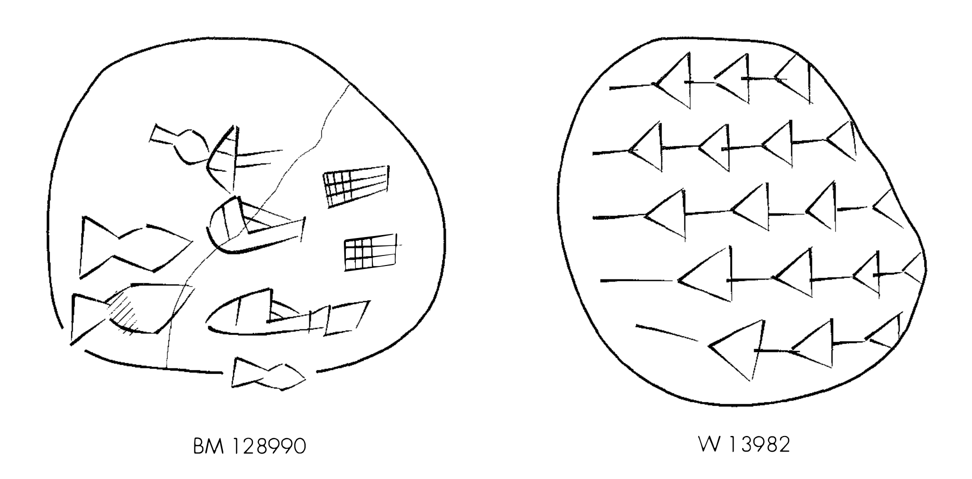


Figure 23: Archaic scribal exercises
The text to the left seems to contain attempts of a student to copy various signs, the text to the right doodles based on the sign TI_a (—◁—<).

one political or economic center to another, bringing with them much the same lexica and lists of exercises. Documentation of these schools is in the tells of Iraq – as yet undiscovered.
Both administrative and "school" texts from the Fara period remain extremely difficult to interpret; yet it can be shown that the Fara archives form part of a long tradition of writing in Mesopotamia. Texts from the Fara period demonstrably contain evidence of the phonetic use of signs to represent both the Sumerian and Akkadian languages. Further, comparison of the Fara period sign repertory with that of the pre-Sargonic Lagash archives excavated earlier than those of Fara allowed the editor of the Fara material, A. Deimel, to identify with some confidence a large number of the logograms, i.e., signs representing above all discrete objects, as well as designations of persons and divinities, toponyms, and verbal stems. This level of understanding made it possible to identify in the Fara lists organizing principals, encompassing concepts such as designations of professions, of domestic animals, fish and ceramic pots. In these isolated semantic fields, specific examples were listed, organized according to rules which were in many cases clear. Large cattle, for example, were divided according to sex and age, then further into categories of color, use, and so on. These conceptual structures evident in the Fara texts led to the use of the term "lexical lists" to define this text genre.
Yet the slavish copying of archaic lists in the Fara period should also not be over-valued. For many concepts represented by proto-cuneiform ideograms had, so far as we can judge from the use of those ideograms, little or no meaning in post-archaic periods, yet those ideograms were copied time and time again throughout the third millennium. For example, the list now conventionally called ED Lu_2 A or List of Professions, based on the number of witnesses found during excavations of archaic Uruk levels certainly the most popular list of the archaic period, contains large numbers of sign combinations which are attested in the contemporary archaic administrative text corpus, but which are absent in Fara accounts.

5.3. Development of lists during the Late Uruk Period (see figure 24)

Instruction in the use of proto-cuneiform took place in all likelihood within the confines of the central district Eanna. With but one exception,[185] all list witnesses derived from excavations within this area. Although H.J. Nissen has often warned against an unfounded acceptance of an *argumentum ex silentio* that scholarly activity was confined to the Eanna district – very little of the Late Uruk levels outside of the Eanna district have ever been excavated[186], and later lexical material was as a rule found in private contexts[187] – the great preponderance of lists from the area, including find loci with up to 190 lexical fragments representing all known lists,[188] must indicate the existence of scribal schools in the immediate vicinity, from which tablets and fragments no longer kept for archival or didactic purposes were taken for disposal. The information to be derived from the lexical lists to assist in our efforts to interpret the proto-cuneiform documentation may be viewed from several perspectives. Of course, these compendia are of crucial importance in our understanding of the meanings of signs and sign combinations in the much larger group of administrative documents of this period. The necessity of writing these accounts, after all, with high likelihood prompted the early development of writing altogether, and thus the development of tools – lists – to instruct students in archaic schools in the use of writing. Further, the principles of composition evident in these lists certainly reflect an archaic organization of the world into a hierarchy of men, of animals and of inanimate objects. The chronological development of lists is also obvious in the material accessible to us. Rapid development and standardization are obvious in the Uruk III period after an inchoate lexical organization accompanying the first widespread use of writing in Uruk IV.

Lexical lists are in fact exceedingly rare among the Uruk IV period texts. No pockets of texts from this period contained solely or predominately lists, a phenomenon well documented for the Uruk III period. Of the ca. 670 tablets and fragments identified as lists, only 11 are with some certainty from the Uruk IV period,[189] a further 5 may belong to this group. Only three lexical lists are securely attested in the Uruk IV period. The list Lu_2 A seems sufficiently

[185] The large Lu_2 A fragment W 21761,a-c was discovered in the square K/L XII, identified by H.J. Nissen, ATU 3, 10+15, as a probable craft center; see also Nissen, BaM 5 (1970) 151. W 21761 was probably removed from its original deposition site in antiquity. That tablets were excavated in tertiary deposits is proven by the fact that pieces of the same tablet were found in different loci; see H.J. Nissen, ATU 2, 24-25.

[186] ATU 3, 10.

[187] Beginning in the Old Babylonian period, lexical material shows up in private homes, in particular in Assur and Nippur, but it is important to remember that residential areas are very poorly excavated in comparison to the monumental buildings which attracted the attention of field scholars.

[188] Lexical lists formed the majority of tablets found at the loci W 15895 (75 texts, of which at least 64 could be identified as lexical lists), W 20266 (186 texts of which at least 183 were lists; to this number, the 7 lexical tablets accessioned under the excavation number W 20258 should be added, since both 20258 and 20266 were identified as deriving from the same locus) and W 21208 (all 47 tablets lexical lists).

[189] Stratigraphical evidence supports the dating of two of the eleven, W 9206,k and 9656,h1, to a period prior to Uruk III. See ATU 2, pp. 28-34, in particular p. 34, and compare the excavation plan in ATU 3, p. 11, and the discussion in ATU 5, pp. 14-16.

represented by five texts,[190] of which one, W 9656,h1, was nearly complete, with 9 columns containing on average 9 entries each. Uruk IV versions of the lists "Vessels" and "Metal" are represented by two, possibly three texts.[191] Three further texts seem to contain so-called vocabularies, lists of signs possibly arranged according to graphic criteria.[192]

The text W 9656,h1 is the only true precursor of a canonized list from the following, Uruk III period, the other cited examples either being too fragmentary to chart real correspondences between witnesses from the two writing phases, or representing lexical compendia clearly only marginally related to later canonized versions. Even in the case of W 9656,h1, its correspondence to the canonized Lu_2 A list of the Uruk III period does not hold throughout.

The fact that only three of fifteen lists sufficiently attested in the archaic period to allow of the arrangement of a textual score which can be compared with Fara period correspondences may, with reasonable certainty, be dated to the Uruk IV period might be coincidental, since the Uruk IV lists are also among the best attested lexical texts of the following, Uruk III period (Lu_2 A nearly 180 tablets and fragments, Metal over 50, and Vessels nearly 100[193]). Still it should be underscored that nearly 1900 tablets and fragments date, according to paleographical considerations, to the Uruk IV period; that is about 40% of the total of archaic documents from Uruk. A total of 15 Uruk IV period lexical lists would on the other hand correspond to just over 2% of the total of lexical lists, and indeed less than 1% of the total of Uruk IV period documents. This seems to represent clear evidence of a real expansion in the composition and use of lexical texts in the period following the earliest development of writing,[194] and make suspect the assumption of some scholars that the tradition of composing lexical lists must have enjoyed a long history before the inception of writing.

The frequency and find situation of Uruk III period lists suggests not only that from a constricted beginning of at most several lists, of which only the professions list could be shown to have

[190] W 9206,k, 9656,h1, 9656,x, 20421,1 and 20421,2. The first text apparently listed the first entries of the Lu_2 A compendium excluding the sign NAM_2 found as qualifier of corresponding entries in all other witnesses.

[191] W 16621,a contained a precursor of the Uruk III metal list, W 21060,5(+6 ?) the vessels list followed by metal (note that the same phenomenon occurs in the Uruk III period in the text W 12256,i+; otherwise only attested in W 20266,44 ['Tribute' followed by 'Plants']), and W 21060,16 possibly the vessels list.

[192] W 9123,d, 19548,a+ and 21002,6. Only the first text, however, can be dated to the Uruk IV period with relative certainty.

[193] Only the "Tribute" list attested in 55 tablets and fragments was recovered in comparable numbers.

[194] It is still difficult to judge the curriculum of proto-Elamite schools. We have stated that no texts have been discovered in Elamite excavations which bear even superficial resemblance to the lexical texts from Mesopotamia. The characteristics we might expect, without being able to decipher the meanings of the signs attested, would be a rigid format of cases, inscriptions which did not include numerical notations, some common denominator of the ideographic notations which could be documented in the proto-Elamite administrative archive, and above all multiple copies of the same passages, indicating that one text had assumed a "school function". Thus the instruction in the use of the early Persian script must have involved writing practice accounts or tablets containing repeated administrative entries, and we do have evidence of this practice. The large account MDP 26, 362, seems to represent an attempt to document the use of all known numerical signs in the proto-Elamite capacity system, and contains no ideographic notations which would identify an administrative function of the tablet. Texts such as MDP 17, 328, on the other hand, seem to represent simple "exercises". See P. Damerow and R.K. Englund, Tepe Yahya, 18-20, and in particular the two volumes cited there, J. Friberg, ERBM I-II.

Period: (site)	Uruk IV-III (Uruk)				Uruk III (Jemdet Nasr)	ED I (Ur)	ED IIIa (Fara)
Name:	Total	IV	III	?			
Lu$_2$ A (namešda)	185	5	158	22		UET 2, 14; 264; 299-301	SF 33-35, 75-76; W 12466
Lu$_2$ E (dub šar)							
Lu$_2$ X							
Vessels	91	3	79	9	MSVO 1, 242		SF 64
Tribute	56		51	5			SF 12, 13 + TSŠ 264
Metal	55	1	44	10			SF 8-9
Wood	30		28	2		UET 2, 204 ?	~ SF 68, 74
Cattle A	24		20	4			SF 81
Cattle B							
Officials A	23		22	1			~ SF 59
Officials E							SF 59
Officials B							
Fish	22		21	1		UET 2, 234	SF 9-11
Cities	17	1	13	3			SF 23-24
Geogr.	12		12		MSVO 1, 243		
Grain	9	1	8				SF 15-17
Birds	6		4	2			SF 58
Plants	5		5				SF 58, 67 + NTSŠ 123
Pigs	2		2				
Vocabulary	11		11				
Unidentified	125		125				
God Lists			W 20713,1 ?			UET 2, 105 ? (W.G. Lambert, ASJ 3, 34)	SF 1-7, 23-24
Ebla Monolingual							
Mathematical							
Ebla Vocabulary (eš$_2$.bar kin$_x$)							

ED IIIa (Abu Salabikh)	ED IIIb (Ebla)	ED IIIb (Girsu, Nippur)	Old Akkadian	Ur III	Old Babylonian
OIP 99, 1-3, 483, 487	MEE 3, 1, 2+5, 3+4	DP 337 ECTJ 220	ZA 29, 79; OSP 1, 11; YOS 1, 12; MDP 14, 88		SLT 112-113
OIP 99, 54+56, 55, 57-60	MEE 3, 6-11		MAD 5, 35 HSS 10, 222		
OIP 99, 61-81				Fales/Krispijn, JEOL 26, 39-46	
OIP 99, 4, 7-9					
OIP 99, 402, 459, 465	MEE 3, 47	MVN 3, 15		6 N-T 676	SLT 42 + Ni 1597
OIP 99, 13-17	MEE 3, 26+76	FT 2, pl. 44 Speleers, RIAA 46; CBS 14182, Ni 5034, A 3670		Gurney, Iraq 31 3-7	
~ OIP 99, 18-20					cf. MSL 5, 92ff.
OIP 99, 25-27	MEE 3, 12-17, 62 (syllabic)				
OIP 99, 27-28	MEE 3, 21-25				
	~ MEE 3, 50				cf. MSL 12, 9-10
	MEE 3, 50				
	MEE 3, 43				
OIP 99, 10-12	MEE 3, 27-38, 64+ (syllabic)			6 N-T 677-680	
OIP 99, 21-22					UET 7, 80 (MSL 11, 62)
~ OIP 99, 91-111	~ OrNS 47, 50ff. (Atl. geogr.)				
OIP 99, 5-6	MEE 3, 48+49, 63 (syllabic), ARET 5, 23		MDP 18, 21, MDP 27, 196		
	MEE 3, 39, (40)			ITT 2, 5898 + 5, 9251; 6 N-T 681+89	
OIP 99, 23+24, 301, 402, 412, 436				6 N-T 933	Civil/Biggs, RA 60, 8-11
	MEE 3, 44-46, 53				
OIP 99, 82-90	MEE 4, 780-815 (W.G. Lambert, Bilinguismo 393ff.)				
	MEE 3, 51-52				
	MEE 3, 54 (1-10), 73				
	MEE 4, passim				

Figure 24: Major lexical lists of the 3rd millennium
Conspicuously absent in the earliest levels are the lists of gods first clearly attested in the Fara period. These compositions may represent an innovation of Early Dynastic theologians.

been copied in the Uruk IV period, the lexical repertory was expanded to incorporate large numbers of copies of at least fifteen, and probably substantially more, already canonized texts, but also that they were written and kept together in some distinct part of the central administrative district. The latter point seems best supported by the fact that a number of distinct find loci produced large numbers of, or exclusively lexical texts. Despite the fact that like the great majority of the archaic texts from Uruk these finds too were made in secondary contexts, the exclusivity of the lexical finds suggests that the tablets will have been gathered from a particular location to be discarded, thus preserving in their secondary context the primary context in which the tablets had been stored.
The largest lexical 'archive' identified in this regard, W 20266 and including W 20258, derived from a locus "between the two Early Dynastic walls, the outer wall and the parallel wall lying before it" in the excavation square Nd XVII,1.[195] Of the 193 tablets and fragments identified in this find, fully 190 were witnesses of lexical lists (ca. 30% of the total of all list witnesses). Further, the texts in this archive were representative of the breadth (number of different lists) and depth (copies of individual compositions) of the lexical material on the whole. Represented are: Lu_2 A with 52 numbers (ca. 30% of a total of 176), Officials with 0 (of 13), Cattle with 12 (50% of 24), Fish with 6 (30% of 21), Birds with 2 (33% of 6), Wood with 4 (15% of 30), Tribute with 25 (45% of 56), Plants with 2 (+1 together with the list Tribute [W 20266,44]; of 4), Vessels with 17 (20% of 92), Metals with 17 (30% of 53), Grain with 1 (of 9), Cities with 7 (45% of 16), and Geography with 8 (70% of 11). A further 29 texts containing unidentified lists (of 121) completes the archive. Of the lists whose witnesses are attested in numbers of statistical significance, namely, Lu_2 A, Tribute, Vessels and Metals, only Tribute with a total of 45% in the W 20266 'archive' would appear to be over-represented. The other three are so in line with expectations that we must assume that the location from which these texts were removed represented a school or library in which scribes were instructed in the use of proto-cuneiform and in the terminology requisite to their inclusion in the scribal caste.

5.4. The lists

The archaic lexical lists can be placed in five general categories[196]:

- Designations of places (see figures 25-27)
- Designations of animals
- Designations of plants and manufactured products (see figures 28-29)
- Literature (see figures 30-31)
- Designations of persons (see figures 32, 33, 35)

[195] The terminus ante quem of Early Dynastic II given by this find is not helpful in dating the tablets stratigraphically. See Nissen's discussion in ATU 2, pp. 41-51.

[196] The somewhat amorphous categories of 'vocabularies' and 'practice texts', as well as the 122 texts and fragments which according to their formats could with some certainty be identified as list witnesses but which we were unable to compile into scores will not be treated here; see the short discussion in ATU 3, 37.

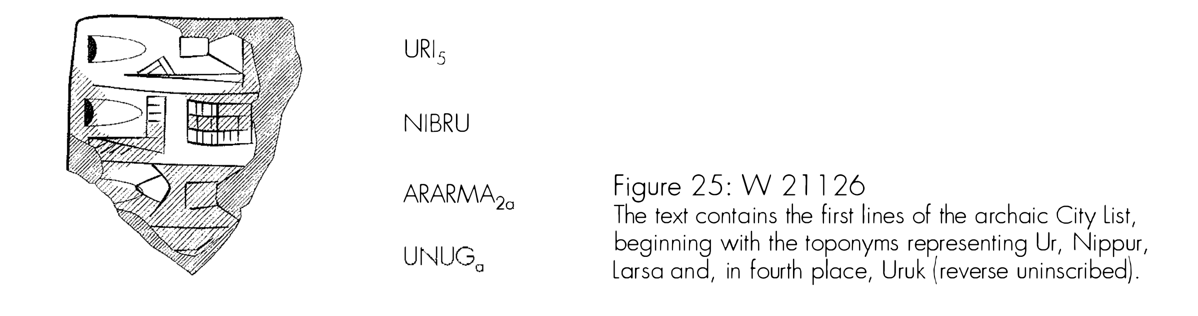


Figure 25: W 21126
The text contains the first lines of the archaic City List, beginning with the toponyms representing Ur, Nippur, Larsa and, in fourth place, Uruk (reverse uninscribed).

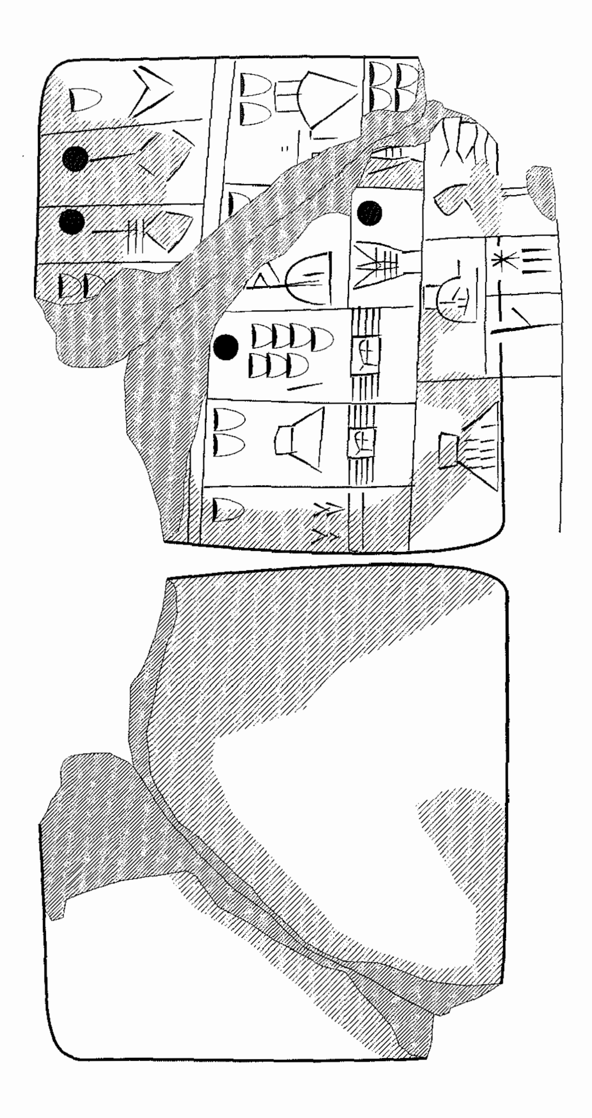
Figure 26: Composite copy of the lexical list "Cities"

Figure 27: The archaic "City Seal"

The so-called City Seal was impressed on a large number of tablets from Jemdet Nasr dealing primarily with dried fruit.

To the right is a copy of the only tablet (MSVO 4, 15) with this seal not clearly from Jemdet Nasr, but with the same types of commodities recorded.

On page 93 is a composite drawing of the seal impressions with a comparison of their legend with the first lines of the archaic City List (see ATU 3, 34-35), from a study of archaic sealing practice by R.J. Matthews (MSVO 2, 36-39).



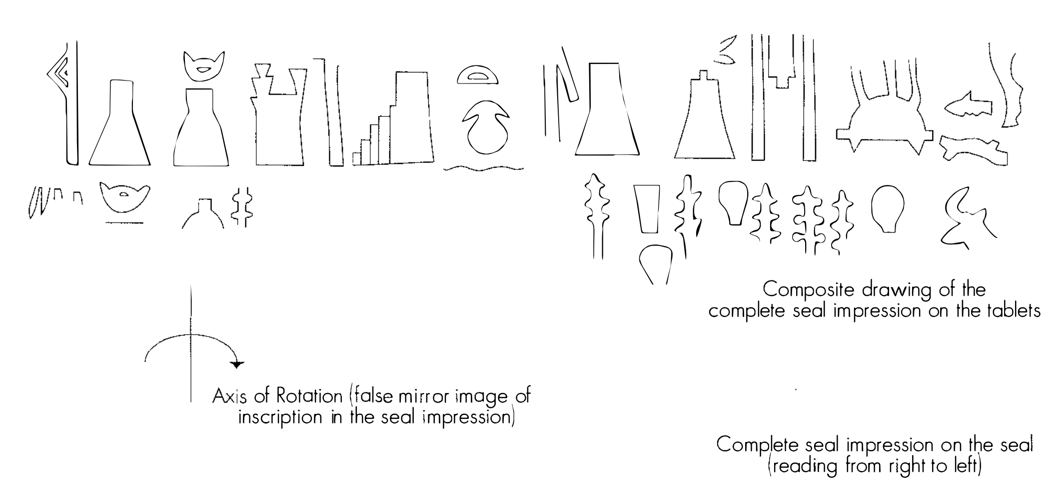
5.4.1. Places (see figures 25-27[197])

All 16 witnesses of a list of city names derive from the Uruk III period.[198] The first lines of the list consist of well known names of leading cities of southern Mesopotamia, beginning with those of Ur, Nippur, Larsa and Uruk (figures 25-26).[199] The significance of this sequence is not obvious, but, since many of the toponyms contain elements of divine names ("NANNA$_x$" [URI$_{3a}$] part of URI$_5$/Ur, UTU [U$_4$] part of ARARMA$_{2a}$/Larsa), or are coterminous with divine names (EN$_a$.KID$_a$ = NIBRU, ENLIL, AB$_b$×KU$_{6a}$ = NINA, NANŠE), may reflect a mythological or cultic hierarchy, that is, beginning with the household of the moon god NANNA, followed by that of the earth god ENLIL, the sun god UTU and so on.

[197] Figure 26 and those below of individual lists (figs. 29, 30 and 32) consist of composite drawings combining the preserved entries of all witnesses and are thus artificial, but certainly representative of the form relatively complete exemplars would have taken. Compare, for example, the witness W 20266,1 [ATU 3, plts 2-3, II] with the composite drawing of the Lu$_2$ A list in fig. 32, below.

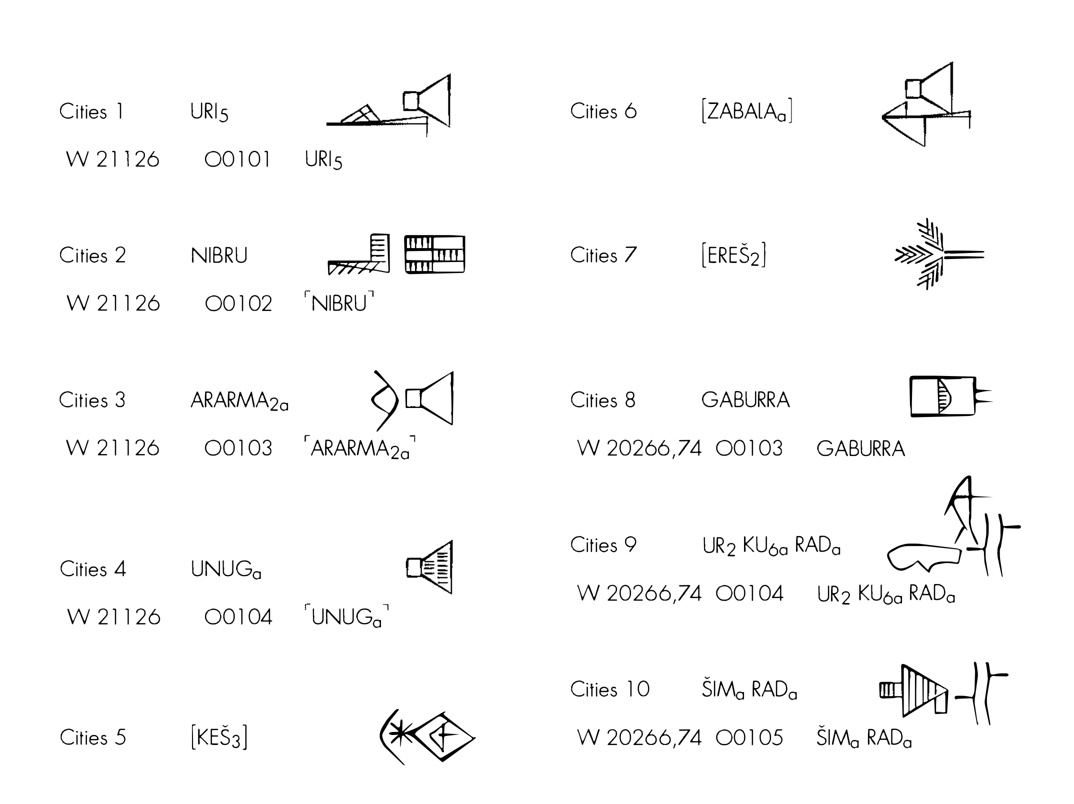
[198] See ATU 3, 35-36, 145-151, 160-162, and the ED IIIa texts SF 23-24; OIP 99, nos. 21-22 and the Old Babylonian text UET 7, 80 (transliterated in MSL 11, 62).

[199] See M.W. Green, JNES 36 (1977) 293-294, with literature (Green's reading of the second line was corrected by R.K. Englund, JESHO 31 [1988] 131-133[9]); to the so-called "Atlante Geografico" s. G. Pettinato, OrNS 47 (1978) 50-73, MEE 3 (1981) pp. 227-241, and now D.R. Frayne, The Early Dynastic List of Geographical Names, AOS 74 (New Haven 1992).



Ku'ara | BU+BU +NA2 | ?NIR+? | Ereš$_x$ | Zabala$_a$ | Keš$_3$ | Unug$_x$ | Nibru$_x$ (EN.NUN) | Ararma$_{2a}$ | Uri$_5$

Nergal$_x$? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ?



Entry	Sign		
Cities 1	URI$_5$		
W 21126	O0101	URI$_5$	
Cities 2	NIBRU		
W 21126	O0102	⌜NIBRU⌝	
Cities 3	ARARMA$_{2a}$		
W 21126	O0103	⌜ARARMA$_{2a}$⌝	
Cities 4	UNUG$_a$		
W 21126	O0104	⌜UNUG$_a$⌝	
Cities 5	[KEŠ$_3$]		
Cities 6	[ZABALA$_a$]		
Cities 7	[EREŠ$_2$]		
Cities 8	GABURRA		
W 20266,74	O0103	GABURRA	
Cities 9	UR$_2$ KU$_{6a}$ RAD$_a$		
W 20266,74	O0104	UR$_2$ KU$_{6a}$ RAD$_a$	
Cities 10	ŠIM$_a$ RAD$_a$		
W 20266,74	O0105	ŠIM$_a$ RAD$_a$	

An extraordinary seal impression found on a large number of texts from Jemdet Nasr and discussed in detail in a recent publication by R.J. Matthews,[200] however, could speak for a political or economic meaning in the list, reflecting a 'league of cities'. The first and fourth entries in this city seal parallel those of the lexical series, however the second and third are reversed. The sign combination EN NUN seems in the city seal to correspond to the combination EN_a KID_a in the lexical list.
Another eleven texts can be identified as compendia of geographical names based primarily on parallels in texts from Abu Salabikh and Ebla,[201] however without in all cases forming scores which might indicate a real lexical tradition.[202]

5.4.2. Animals

Four of the lexical lists first composed in the archaic period are compendia of domesticated and other animals which were exploited in southern Mesopotamia, including large cattle,[203] pigs, fish and birds.
The first of these lists deals with oxen (GU_4), cows (AB_2), calves (AMAR) and possibly, wild bulls.[204] Each section of the list consists of entries representing the respective animals and a static sequence of signs which apparently qualify the animals as to their age, color, etc. A second compiles sign combinations representing fish, their forms of preservation and probably methods of preparation, as well as descriptions of fishing gear and means of transportation.[205] Fish were as a rule represented either with the sign KU_{6a} (a pictogram of the fish, see below, section 6.3.1) or the sign SUḪUR (a pictogram of a split and dried fish with its head removed). Birds are described in a third list of animals.[206] Two texts, of which one is completely preserved,[207] contain in 58 entries[208] a list of pigs (ŠUBUR).[209]

[200] MSVO 2, in particular pp. 29-36.
[201] See MEE 3, pp. 227-241; OIP 99, nos. 39-42.
[202] The large text W 20266,3 must derive from a standardized composition, since two further fragments (W 20266,146 and 147) contain entries running parallel to three lines in the larger text. See ATU 3, 150-151, 161, and pl. 79. For a survey of the geographical names found in administrative documents see H.J. Nissen, OrNS 54 (1985) 226-233.
[203] The exclusion of the much more important small cattle in our witnesses is incomprehensible and presumably a consequence of the fortunes of excavation. The proto-cuneiform signs which represent small and large cattle in the lists and administrative texts are offered in fig. 51 below.
[204] See ATU 3, 22, 89-93, and the ED witnesses SF 81; OIP 99, nos. 25-27; MEE 3, nos. 12-17, pp. 47-50, and the syllabic version MEE 3, no. 62, pp. 251-252, edited by Th.J.H. Krispijn, JEOL 27 (1981-82) 47-53, and J. Krecher, OrAnt 22 (1983) 179-189.
[205] See ATU 3, 22, 93-98, the ED I witness from Ur UET 2, 234, and the ED III witnesses SF 9-11; OIP 99, nos. 10-12; MEE 3, nos. 27-38, pp. 91-104; an edition of Ur III witnesses of the same list (6N-T 677-680) is in preparation by M. Civil. Although Ḫh 18 begins with the same sign suḫur, it has little else in common with the archaic list.
[206] See ATU 3, 22, 98-100, and the ED III witnesses SF 58; MEE 3, no. 39, p. 105-118; a preliminary edition of Ur III witnesses of the same list (6N-T 681 + 6N-T 689 and ITT II, 5898 + ITT V, 9251) has been offered by G. Pettinato, OrAnt 17 (1978) 165-178 (cf. M. Civil, MEE 3 [1981] 275-277).
[207] See below, fig. 63.
[208] Documented by a numerical notation $5N_{14}$ $8N_1$ along the left edge of the text W 12139, in full correspondence with the number of cases on the tablet.
[209] See ATU 3, 22-23, 100-103, P. Damerow and R.K. Englund, ATU 2, 146+[79], R.K. Englund, JESHO 31

5.4.3. Plants and manufactured products

A list of trees and wooden objects (see figure 28) is only in its first 40 lines a standardized composition and was not canonized in later cuneiform tradition[210]; these first lines apparently list the designations of trees, and the larger, but uncanonized second section deals with wooden objects. The sign GIŠ in nearly all entries, apparently a pictogram of a simple planed piece of wood, seems to fulfill the function in this list of a semantic indicator, since some witnesses dispense with its inclusion in the individual entries. A very poorly preserved second list in this group contains designations of plants and of a variety of other objects, including time designations, and might represent some sort of agricultural manual.[211]

A third list (figure 29), one of the best represented of all archaic lexical compositions, contains three sections. The first (ll. 1-62) consists of involved designations of vessels represented by pictograms, a long series of which is qualified by various signs inscribed within a vessel graph, the second (ll. 63-84) of sign combinations which represent prepared foods, including apparent soups, porridges, and cheeses, and the third (ll. 85ff.) of designations of presumable textiles.[212]

The pictograms of vessels in the first section of the list were drawn from an administrative repertory of impressive complexity.[213] Scribes differentiated vessels for apparent semi-liquids from those for liquids through the addition to the pictogram of a clay jar of a stroke which represented a spout.[214] It would appear that the first section of the list 'Vessels' dealt with containers of dairy products,[215] presumably oils, some of which were mixed with a variety of condiments and the like. Since most of these latter products, represented by the sign DUG_b and an inscribed sign which qualified the dairy product in the vessel, were not attested in the administrative texts, it is likely that their appearance only in lexical context was a matter of paradigmatic completeness, i.e., that the composers of this list included all products

(1988) 147-148[+22-23], and below, n. 397.

210 See ATU 3, 23-25, 103-112, 154-159, and the ED III witnesses SF 68 and OIP 99, nos. 18-20, and compare the forerunner text of Ḫḫ 3 (MSL 5, pp. 83-142), with a similar distribution of designations of trees and wooden objects.

211 See ATU 3, 29, 120-122, and the ED IIIa witnesses SF 58 (with 'Plants' in i 1 - vi 10, 'Birds' in vi 11ff.), 67+NTSŠ 123 (photo join by A. Westenholz, OSP 2, p. 89[82]); OIP 99, nos. 23+24, 301, 402 (?), 412 and 436; an edition of an Ur III witness of the same list (6N-T 933) is in preparation by M. Civil. Cp. also the Old Babylonian text M. Civil and R.D. Biggs, RA 60 (1966) 8-11, CBS 7094 (p. 9, fig. 2). For lines 11-20 (time notations), see R.K. Englund, JESHO 31 (1988) 164-168.

212 See ATU 3, 29-32, 123-134, and the ED IIIa witnesses SF 64 and OIP 99, nos. 4, 7-9. This is the only canonized list of the Uruk III period found in a witness outside of Uruk. The Jemdet Nasr tablet MSVO 1, 242, contains the first 65 entries of the list and proves that the lexical tradition reached into northern Babylonia.

213 See below, section 6.3.2.

214 See fig. 22:1. The sign designated DUG_a (and its derived correspondent sign $KAŠ_a$) was the only form used for 'beer' (or, as has been recently suggested, a drink akin to kvass); $DUG_{b/c}$, without a spout, represented vessels for dairy products, above all butter oil. The sign NI_a in the first line of the list is of unclear pictographic meaning, but probably represented a conical vessel with a lid.

215 See the cursory treatment of these products in R.K. Englund, "Archaic Dairy Metrology," Iraq 53 (1991) 101-104, and in greater detail for later periods, "Regulating Dairy Productivity in the Ur III Period," OrNS 64 (1995) 377-429.

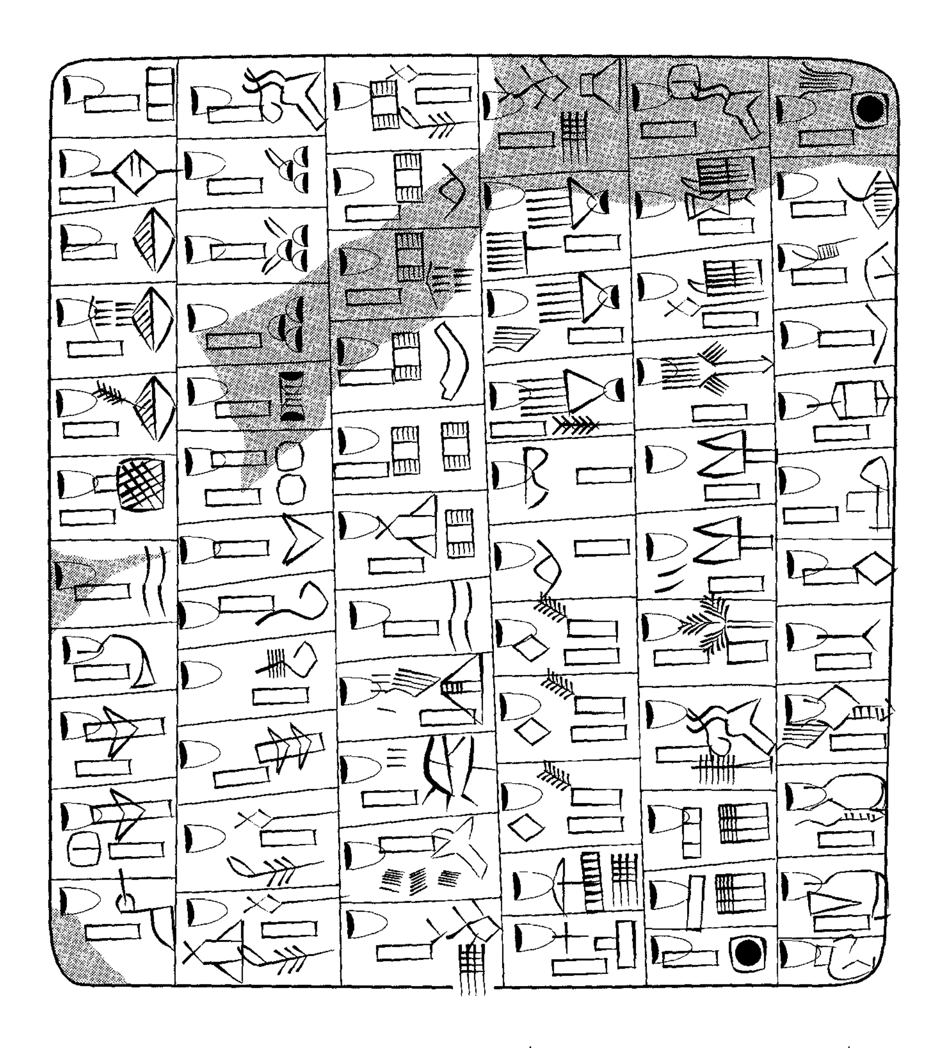


Figure 28: The "Wood List" W 20327,2 (shaded areas reconstructed)

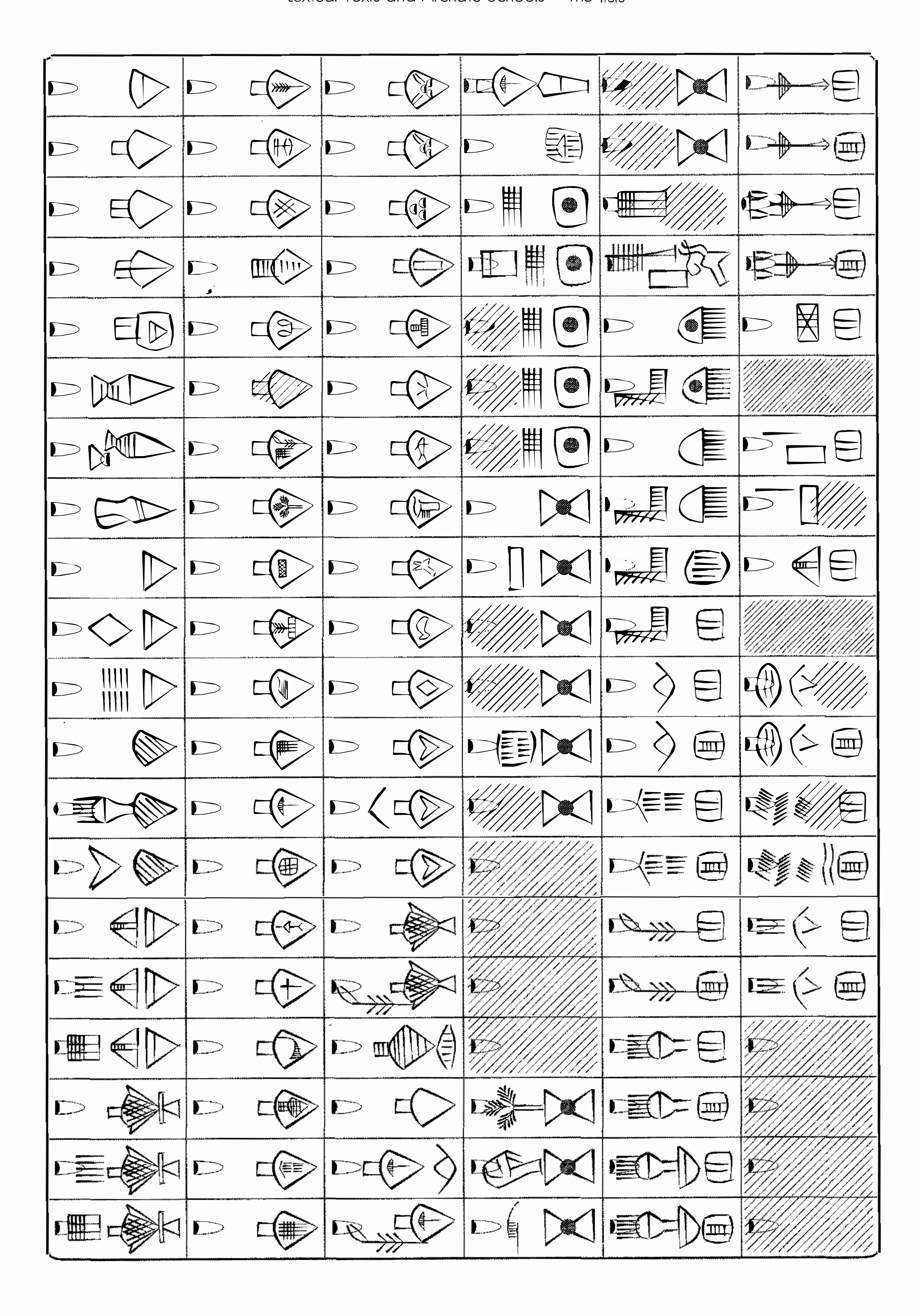


Figure 29: Composite copy of the lexical list "Vessels"

which might imaginably have been stored, but which not necessary were ever really in vessels, at least not in vessels which were the concern of the central households documented in the archaic texts.

Following the section on vessels and products kept in vessels are five entries describing an apparent foodstuff, possibly soups or stews, and then fifteen entries representing variously prepared cheeses.[216]

The regular inclusion of the signs TUG_{2a} and TUG_{2a}*gunû*, pictograms of tied bolts of cloth, characterizes the third section of this list. Both signs are in series qualified by further signs, for example in the lines 91-98 with the signs U_4, GI_6, GI and NE_a, which represent the colors 'white', 'black', 'yellow', and 'red'.

Another well preserved list, the fourth of this group, contains signs and sign combinations which represent such objects made of metal as vessels, knives (the sign GIR_{2a}) and tools (among others the sign NAGAR, 'bit').[217] The witness W 22104,0 demonstrates that after the list of metal objects a list of stone objects in the form of beads, designated by the sign $NUNUZ_{a1}$, was appended. This section contains the earliest clear attestation of the mineral lapis lazuli, written $NUNUZ_{a1}$ KUR_a ('beads of the mountain [or 'man-beads'] ?', approx. Sumerian za_7.gin_3).[218].

A fifth list of products contains designations of apparent grain measures and grain products.[219] Unfortunately, the first lines of this list are so poorly preserved and the Fara period correspondences so irregular that we are unable to make clear sense of their meaning. It is at least obvious that this part of the list offers a series of numerical notations which represent increasingly large measures of grain.[220]

[216] The sign $GA'AR_{a1}$, corresponds to the ED sign LAK490, and the neo-Sumerian combination ga ḪAR/UD*gunû*. Cp. P. Damerow and R.K. Englund, ATU 2, 152[43]; R.K. Englund, OrNS 64 (1995) 381 and 385 (at least the Ur III correspondence of archaic GA'AR has been shown to be a dried and more or less fat-free cheese prized in simple herding societies for its high protein level and low spoilage).

[217] See ATU 3, 32-34, 134-141, and the ED III witnesses SF 8 and 9; OIP 99, nos. 13-17; MEE 3, nos. 26+76, S. 73-76 and 275; CBS 14182 (identified by A. Westenholz), N 5034, A 3670 (identified by M. Civil) and L. Speleers, RIAA 46; and the Old Akkadian? text O.R. Gurney, Iraq 31 (1969) 3-7 + pl. I, Ashm. 1931-128. Since, unlike the list of trees and wooden objects, this list did not contain a general introduction with designations of metals, all objects which were not specifically so qualified were probably made of copper. A series of objects are qualified with the sign AN, probably denoting an alloy combining copper and another metal (tin?; see H. Waetzoldt, in: L. Cagni [ed.], La lingua di Ebla [Naples 1981] 373-378; improbably 'iron', suggested by A.A. Vajman, "Eisen in Sumer," AfO Beih. 19 [1982] 33-37).

[218] Cp. the Uruk III period (temple?-)inventory A. Cavigneaux, BaM 22 (1991) 88, W 24008,8 ii 6-9.

[219] See ATU 3, 34-35, 142-145, the ED IIIa witnesses SF 15-17; OIP 99, nos. 5-6; MEE 3, nos. 48+49, pp. 165-168, and a syllabic version MEE 3, no. 63, pp. 252-253 (edited by M. Civil, OrAnt 21 [1982] 1-26; cf. id., ZA 74 [1984] 161-163), and the Old Akkadian texts MDP 18, 21, and MDP 27, 196.

[220] Whether the text W 15895,y really belongs here (see ATU 3, 142) is a matter of debate. At least the witness W 21208,8+ seems to offer a clean progression of [1-]5N_1 followed by N_{14}. The sign KUR_a qualifying measures represented by N_1 in this text is curious; it might denote a 'small mound' of grain, or have some other semantic or phonetic (/kur/ for /gur/ ?) meaning.

5.4.4. Literature

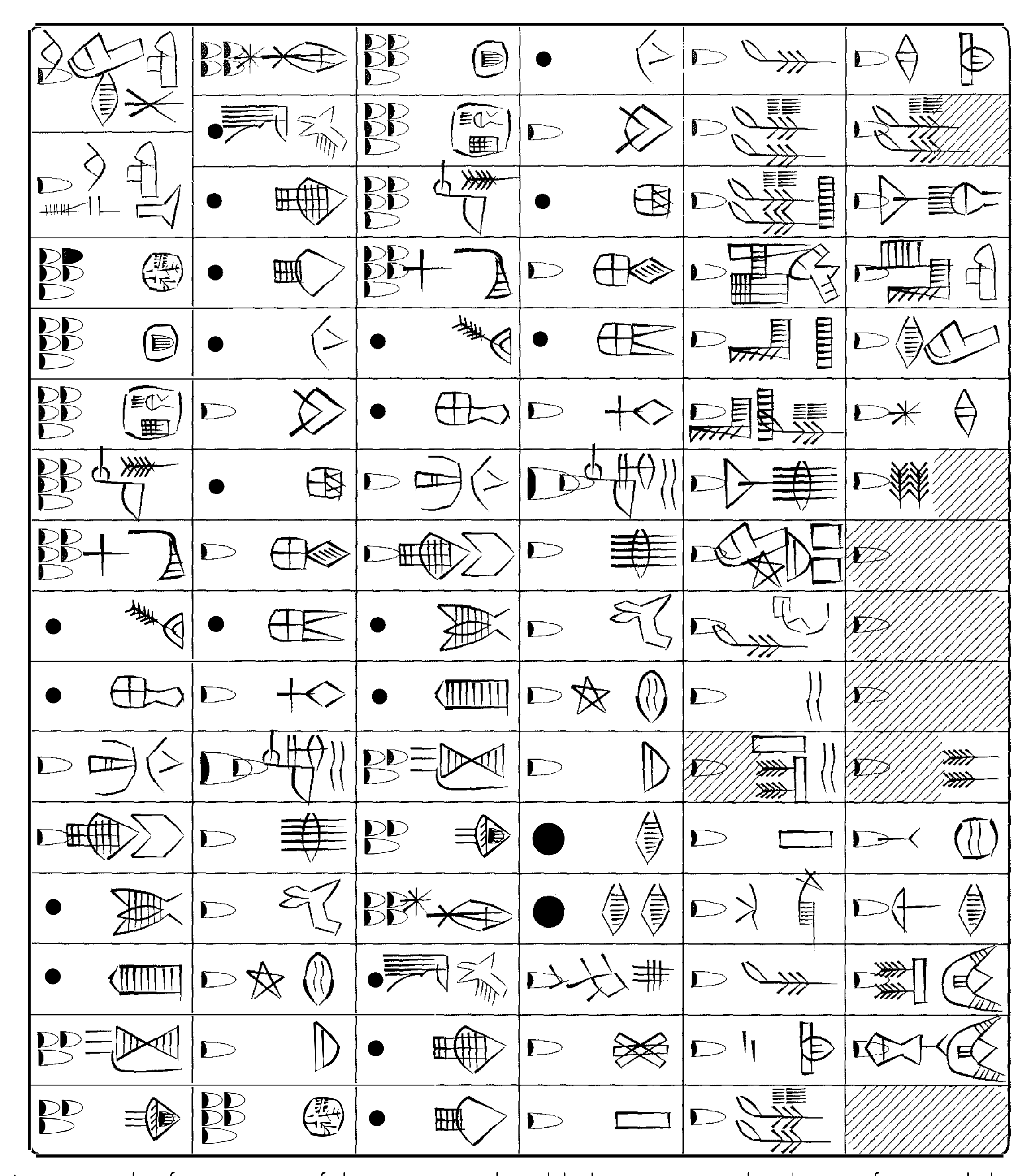
An archaic lexical list of 94 lines (see figure 30) contains the earliest work of written literature on earth.[221] This archaic composition, derived entirely from 57 witnesses of Uruk III period date and redacted down through the Old Babylonian period, derives its current name 'Tribute List' from additions to the text made in the Fara and the Old Babylonian periods which describe as 'tribute' (Sumerian gun_2) commodities listed in foregoing sections.[222]
This text has very little in common with other lists, which are characterized by their formal and simple division into entries introduced by the numerical sign N_1, by their semantically arranged contents – compositions of animals and animal products, of trees and wooden objects, etc. – in contrast to the highly complex format of administrative texts consisting for the most part of numerical notations representing commodities of varying size interspersed with hierarchically placed general qualifications. 'Tribute' in fact combines both, with blocks of quantitative entries consisting of numerical notations and signs or sign combinations representing animals, animal products and other commodities, preceded and followed by shorter sections consisting of apparent ideographic notations. These latter entries and all entries of the second half of the text are, like any other lexical list, introduced by the numerical sign N_1, and the many copies of the composition place it firmly in the lexical tradition.
Although the text is, despite the existence of redacted copies from later periods, including a version from Old Babylonian Nippur[223], poorly understood, the internal structure, in particular of the first half of the text, lines 1-58 in the archaic version, strongly suggests that it is a literary composition. After an introductory two-line section with ideographic notations (disregarding the entry-qualifying numerical sign N_1), the text contains a series of entries (lines 3-26) consisting of numerical notations and ideograms qualifying numbers and measures of Babylonian products and domestic and wild animals. A following four-line section consists of, again, only ideographic notations. Lines 31-58 repeat *line for line* the earlier section of numerical notations and ideograms; this passage repetition would reflect a common rhetorical technique in the oral traditions of folklore, very broadly employed in Mesopotamian literature,[224] and so be a strong indication that the text is an example of early literature.

[221] See ATU 3, 25-29, 112-120, the ED IIIa witnesses SF 12; TSŠ 264 + SF 13; OIP 99, nos. 402 (but possibly containing the beginning of the list "Plants"), 459 and 465; MEE 3, no. 47, pp. 153-154; MVN 3, 15; an edition of an Ur III witness of the same list (6N-T 676) is in preparation by M. Civil, and cp. the Old Babylonian version SLT 42 + Ni 1597 and the remarks by M. Civil and R.D. Biggs, RA 60 (1966) 11. J.G. Westenholz plans to publish forthcoming a commentary of this list.

[222] After the lines 30 and 58 was inserted $ša_3$ nam.gun_2 sum (only in the Old Babylonian version), after line 72 $ša_3$ gun_2 gi_4 (Early Dynastic) or $ša_3$ gun_2.bi nam.gi_4 (Old Babylonian). Unfortunately, even these later additions remain ambiguous; we might hazard translations 'giving (i.e., imposing) as tribute' and 'brought in as tribute', respectively, of the two insertions (compare the latter insertion to the introductory lines 5-7 [$ša_3$ (^{d}En.lil_2.la_2) gu_2.bi nam.gi_4] of Cylinder A of Gudea [D.O. Edzard, forthcoming, // Enki and the World Order 445-446, C.A. Benito, "Enki and Ninmaḫ" and "Enki and the World Order", UPenn dissertation, 1969, 113, ll. 446-447]).

[223] See above, n. 221.

[224] The Shulgi hymns, for example, commonly contain a long passage with a proclamation of the heroic acts the king would perform, followed by a more or less word for word repetition of the description of these acts. The 'Tribute' list will have been based on a similar play of events: perhaps a list of goods demanded



Moreover, the first section of the text can plausibly be interpreted to be conform with later traditions of literary introductions.[225]

and received. The notations ll. 27-30 // 55-58 (IŠ$_b$/SAḪAR / NAR / UB ŠA$_{3a}$ / GAR), albeit not understood, must have included the description of what was to happen with the goods listed. Lines corresponding to these from later periods remain, unfortunately, difficult to interpret (IŠ / NAR / GAR / URI IŠ ŠA$_3$ [ED] and IŠ / NAR / GAR / URI.RI IŠ X [Old Babylonian]). See C. Wilcke, FS Jacobsen, AS 20 (Chicago 1976) 212-13, for a concise description of the "epic repetition" in Sumerian literature.

[225] The signs U$_4$ in both cases might represent temporalis elements meaning "When ...". The sign AD$_a$ of the archaic version, l. 1, corresponds in the Fara version to a d.g i$_4$, perhaps "counsel(er)"; the meaning of the combination KI$_a$ SAG is unclear. In l. 2, the combination AD$_a$ ḪAL could refer to the correspondence *pirištu* from later tradition, meaning "secret", as J.G. Westenholz, op.cit., suspects; ABRIG would in this vein refer to the temple administrator *abarakkum*, who was entrusted with these "secrets". Compare also the Akkadian Gilgamesh epic, tablet XI 9-10: *luptēka* ᵈ*Gilgameš amat niṣirti u pirīšta ša ilāni kâša luqbēka* (see most recently S.B. Noegel, ASJ 16 [1994] 307).

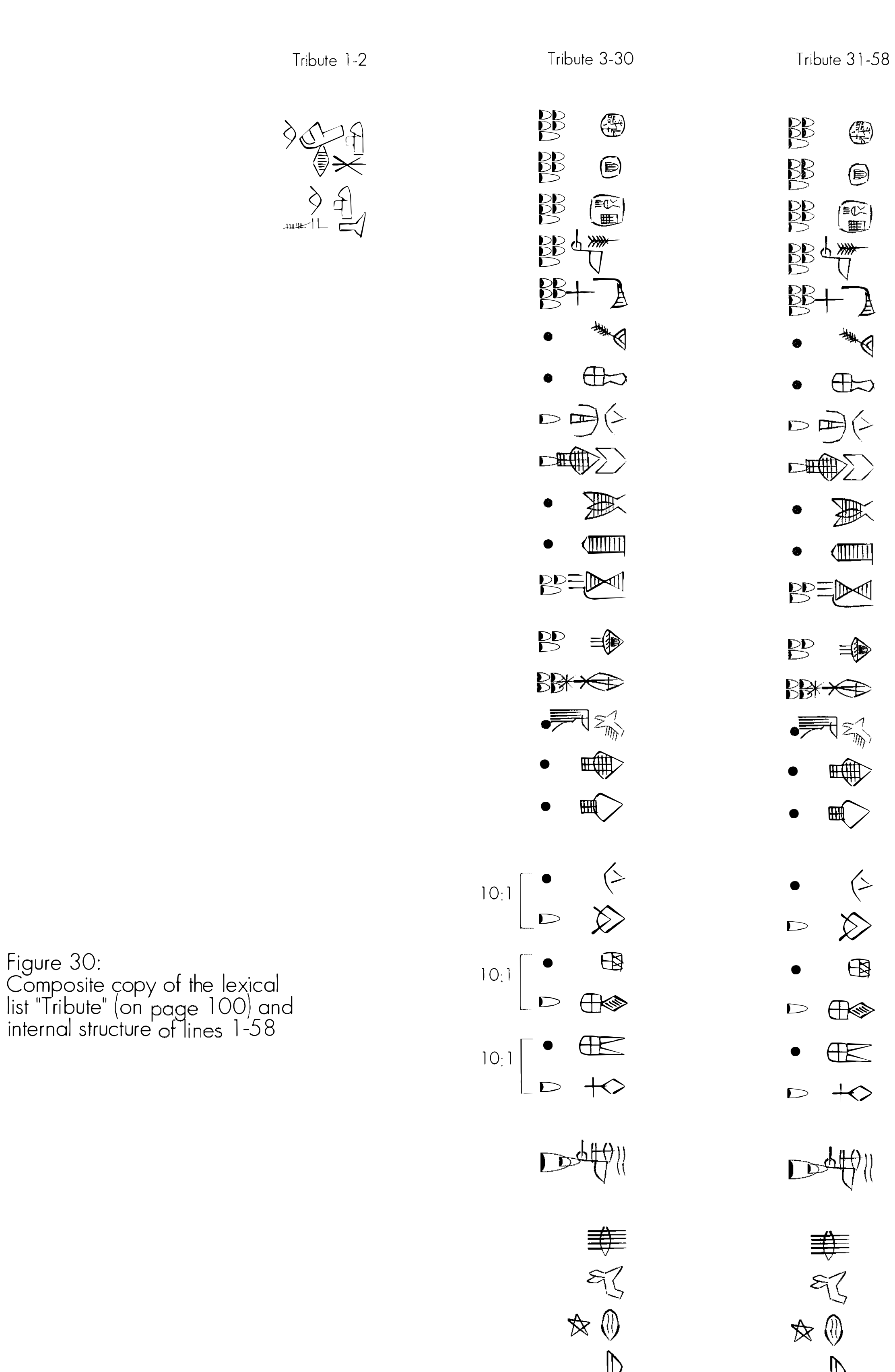


Figure 30:
Composite copy of the lexical list "Tribute" (on page 100) and internal structure of lines 1-58

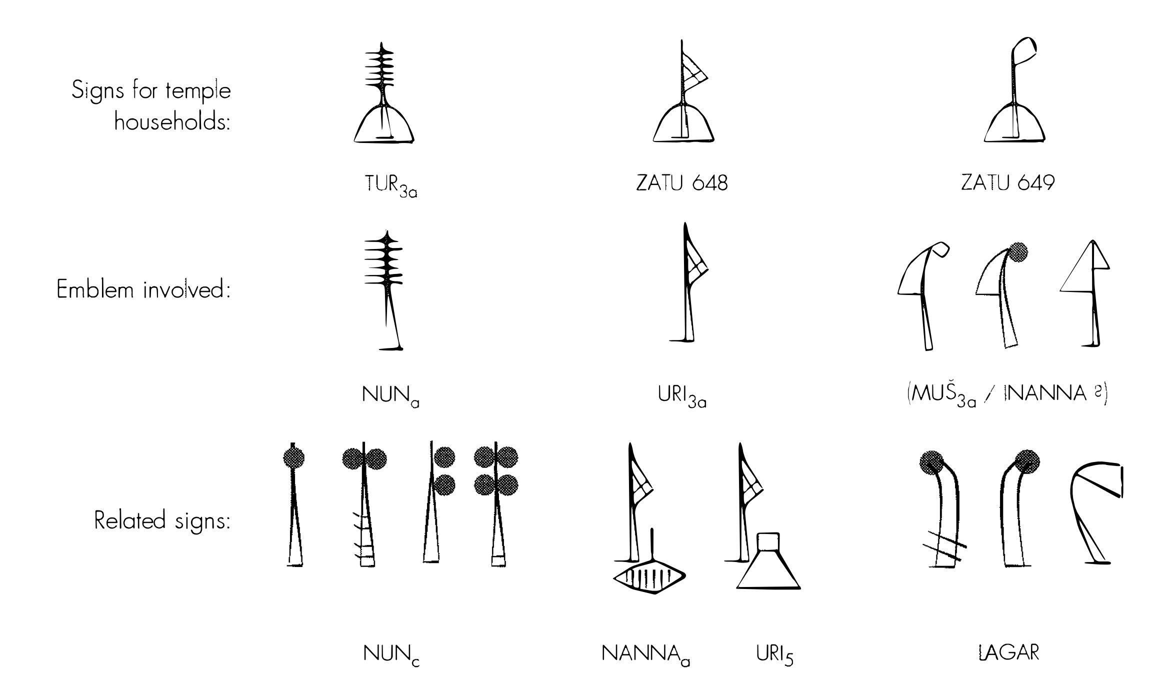


Figure 31: Signs representing archaic temple households
Overview of signs representing probable temple households in texts from archaic Uruk (all signs have been rotated 90° clockwise to demonstrate their original pictographic position).

The section following line 58 contains notations with ideograms whose meaning is unclear. Such repetitions of certain sign combinations as GI, GI ZI$_a$, GI ZI$_a$ ŠE$_3$ in lines 64-66 or EN$_a$ ŠE$_3$, EN$_a$ ŠE$_3$ ZI$_a$ in lines 68-69, none of which are attested as personal names or object designations, suggest that the text continues with literary narratives.
'Tribute' thus assumes the role as best candidate for a literary piece hidden among the many archaic lexical texts; it remains a matter of speculation why, given the very strong impact the Sumerian pantheon exercised on scribal choice of literary and lexical themes of the Fara period, we have no evidence of gods in the archaic lexical tradition, let alone in possible literary compositions. Certainly numerous signs and sign combinations are known in the archaic material that correspond to later divine names in the Sumerian pantheon, some of which combined with a sign representing a community building to stand for apparent temple households (see figure 31)[226]; the discrepancy in treatment of the referents behind these signs might, again, be the result of the vagaries of excavation, but might also point to a substantially different system, or level, of religious belief.

226 See K. Szarzynska, "Some of the oldest cult symbols in archaic Uruk," JEOL 30 (1987-88) 3-21; cp. further A. Falkenstein, ATU 1, pp. 58-60, E. Heinrich, Schilf und Lehm. Ein Beitrag zur Baugeschichte der Sumerer, Studien zur Bauforschung 6 (Berlin 1934) 1-18 + plts. 1-6; id., Bauwerke in der altsumerischen Bildkunst (Wiesbaden 1957) 11-38 ("Bauwerke in ländlicher Umgebung"); id., Die Tempel und Heiligtümer im alten Mesopotamien [...] (Berlin 1982) 6-7 with figs. 15-18; and, for a detailed current treatment of an archaic toponym iconography often based on cult symbols, R.J. Matthews, MSVO 2.

5.4.5. Persons

The first of two lists containing designations of persons consists of an apparent mix of personal and professional names.[227] An underlying structure or purpose in the composition is not obvious. After a section of 22 lines of which the first contained the sign $UKKIN_a$ (a vessel for dairy oil, in a transferred meaning referring to an official) and including subsections possibly based on sign association (in particular lines 14-22, all with the exception of 19 including the sign EN_a[228]), this list contains a number of entries corresponding to the first entries from the much better attested second list of personal designations.

Certainly the most popular of the lists from the archaic period is the compendium of designations of professions found in this so-called Lu_2 A[229] list (see figure 32). The 185 tablets and fragments currently known to contain witnesses of this list are rivaled only by the 91 texts with witnesses of the list with designations of agricultural products ('Vessels'). The complete composition must have numbered some 140 entries, of which over 130 are preserved in the archaic witnesses now available.[230] The numerous witnesses of the list from the Fara period and later demonstrate that the list was a central text in the scholarly tradition of the later third millennium, and although it consisted for the most part of professional designations no longer current, the sequence of signs was strictly adhered to. A simple comparison of the first entries of both archaic and ED IIIa versions (figure 33) underscores the importance of these compositions in determining exact sign correspondences and in charting paleographical development in the first half of the third millennium. Indeed, this list more than others with its nearly complete Uruk IV period forerunner text[231] has been a substantial aid in anchoring a number of signs from the earliest writing phase into an otherwise well known, but heretofore poorly documented, paleography of third millennium cuneiform (for some examples see figure 34[232]).

[227] See ATU 3, 19-22, 86-89, and the ED III witnesses SF 59 and MEE 3, no. 50. Related lists are known, see OIP 99, nos. 37, 62-71, MEE 3, no. 43, A. Archi, SEb 4 (1981) 177-204, id., RA 78 (1984) 171-174, F.M. Fales and Th.J.H. Krispijn, JEOL 26 (1979-80) 39-46; SF 28, 29, 44, 63, F. Pomponio, JAOS 104 (1984) 553-558.

[228] Cp. the Jemdet Nasr administrative text MSVO 1, 112, with entries of personal designations in the same sequence as the lines 16ff. of this list.

[229] See ATU 3, 14-19, 69-86, and the edition by E. Arcari, La lista di professioni "Early Dynastic *LU A*" [...] (Naples 1982), based on G. Pettinato, MEE 3 (1981) 3-25 (compare her "Sillabario di Ebla e ED LU A: Rapporti intercorrenti tra le due liste," OrAnt 22 [1983] 167-178). The name derives from the Sumerian designation for 'man', lu_2, which was the first element in a lexical list from later scribal tradition known as lu_2 = *ša*, 'lu_2 = (that one) which'. The various compendia dealing with this topic known to members of the project Materials for a Sumerian Dictionary were listed in a presumably chronological sequence and named (so far) Lu_2 A through E.

[230] The exact length of Lu_2 A remains uncertain. The colophon ⌜1N_{34}?⌝ [ ] on the reverse surface of the witness W 20517,2a+ proves that the list contained 60+ lines, and the best preserved tablet W 20266,1 contained from 90-100 entries.

[231] ATU 3, pl. 23 (and I), W 9656,h (1; see ATU 5, p. 49). Another four fragments from the Lu_2 A list date to the Uruk IV period. The five Uruk IV witnesses do not give us sufficient material to build a canonical version for the period, and W 9656,h1, deviates substantially from the canonical Uruk III period, so that it would still appear that no archaic lists were completely standardized before Uruk III.

[232] As an exception, the original orientation of the signs is kept in this figure in order to better follow the development from pictogram to abstract sign.

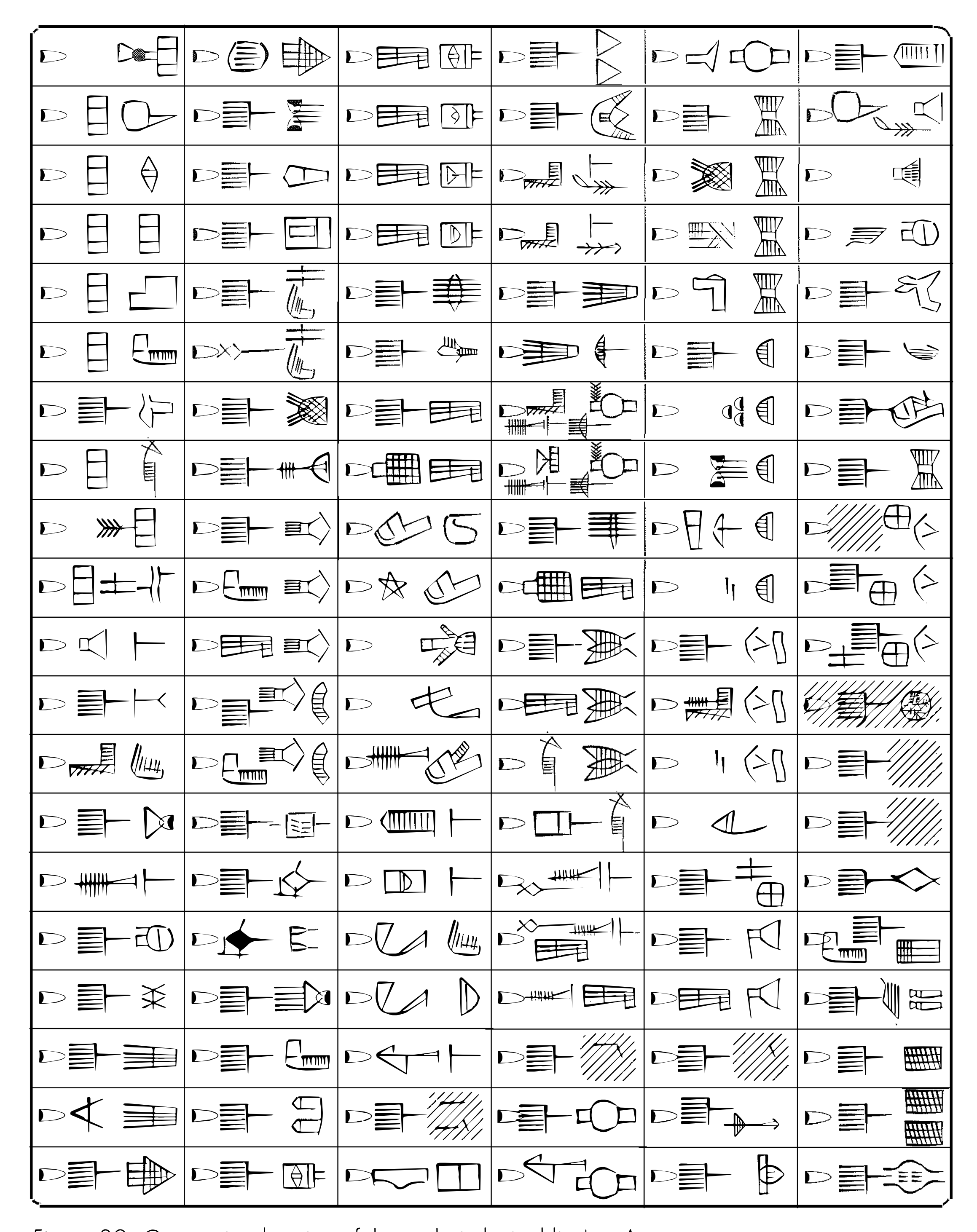


Figure 32: Composite drawing of the archaic lexical list Lu_2 A

Despite the fact that it has not been possible, based on the large numbers of administrative documents, to clearly understand the function of the professions represented in these entries, still considering the formal structure of the list we can make some general comments about such designations. H.J. Nissen has in various publications, beginning with his contribution to

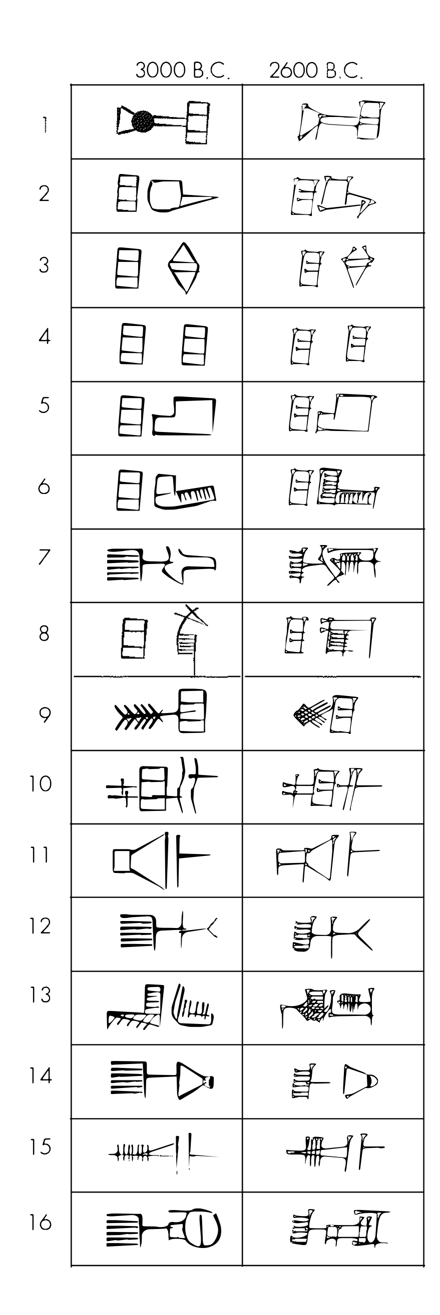


Figure 33: The first lines of the list Lu_2 A
A comparison of parallel lists from the Late Uruk (left column) and the Fara (right column) periods established numerous sign correspondences.

a preliminary edition of the Lu_2 list,[233] defended the theory that this list reflects in its internal structure the administrative hierarchy of archaic Uruk. Accordingly, the first entry in the list NAMEŠDA should represent the highest-ranking official in the administration of that city. While it is true that a much later lexical text offers a correspondence NAMEŠDA = Akkadian *šarru*, 'king',[234] the designation NAMEŠDA cannot in the archaic texts be shown to have qualified a substantial office.
Nonetheless, the first twenty entries of the list include sign combinations on the whole well attested in texts from Uruk. In particular the former Erlenmeyer collection contains extraordinarily well preserved accounts with clear evidence of the high rank enjoyed by those persons or

233 MSL 12, pp. 4-8.
234 MSL 12, p. 93.

Uruk IV ca. 3200	Uruk III ca. 3000	ED III ca. 2400	Ur III ca. 2000	Old Babylonian ca. 1700	Middle Assyrian ca. 1200	Neo-Babylonian ca. 600	meaning of archaic sign
							SAG "head"
							NINDA "ration"
							GU$_7$ "disbursement"
							AB$_2$ "cow"
							APIN "plow"
							KI "locality"

Figure 34: Paleographic development of selected cuneiform signs

offices represented in these entries (figure 35).[235] The large measures of grain represented by the numerical notations entered together with the officials titled NAM$_2$ URU$_a$, GAL$_a$ BAD+DIŠ$_a$, KINGAL, GAL$_a$ TE and GAL$_a$ SUKKAL, imply that these officials belonged to the upper ranks of the administrative hierarchy. Several signs, above all NAM$_2$ and GAL$_a$, are found in combinations in the Lu$_2$ list which suggest that they served to define the specific status of the persons qualified by the sign combinations.

5.5. Learning bookkeeping

That the evidence from the lexical lists cannot represent the complete learning of archaic scribes is obvious, given the thousands of administrative documents from archaic levels in Uruk and other Babylonian sites. The formats, the bookkeeping procedures, and the calculations of these accounts had to be mastered with high precision, and scribes must have had occasion to write exercise sections and full accounts before they were certified capable of administering 'state property'; in fact, not a few tablets can be classified as

[235] See H.J. Nissen, P. Damerow and R.K. Englund, Archaic Bookkeeping, in particular pp. 110-115, and P. Damerow and R.K. Englund, MSVO 3 (Berlin, forthcoming).

school accounts due primarily to the fact that despite the apparent completeness of their text they lack all indication of an administrative purpose. For instance, the Uruk IV period tablet W 9393,d (see figure 36) was formed, and one of its faces divided into individual cases in full accord with the standard procedure of the time. The author of this text then impressed numerical notations in each of the four cases, however without apparent ideographic signs which in standard accounts would designate the object so quantified, the persons or institutions concerned with the objects, or the administrative function of the objects or organizations.

The numerical notations, moreover, make every appearance of representing simple doodlings or random associations, beginning with three impressions of the rounded end of the small stylus, representing "30" in the sexagesimal system, followed in two cases by a small round impression set over an oblique impression of a large round stylus, each representing "600", and finally in the fourth case a single large oblique impression, representing "60".

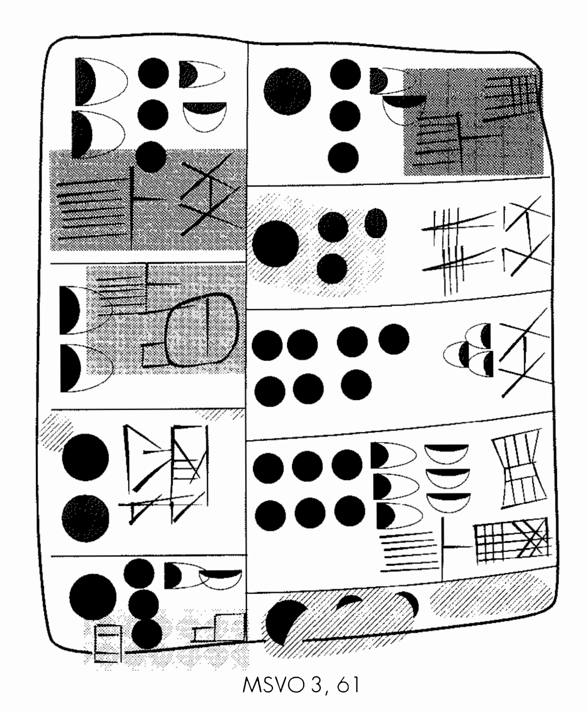
It might be tempting to believe that, despite the entirely irregular sequence of large and round numbers it contains, this and comparable tablets are simply incomplete accounts.[236] However, in this case another tablet found in the same locus suggests that we have in W 9393,a small collection of school accounts. Although the text W 9393,e (see figure 36) appears at first glance complete and consistent with a large number of accounts known from both the Uruk IV and the Uruk III periods, closer inspection shows that it is irregular. The sequence of entries of such commodities texts is incorrect; a list of products beginning with a measure of rough-ground grain recorded in the second case of the second column should have assumed the first place in the account, followed by the oil and textile products of the first column. Further, the entire account should be underwritten by an official acting for a unit of the Uruk administration; instead, the final two ideograms in the third column represent "sheep and goats", an ideographic combination which makes no sense in this context. For these reasons, the text is in all likelihood a school account, the more likely given the fact that it was found together with another very suspicious text.[237]

The three accounts W 20274,27-29[238] may similarly have been school texts. Taken alone, W 20274,28 might not seem out of the ordinary. The tablet contains two columns divided into cases, each with the exception of the final cases of both columns containing a numerical notation followed by ideograms representing products from domestic animals, above all butter oil, cheese and textiles. The final notation of the second column is in the preserved

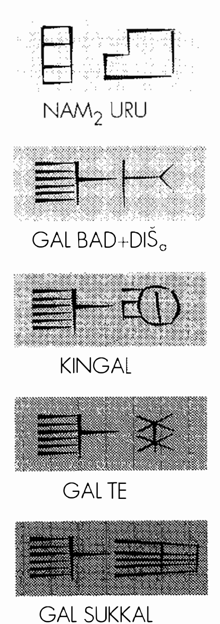
236 Consider in this connection the text W 20223 (R.K. Englund and H.J. Nissen, ATU 7, forthcoming) with dividing lines drawn on one surface, but with no apparent inscription, and the many so-called 'blanks', tablets which were formed in the usual, and time-consuming way, but which remained uninscribed (see, for instance, ATU 5, pl. 53, W 9312,aa; pl. 115, W 9656,iq ff. [the first tablet of this series in fact began and ended with a short notation]; photo of W 9656,iv on pl. V). The fate of unsuccessful accounts, be they from functioning bookkeeping offices or from the hands of suffering students, can be seen in a large number of inscribed tablets which were so mashed by a human hand while the clay was still malleable that the impression of the fingers are clearly visible on the ruined tablet surface (for example, ATU 5, pl. 84, W 9655,aq and ,ar).

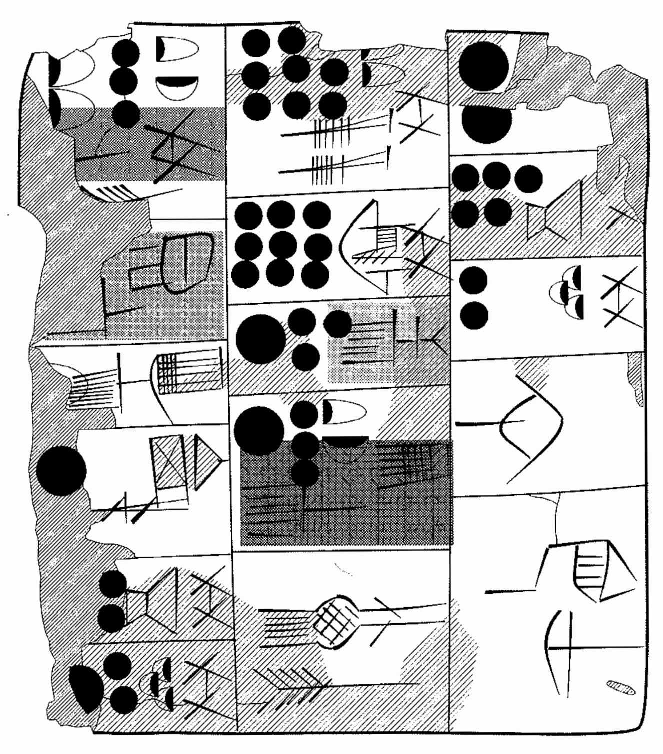
237 Another example is the text W 20517,1(ATU 7, forthcoming). The account, found together with three fragments of the list Lu_2 A, consists of one inscribed column, the cases of which contain notations representing numbers of vessels. No ideograms qualify the function of the text or the persons or institutions involved.

238 See the copies and photos in ATU 2, pl. 27-28.

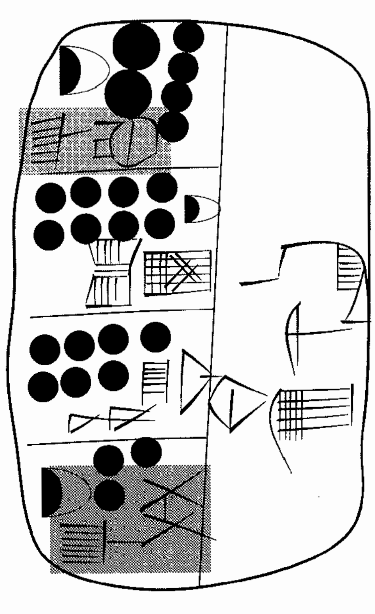


MSVO 3, 61





MSVO 3, 60



MSVO 3, 64

cases the sign GI, that of the first column a combination of the signs EN$_a$ KA and further signs. While the reoccurrence of the sign combination EN$_a$ KA and the sign GI in precisely the same location on three tablets found together could be explained as the result of accounts made up for the same official acting for different persons, the fact that the numerical notations of two of the cases of the tablet W 20274,27 were left blank suggests that the sign repetitions

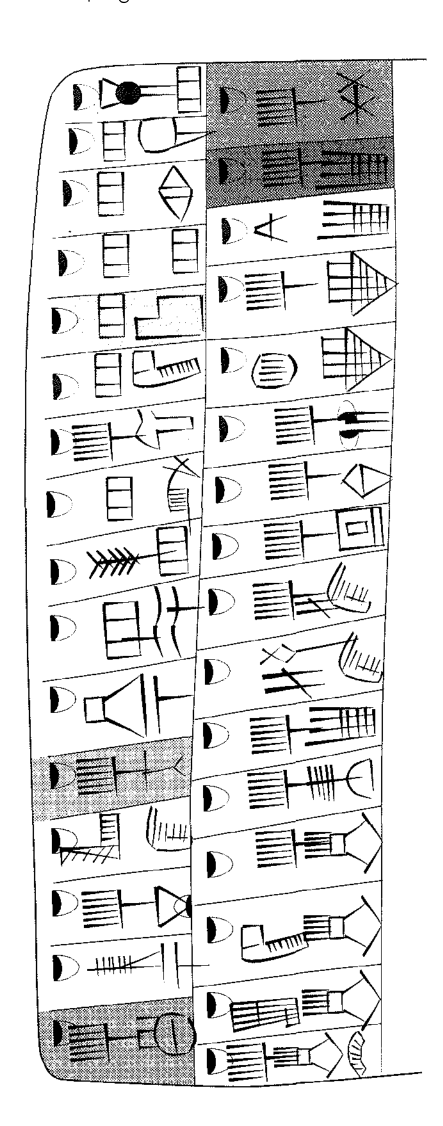


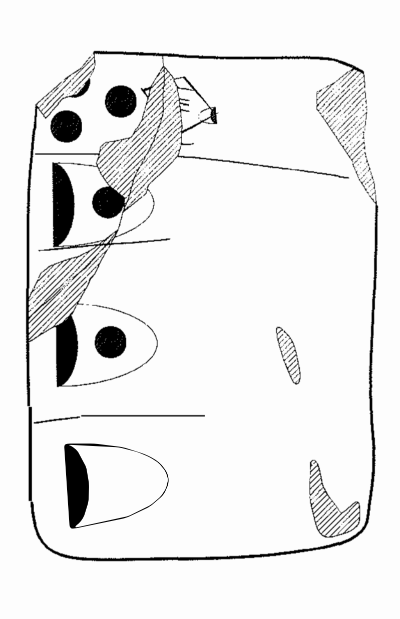
Figure 35: Administrative occurrences of lexical entries
The first two columns of the lexical list Lu_2 A (to the right, reconstructed from numerous fragments of copies) contain entries representing archaic titles and professions. The variously shaded examples on page 108 are well attested in administrative context, in the three texts here concerned with the distribution of substantial measures of grain.

are to the contrary to be understood as simple variations of a given account template and that all three are copying exercises.[239]

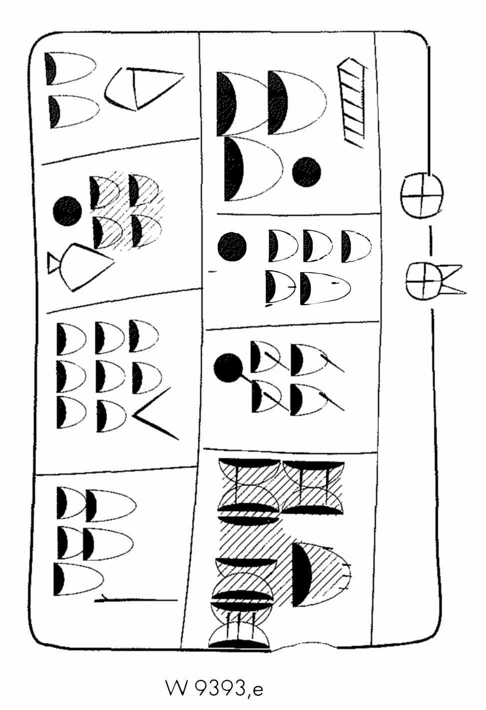
Two other school accounts may be cited as particularly involved at the level of bookkeeping procedures. The first, MSVO 3, 2,[240] will be dealt with below, section 6.3.4 (and see figure 77). The fact again that no ideograms in this text identify its purpose or the persons involved is evidence that the text served in the accounting office to record both accounting formats and important conversion values in dealing with grain products. The second text,

239 The reverse face of W 19416,a (ATU 7, forthcoming; the tablet is currently on display in the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Berlin-Charlottenburg) might represent a copy of the inscription on its obverse face. It is impossible to say whether the known account duplicates W 20274,33=89 (see R.K. Englund, BSA 8 [1995] 41-42, and figure 57 below) are to be ascribed to bookkeeping procedures or to the copying in schools of complete accounts. There are numerous examples known from later periods in Mesopotamia of account duplicates, and the purpose of such copies in an administrative atmosphere of distrust seems obvious, yet since we know that accounts formed a normal part of the school curriculum, these too should be reconsidered as to whether duplicates really assumed the same function as, for example, copies retained of letters.

240 The Uruk III period account from the antiquities market is to be provenienced to Uruk or Jemdet Nasr. See above, n. 51.



W 9393,d



W 9393,e

Figure 36: Archaic accounting exercises

W 19408,76[241] (below, figure 85), represents a school exercise from the Uruk IV period. The poorly preserved tablet contains only numerical signs together with horizontal or vertical strokes, known to represent 'widths' and 'lengths' of measured fields.[242] The four entries in two columns of both obverse and reverse of the text contain notations of widths and lengths with but slight variation. The average of the two 'length' measures in the first column of each side (1200 ninda, ca. 7.2 km) multiplied by the average of the two 'width' measures in the following column (900 n i n d a, ca. 5.4 km) results in an unrealistically large surface area of 10 ša r_2, or approximately 39 km^2. The documentation of two equally large fields must have resulted from taking an original artificial surface of 10 ša r_2 and manipulating the side measures which would define such an area.[243] No other known texts from the Uruk IV period present such clear evidence of a playful use of the new method of accounting.

[241] The importance of this text was first recognized by P. Damerow during a collation trip we undertook jointly to Heidelberg in 1986 in preparation of our Chapter 3 of the volume ATU 2 (see there p. 155[73]). It has since been dealt with by us in Archaic Bookkeeping, 55 and 58, fig. 50.

[242] The measure quantified in these notations with the sexagesimal counting system was itself in later cuneiform denoted with the sign GAR, with the reading 'n i n d a (n)', representing a measure of approximately 6 m. The use of this sign with this meaning is not known in the archaic text corpus, yet is should be remembered that the sign may itself have merely been a phonetic indicator of the reading of the sign DU in this metrological context. The sign combination GAR.DU known from the Fara period on is thus probably to be read ^{ninda}n i n d a $(n)_x$.

[243] This procedure is hardly likely to have been a coincidence. Furthermore, the largest field otherwise attested in comparable texts from the Uruk IV period measures somewhat more that 20 b u r_3 (W 20044,29, with obv. i 1-3: $6N_{34}\ N_{57}$ / $4N_{34}\ 6N_1\ N_{57}$ / $2N_{34}\ N_{58}$, leading to a calculation $((360 + 246) \div 2) \times 120 = 36{,}360$ š a r, or 20(b u r_3) 3.6(i k u)). The calculations evident in W 19408,76 demonstrate, by the way, that the ancient scribe very well knew and used the later method of multiplying the arithmetical means of the lengths of opposite sides of surfaces to derive an area measure.

6. Administrative systems

Despite the grave difficulties in deciphering the linguistic contents of the archaic texts, their numbers and consistent structure make them powerfully informative sources of socio-economical history. Both lexical lists and administrative accounts are in this regard important, since semantic categories signaled in the lexical material can be examined against the backdrop of the use of signs and sign combinations in administrative texts, whereas on the other hand signs and sign combinations found in similar contexts in the administrative texts can be tested against corresponding entries from lexical lists.

6.1 Numerical sign systems

Few Assyriologists like numbers. The treatment of early cuneiform texts has, as a result of a clear disregard for the importance of numerical notations and structures in accounts making up fully 90% of all clay tablets from this period, often been less than professional. Fortunately, the excavation and publication of the masses of administrative documents from the Ur III period, with their very involved bookkeeping formats and often impressively complex and precise calculations, have included some notable exceptions to an otherwise condescending approach of editors of administrative texts to the metro-mathematical basis of their material; the level of understanding of the accounting Sumerian recorded in those archives, of prosopography and of the administrative structures of which the accounts were evidence was as a consequence such that text analyses could be and were very successful.
An initial ordering of the written material excavated in archaic levels in Mesopotamia would not have been possible without reference to cuneiform from later periods, since analyses of proto-cuneiform signs proved that they were indeed linear precursors of abstracted cuneiform signs, and these latter signs were on the whole well understood. With this ordering, and since with few exceptions no sign sequences or even clusters seemed to correspond to sequences of signs which in later texts represented a spoken Sumerian, the contribution of early Assyriologists to the decipherment of proto-cuneiform ended.
It may surprise some that the most important recent advances in the decipherment of the proto-cuneiform documents have been made by and in collaboration with mathematicians with no formal training in Assyriology, J. Friberg and P. Damerow. But remembering that the great majority of archaic texts are administrative records of the collection and distribution of grain, inventories of dairy fats stored in jars of specific sizes, and so on, that is, documents above all made to record in time quantifiable objects, it is reasonable to expect that such documents would contain, no less than the accounts of current institutions, evidence of mathematical procedures used in the archaic period and that they would thus contain the seeds of the mathematical thinking which developed during the third millennium.
Scholars acquainted with accounting methods represented in documents from the third millennium were little impressed by the first archaic texts from excavations in southern Mesopotamia. With few exceptions, numerical signs corresponded both in form and in

apparent numerical meaning to deciphered signs from later texts. These correspondences were seen in

1) the form of signs impressed with styluses of different diameters. The numerical sign system best documented in the third millennium, the sexagesimal system (see figure 41), consisted of signs made by impressing the ends of two round styluses into the surface of clay tablets, either perpendicular to the surface, thus resulting in round impressions, or at an angle to the surface ranging from ca. 45° to 30°. The oblique impression of the smaller of the two styluses represented the basic unit "1"; the numerals 2-9 were inscribed by simply repeating the number of impressions representing "1". A round impression made with the same stylus represented the bundling unit "10", and the units 20-50 were in the same way written by simply repeating the impressions representing "10". The next step "60" was represented by an oblique impression of the larger of the two styluses, itself repeated up to 9 times to represent the number "540". The sign for "600" combined an oblique impression of the large stylus ("60") and a perpendicular impression of the small stylus ("10"). This latter sign could be repeated up to five times to represent "3000", and the sexagesimal bundling unit "3600", finally, was represented by a round impression of the large stylus. Exact correspondences to the graphic forms of these signs were located in the archaic texts; moreover, correspondences were seen in
2) the consistent adherence to the sequence of numerical signs employed in a coherent notation. A sexagesimal notation representing, for example, 1382 distinct units, could in principle be written by inscribing two "600" signs, 3 "60" signs and two "1" signs in any order, since in the sexagesimal system each of these signs was distinct and possessed a specific numerical meaning. An analogous situation would be a means of accounting using physical counters, for example clay balls, specific characteristics of which – size, form, color, for instance – served to represent the various bundling units of a numerical system. The unambiguous correspondence to specific members of a numerical system of such counters kept in a leather pouch would have to be obvious to all persons using this system. But even in this situation, when the balls were removed from the pouch the controller will doubtless have placed like counters together, both mentally and physically. Further, the meager evidence from impressions made on clay bullae from Susa[244] not unexpectedly suggests that these groups of like counters were also understood as forming a sequence beginning with forms of high to those of low numerical order. Whether the physical reality, that is, that in all numerical notations beginning in the Late Uruk period and carrying on through the third millennium, the curvilinear, then the cuneiform signs representing 'upper case' members of numerical systems were impressed *above* those representing 'lower case' members, reflects a practice of using calculating boards or boxes so divided that counters of larger quantities were placed above those of smaller quantities, is of course not certain, but would be a reasonable assumption.[245] Archaic

[244] See above, section 3.

[245] The Chinese abacus is a more modern example of the physical representation of higher and lower quantities. The referent of the proto-cuneiform sign SANGA may be a tallying board, with three compartments in an upper, and three in a lower register, and to the lower left a box to store counters.

scribes were very consistent in inscribing such notations, holding in the example cited above to a system-specific sign sequence 2× "600" + 3× "60" + 2× "1". This numerical 'syntax' reflected the same sign sequence known from later texts. The correspondence of archaic numerical signs to signs known from later third millennium accounts to be sexagesimal, finally, was seen and mathematically proven in

3) summations in archaic accounts. Account format dictated that totals were inscribed on the reverse face of a text, facilitating the isolation of such summations for study. The few instances in the earliest published archaic texts, from the antiquities market and from Jemdet Nasr, of sexagesimal summations, or at least summations of a bisexagesimal system which bore the same numerical structure in the signs representing "1", "10" and "60", were sufficient to demonstrate the respective values of the numerical signs attested, and the pool of these summations available for a demonstration of the existence of a sexagesimal system in the archaic texts was substantially increased with excavation and publication of texts from archaic levels of Uruk.

Possibly influenced by the attempts of V. Scheil to integrate into a 'unified decimal system' all numerical notations found in the accounting tablets excavated in archaic levels of Elamite Susa[246], S. Langdon in his publication of the proto-cuneiform texts from Jemdet Nasr believed the texts clearly demonstrated the existence in archaic Mesopotamia of not only the sexagesimal system of counting and a complex metrological system used in notations of area measures, but also a decimal-based system used to qualify grain measures.[247] The texts available to Langdon offered sufficient evidence to prove, or at least offered no evidence to disprove, a numerical and semantic correspondence between the former two numerical systems and those systems known from later periods to qualify discrete objects and surface measures, respectively. However, the same text archive demonstrated that in fact no decimal structure underlay the metrological grain capacity system.

This was obvious enough and partially understood by Langdon, and in 1937 well documented by Falkenstein (see below) insofar as the numerical signs were concerned which represented measures smaller than the basic unit N_1 ( ), and those which on the other hand represented a measure greater than that recorded with the sign N_{45} (●), presumed by Langdon and Scheil to have been a measure 100 times as large as that of the basic unit. The former units corresponded first with an oblique impression of the rounded end of a large stylus (, N_{39}) to a measure one-fifth the size of the basic unit, then with more complex signs to a sequence of decreasing fractions $^1/_n$ of this measure, whereby "n" was determined by the number of oblique impressions made by the rounded end of a thin stylus around a central point in a specific sign. Thus = $^1/_2$ N_{39}, = $^1/_3$ N_{39}, and so on. The first sign of the latter units, N_{34}, was shown to stand for a measure three times as large as that represented by the sign N_{45}, and larger measures were represented using the next higher bundling sign in the sexagesimal system, N_{48}.

[246] See P. Damerow and R.K. Englund, Tepe Yahya, pp. 18-19.

[247] Langdon discussed in OECT 7, 63, the "ordinary" system believed by him to be decimal in structure. He cited, however, the addition 20 + 20 + 20 on the obverse face of the text 108 (now = MSVO 1, 96).

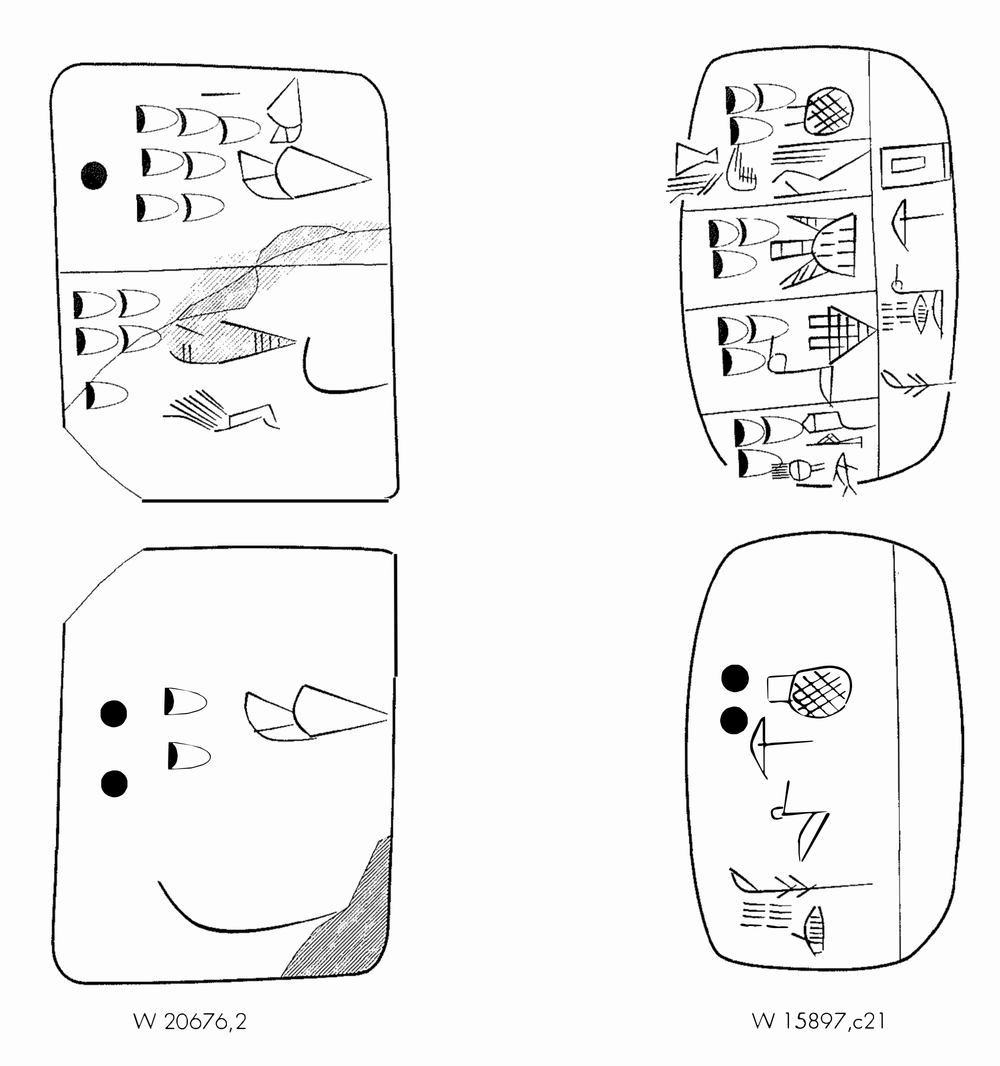


Figure 37: Dairy oil and barley accounts
The text on the left contains an apparent addition of $7N_1 + 5N_1 = N_{14}\ 2N_1$ (disregarding the N_{14} in the first entry and the total), resulting in the equation $10N_1 = N_{14}$. A substitution of this value in the account to the right would be false, since there $12N_1 = 2N_{14}$, or $6N_1 = N_{14}$. This latter relationship remained hidden from editors of archaic texts for 50 years, until the Swedish mathematician J. Friberg uncovered it while examining grain accounts from the Jemdet Nasr period.

The decimal structure of the archaic grain capacity system was consequently believed by Langdon to be restricted to the sequence of the three signs N_{45} (●), N_{14} (•) and N_1 (▷) in the relationship

$$N_{45} = 10 \times N_{14},\ N_{14} = 10 \times N_1.$$

This, as it turned out, fallacious identification formed the basis of all subsequent Assyriological publications of grain accounts – certainly the large majority of all archaic texts – until the work of J. Friberg was published in the late 1970's. The Swedish mathematician first became interested in Babylonian texts when he read the quadratic equation table Plimpton 322 (MCT, text A) during a 1973-74 sabbatical in Milwaukee, and went on to read O. Neugebauer's MKT in Madison. Back in Göteborg, Friberg returned sporadically to the question of early numbers, and in preparing for a series of lectures on cuneiform mathematics

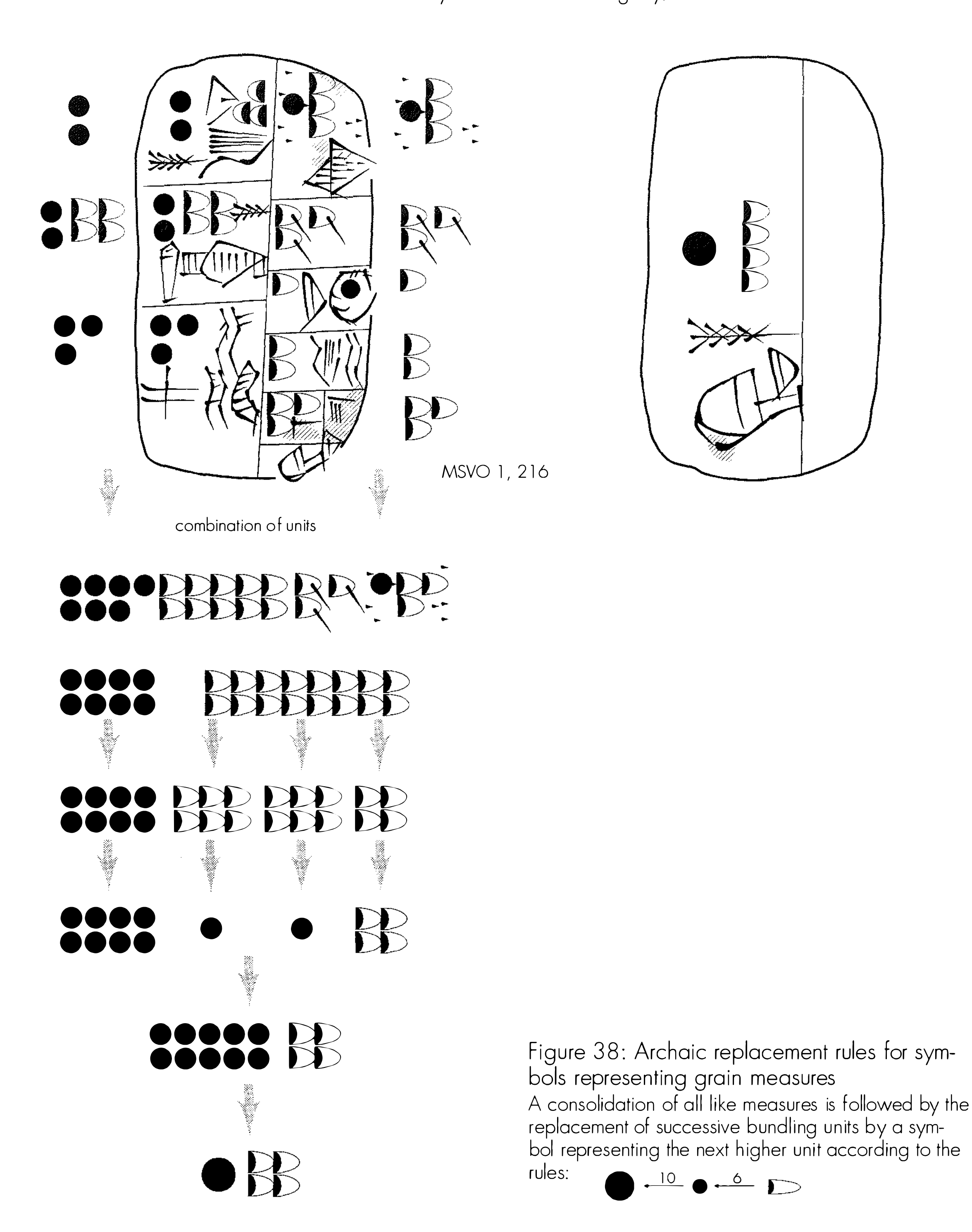


Figure 38: Archaic replacement rules for symbols representing grain measures
A consolidation of all like measures is followed by the replacement of successive bundling units by a symbol representing the next higher unit according to the rules: ← 10 ← 6

at Chalmers Technical University he noticed that the traditional interpretation of the archaic grain capacity system, attested in a number of seemingly straightforward calculations in accounts from the Jemdet Nasr period found in scattered publications, was incorrect.[248] His

[248] See in particular his ERBM I, pp. 7-10, and II, pp. 19-27, to the texts BIN 8, 3 and 5.

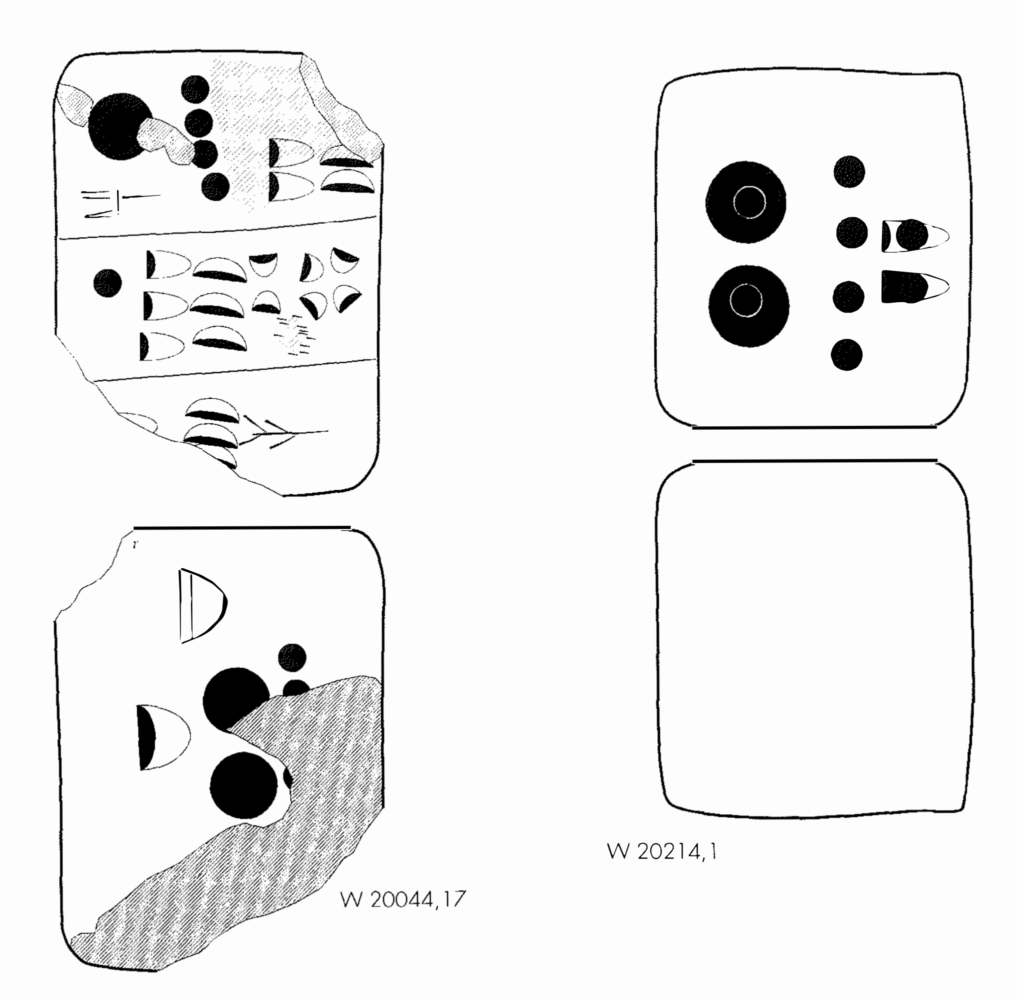
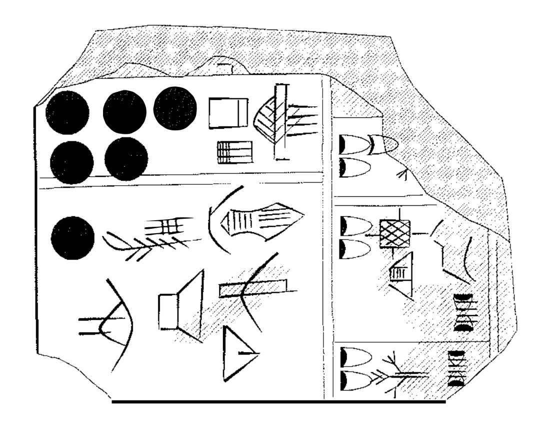


Figure 39: Determining numerical sign sequences
The numerical sign sequences contained in archaic texts such as the Uruk IV period accounts W 20044,14 and 20214,1 above were important indications of the structure of the respective numerical sign systems. The first example alone makes likely the otherwise known grain capacity system series $N_{34} > N_{45} > N_{14} > N_{1} > N_{39} > N_{24} > N_{28}$ (combining the notations of the obverse and the reverse faces); the second the area system series $N_{50} > N_{14} > N_{22}$.

strongest piece of evidence supporting a new interpretation of the data was an apparent grain account edited by A. Falkenstein in 1937.[249] In a format well known in particular from accounts in the Jemdet Nasr archive, the text records discrete numbers of grain products together with the amounts of variously qualified grains needed for their production. The products themselves could be designated with numerical signs derived from the metrological system employed to quantify grain capacity units.

For instance, the first line contains the notations $1N_{34}$ $1N_{39a}$; $2N_{20}$, which can be translated "60 of the (grain rations containing) ⌣ (of grain); (grain involved:) 2 • (of ground barley)". This calculation contradicts the assumed numerical relationship $10N_1 = 1N_{14}$, since as was well known the measure represented by the sign N_{39} was $^1/_5$ of that represented by N_1, so that $60 \times {}^1/_5 = 12$ and not 20, as $2N_{14}$ would imply. Instead of relying on complicated

[249] OLZ 40 (1937) 410 no. 6 (now = MSVO 4, 66, and see below, fig. 75).



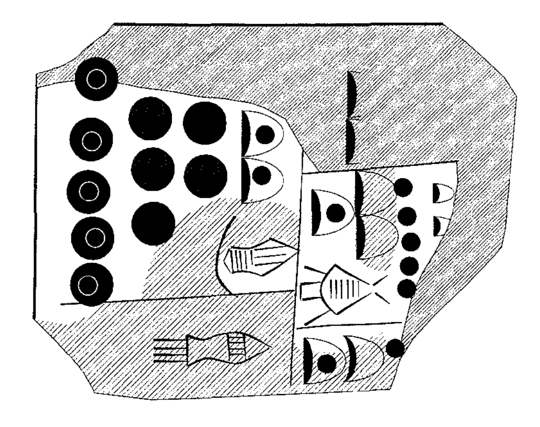


Figure 40: W 20568
Obverse and reverse of this account contain notations representing very large numbers of the product $ŠU_2$+ DUR_b, of unclear meaning (the sign DUR_b might denote a coil of rope, in accord with later meaning). The apparent total in the left column of the reverse represented at least 199,200 units counted with the sexagesimal system.

technological explanations to dispense with this contradiction,[250] Friberg tested in further calculations in this and other texts the seemingly obvious hypothesis that N_{14} was not equal to $10N_1$, but rather to $6N_1$. This assumed value of N_{14} proved to be correct in all archaic grain notations (figure 37 demonstrates the use of summations to clarify the relationship between N_{14} and N_1 in the two systems in Uruk texts, figure 38 the bundling steps in a more complex grain calculation from Jemdet Nasr). This arithmetical ambiguity, namely, that identical signs can occur in different systems with different numerical meanings, is the most unusual characteristic of the archaic numerical systems.

Some five years after Friberg published the first of two volumes dealing with the results of his research on archaic texts, P. Damerow and I began a cooperative effort to order and define the numerical systems attested in the archaic texts from Uruk.[251] Although in number this group of texts was substantially larger than all other archaic texts together, the poor state of preservation of the Uruk texts was such that the numerical notations they contained could

[250] A. Falkenstein, OLZ 40 (1937) 404-405: "If we do the calculation in obverse i 1, for which the fraction is known, we see that 20 units of grain result in only 60 bread loaves each with $^1/_5$ of the basic unit and not, as the calculation would lead us to expect, 100 loaves. This difficulty is immediately solved if we relate the statement in i 1a "(loaves of) $^1/_5$ (of the basic unit)" not to grain, but to flour, and then reckon with a natural loss during grain milling. A loss of 40% during milling of the grain is well within reasonable limits."

[251] Published in ATU 2, pp. 117-166. See now for a theoretical consideration of our results P. Damerow, Abstraction and Representation: Essays on the Cultural Evolution of Thinking (Dordrecht, Boston, London 1996) 329-370.

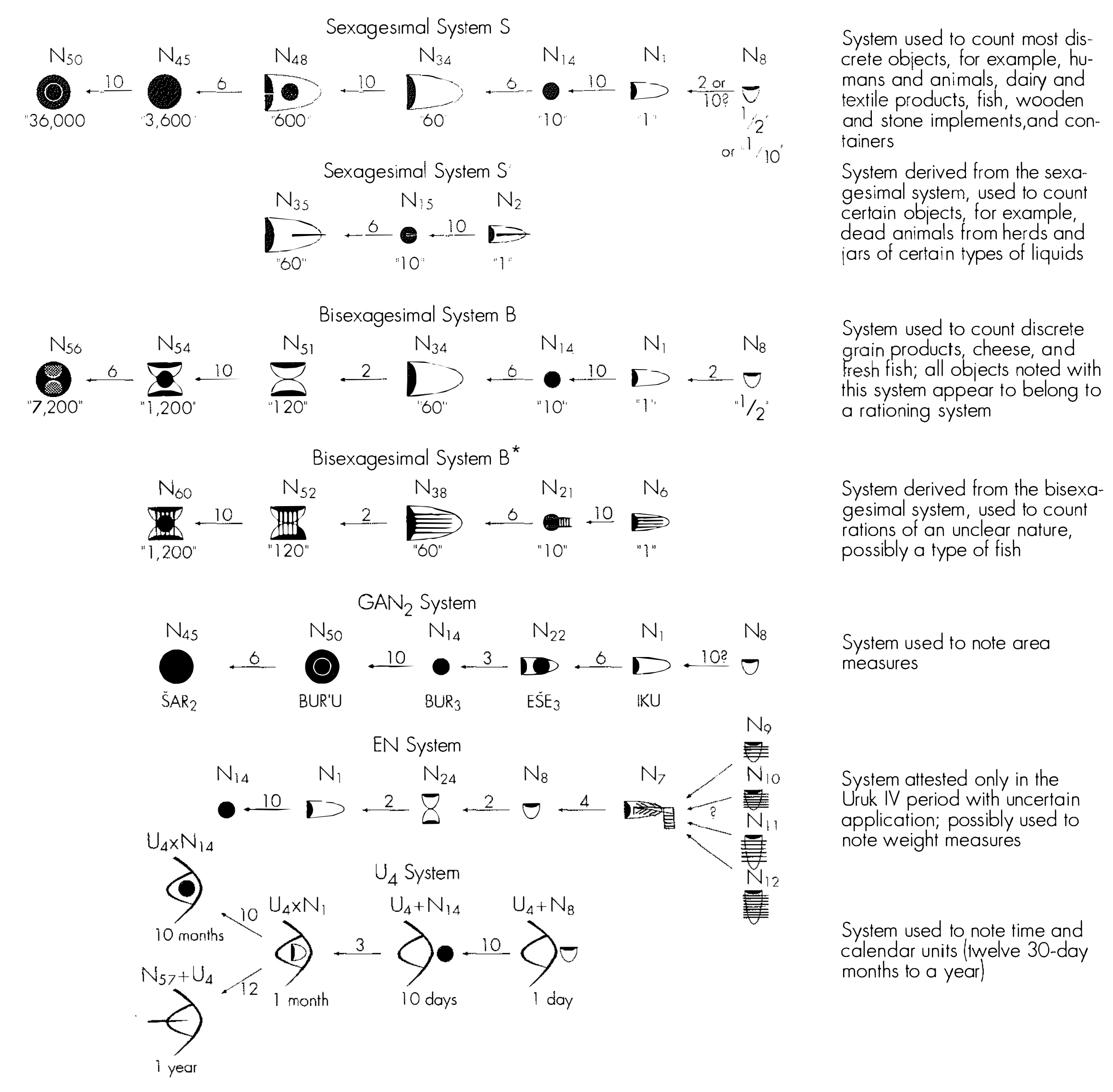


Figure 41: Numerical systems used in archaic texts

often only be understood in the light of an analysis of the better preserved accounts from Jemdet Nasr and elsewhere. Thus the work of Friberg on the grain capacity system, and that of the Russian scholar A.A. Vajman[252] on the two numerical systems used to qualify discrete objects, namely, the sexagesimal and the so-called bisexagesimal systems, built a welcome starting point for our work on the Uruk material.

We were in this effort able to identify the use in the archaic period of no less than five basic numerical systems, from which a number of systems were derived through the addition to numerical notations of qualifying strokes and dots impressed with the stylus used to inscribe

[252] See "Protosumerische Mass- und Zählsysteme," BaM 20 (1989) 114-120 (German translation of Vajman's Russian article published in Trudy XIII Meždunarod. Kongr. po Istorii nauki [1974] III-IV, 6-11), and the comments of P. Damerow and R.K. Englund, "Bemerkungen zu den vorangehenden Aufsätzen von A.A. Vajman unter Berücksichtigung der 1987 erschienenen Zeichenliste ATU 2," BaM 20, 133-138.

N24, N26, N28, N29, N30a, N30c

2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10

System used to note capacity measures of grain, in particular barley; the small units also used to designate bisexagesimally counted cereal products

ŠE System Š

N48 ← 10 – N34 ← 3 – N45 ← 10 – N14 ← 6 – N1 ← 5 – N39

System used to note capacity measures of a certain grain, probably germinated barley (malt) used in brewing beer

ŠE System Š'

N45 ← 10 – N18 ← 6 – N3 ← 5 – N40 ← 2 – N24

System used to note capacity measures of a certain grain, probably various kinds of emmer

ŠE System Š"

N46 ← 6? – N49 ← 10 – N36 ← 3 – N46 ← 10 – N19 ← 6 – N4 ← 5 – N41

System used to note capacity measures of grain, probably barley groats used to make certain grain products

ŠE System Š*

N37 ← 3 – N47 ← 10 – N20 ← 6 – N5 ← 5 – N42 ← 2, 3, 4 – N25, N27, N28*

System used to note capacity measures of certain products, in particular a milk product, probably dairy fats

DUG$_b$ System

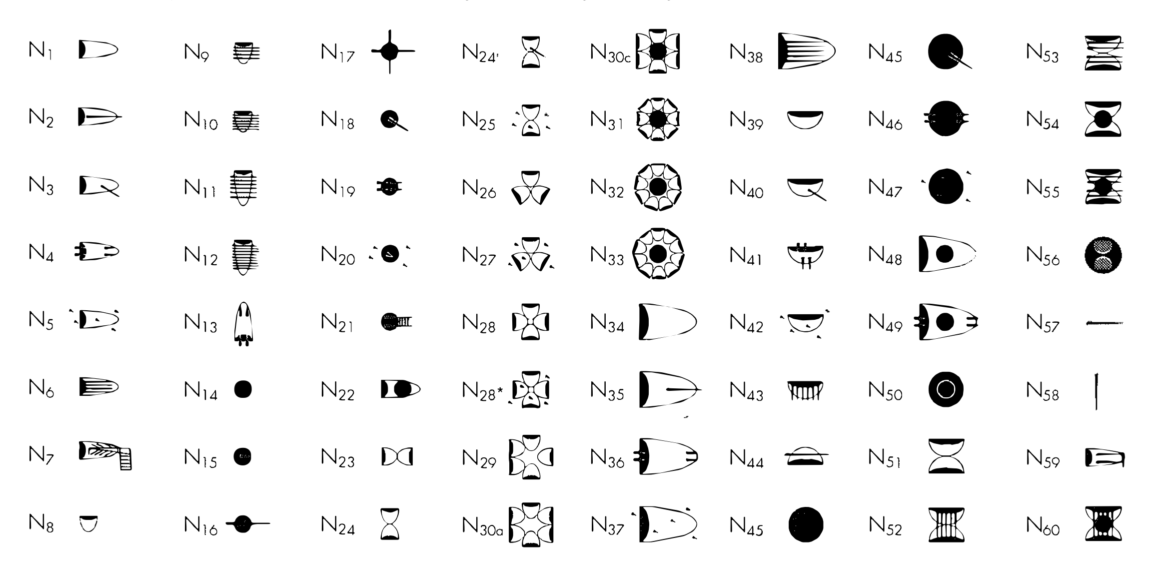
N$_1$.DUG$_b$ ← 10 – N$_1$.SILA$_{3a}$

System used to note capacity measures of certain products, probably dairy fats

DUG$_c$ System

N$_1$.DUG$_c$ ← 2 – N$_1$.KU$_{3a}$ ← 5 – N2

Notational correspondences of archaic numerical signs, according to the sign list ATU 2:



ideograms. The formal graphic structure of the systems (see figures 39-40) and the consistency in the use of four of these systems in qualifying objects from specific semantic fields could then be exploited to isolate very short or only partially preserved notations in the fragmentary Uruk tablets which could be used in a statistical analysis of sign sequence probabilities. In many cases, the likelihood that the numerical sign sequences known from clear notations and summations in preserved texts did not apply to the damaged Uruk texts could be dismissed. In all others, few contradictions to the complete systems as documented above all in the Jemdet Nasr texts could be found.

The numerical systems employed in the accounts of the archaic period thus include the sexagesimal[253] or the bisexagesimal[254] system, the grain (ŠE) capacity system, the area (GAN_2, 'field') system and the still unclear EN system (based on the use of the sign EN with a numerical sign characteristic of the system, N_7; see figure 41). Derived systems with identical arithmetical structures, but diverging graphic representations as well as fields of application, complemented the basic systems. Further numerical sign systems, for example a system used in timekeeping notations and one used in qualifying liquid measures, combined both numerical and ideographic signs to emphasize special metrological relationships.

Despite difficulties in delineating the rules behind the choice of specific numerical systems to qualify different objects, the fact that we now understand their formal fields of application has proven of some importance in our research on archaic administration. The sexagesimal and bisexagesimal systems as well as their derivatives were used for discrete, that is, countable objects. Scribes employed a strict differentiation of the systems; all animals and humans, animal products, dried fish, fruits, tools, stones, and pots were qualified with the sexagesimal, whereas all grain products, cheeses and, apparently, fresh fish, were qualified with the bisexagesimal system. These latter products are believed to derive from an archaic rationing system. Systems derived from these two were used for quite specific contexts. The S' system as a derivative of the sexagesimal system was apparently used exclusively either for the recording of slaughtered or perished cattle of a current accounting year or for denoting a sub-unit in a metrological system used to qualify amounts of dairy oil; the B* system as derivative of the bisexagesimal system might have qualified a certain type of fish product.

The ŠE system and its various derivatives qualified exclusively capacity measures of cereals, whereby each system most probably was used in connection with a specific type of grain – botanical in the case of Š" representing emmer, or processed in the case of Š' for malt, and Š* for crushed barley. The GAN_2 system was used to record field measures.

[253] The rationale behind the sexagesimal system has been widely discussed, unfortunately without issue. The name is something of a misnomer, since the system really consists of bundling steps of 10 and 6, leading to Vaiman's unsuccessful attempt (see the article cited in the previous note) to introduce the terminology "ten-six counting system" into the discussion. The divisibility by thirty and the fact that in the archaic period an ideal month of thirty days was employed in administration suggests the possibility that the sexagesimal system was tied to time calculations.

[254] A.A. Vajman was the first to differentiate between the sexagesimal and bisexagesimal systems, see the article cited above. He referred to a "modified ten-six counting system"; we have chosen the term 'bisexagesimal' to make more explicit the use of a new sign ⌛, consisting of two signs representing "60" in the sexagesimal system set back to back and rotated 90 degrees.

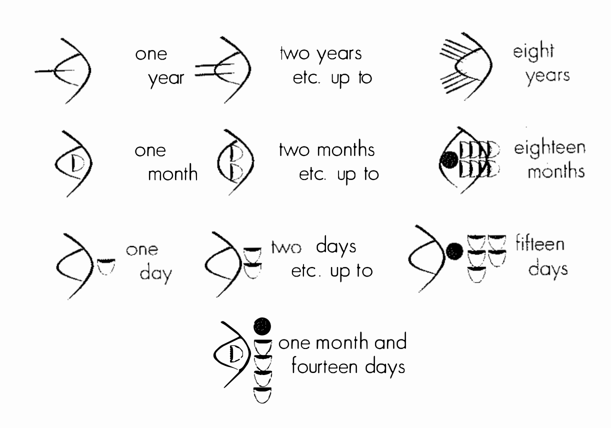


Figure 42: Vajman's timekeeping system

6.2 Timekeeping

A glance at your wristwatch transports you back five thousand years. The division of the hour into 60 minutes (medieval Latin: (pars) *minuta* prima, "smallest part of the first order"), of the minute into 60 seconds ((pars) minuta *secunda*, "smallest part of the second order"), reflects the sexagesimal system of counting well developed at the inception of writing in Uruk toward the end of the 4th millennium B.C. This counting system, used much later by Babylonian astronomers in very involved time/distance measuring calculations, fascinated classical thinkers, and was carried into the modern system of time divisions first quantified and standardized by medieval clock builders.

The sexagesimal system was used in the archaic period to count discrete objects (above, section 6.1), and it may turn out to be an interesting coincidence that this method of counting was a product of a preliterate device used to reckon time – not minutes and seconds, but months and days. For the unevenness of a 29 $^1/_2$-day lunar cycle was probably corrected well before the Uruk III period, when calculations in accounts can be shown to be based on a 30-day month, and a 360-day year (figure 41, U_4 system).

The first Assyriologist to devote serious attention to the formal make-up of archaic time notations was A.A. Vajman,[255] who, based on later third millennium tradition and on a measure of intuition, reconstructed the system of time notation for the Uruk period depicted in figure 42.[256]

[255] No serious attempt was made by the first editors of the archaic corpora from Jemdet Nasr and Uruk to analyze the archaic time notations, although both S. Langdon and A. Falkenstein were in agreement that time divisions were expressed by use of the sign U_4, "day(light)". Langdon (commentary in OECT 7 to the sign nos. 172-177), confusing N_8 (◡) and N_{39a} (◡) as a division of N_1 in grain notations, believed that the notations of the form U_4+nN_8 were daily grain rations, the notations U_4×nN_1 possibly day notations; finally, to nN_{57}+U_4 he remarked that a "comparison of [these signs] with the Sargonic form REC 236 makes the identification [with iti=month] certain". Falkenstein indicated in ATU 1, p.48, his belief that the graph N_{57}+U_4 represented 'one day'. R. Labat incorporated these errors into his signlist Manuel d épigraphie akkadienne.

[256] See A.A. Vajman, ActAntH 22 (1974) 19-20; id., BaM 20 (1989) 114-120. Vajman erroneously refers to a notation (U_4×N_1)+N_{14}.4N_8 in the text OECT 7, no. 84 (now MSVO 1, 121, fig. 43 here), which according to collation and contextual calculation must be read (U_4×N_1)+5'N_8.

The formal characteristics of this system based on the sign U_4 (considering the sign's later semantic range from day(light) to white to sun(god), generally assumed to have been the representation of the sun rising among the mountains east of Mesopotamia), with horizontal strokes (nN_{57}) to the left of U_4 to count years, very likely sexagesimal number signs impressed with the rounded end of the stylus within the sign to count months, and finally likely sexagesimal number signs turned 90° to the right and impressed to the right of the sign to count days.[257]

6.2.1. Cardinal time notations

The structure of the archaic timekeeping system described here has now been proven through analysis of grain calculations which turned out to have been based on units of time (figure 43). Once the relationship between the signs N_1 and N_{14} of the grain capacity system had been established, the first step in the mathematical determination of the timekeeping system was possible, namely, the decipherment of the numerical meaning of the sign TAR_a. This sign was shown to represent the addition of $^1/_{10}$ to a given quantity in grain notations.[258]
Thus the text MSVO 1, 121 (figure 43, top), can be reconstructed in the following way:

obv. i	1a1	[U_4+N_{14}.8N_8 1N_{57} T]I_a GIR_3*gunû*	[18 days' (grain measures) for the first (period, from?)] PN,
	a2	[U_4+]N_{14}.4N_8 2N_{57}	14 [days'] (grain measures) for the second,
	a3	[U_4+]3N_8 3N_{57}	3 [days'] (grain measures) for the third,
	1b	(U_4×N_1)+5N_8	(altogether) one month and 5 days,
	1c	3N_1 2N_{39a} N_{24} $ŠE_a$	(makes) 35 N_{24} of grain,
	1d	N_{39a} N_{24} N_{30} TAR_a	$^1/_{10}$: 3 $^1/_3$ (!?) N_{24}
	1e	UNUG	(for ?) Uruk.
	2a	[ ] NAMEŠDA	[...] for the NAMEŠDA,

[257] See ATU 2, 145-146, and my "Administrative Timekeeping in Ancient Mesopotamia," JESHO 31 (1988) 121-185. We have now notations for up to 10N_{57}+U_4 (10[th] year[s ? – cardinal and ordinal usages of these time notations were not graphically differentiated]; W 14731,u+, in JESHO 31, 139), up to U_4×3N_{14}.7N_1 (37 months ; MSVO 3, 29, see below, fig. 69) and up to U_4+2N_{14} (20 days; W 20274,90, in JESHO 31, 139). Few mixed notations of the type (U_4×xN_1)+(yN_{14}.)zN_1 for x "months" and (10y+)z "days" are known, and none of the type (xN_{57}+(U_4×yN_1)) for x "years" and y "months"; instead, numerical notations representing up to 37 months were inscribed within the sign U_4 (the only candidate for a mixed "year/month" notation known to me is the difficult 3N_{57}+U_4 SU 6[+]N_1 ... in MSVO 1, 90, discussed below, section 6.3.4).

[258] The sign, in ATU 2 under TAR (and see here fig. 43 to MSVO 1, 121), could in fact be the cuneiform character corresponding to the sign N_{24}, both = $^1/_{10}$ of N_1 in grain notations (see here fig. 43 to MSVO 1, 122). The meaning of this additional measure remains obscure, but might be related to the imposition of a tithe (Sumerian za₃.10 and igi.10.gal₂, but also sag in the phrase sag bariga, for which see K.R. Veenhof, FS Birot [Paris 1985] 294-297; see R.K. Englund, JESHO 31 [1988] 151-152[27]) by temples and other administrative units in later Mesopotamian tradition.

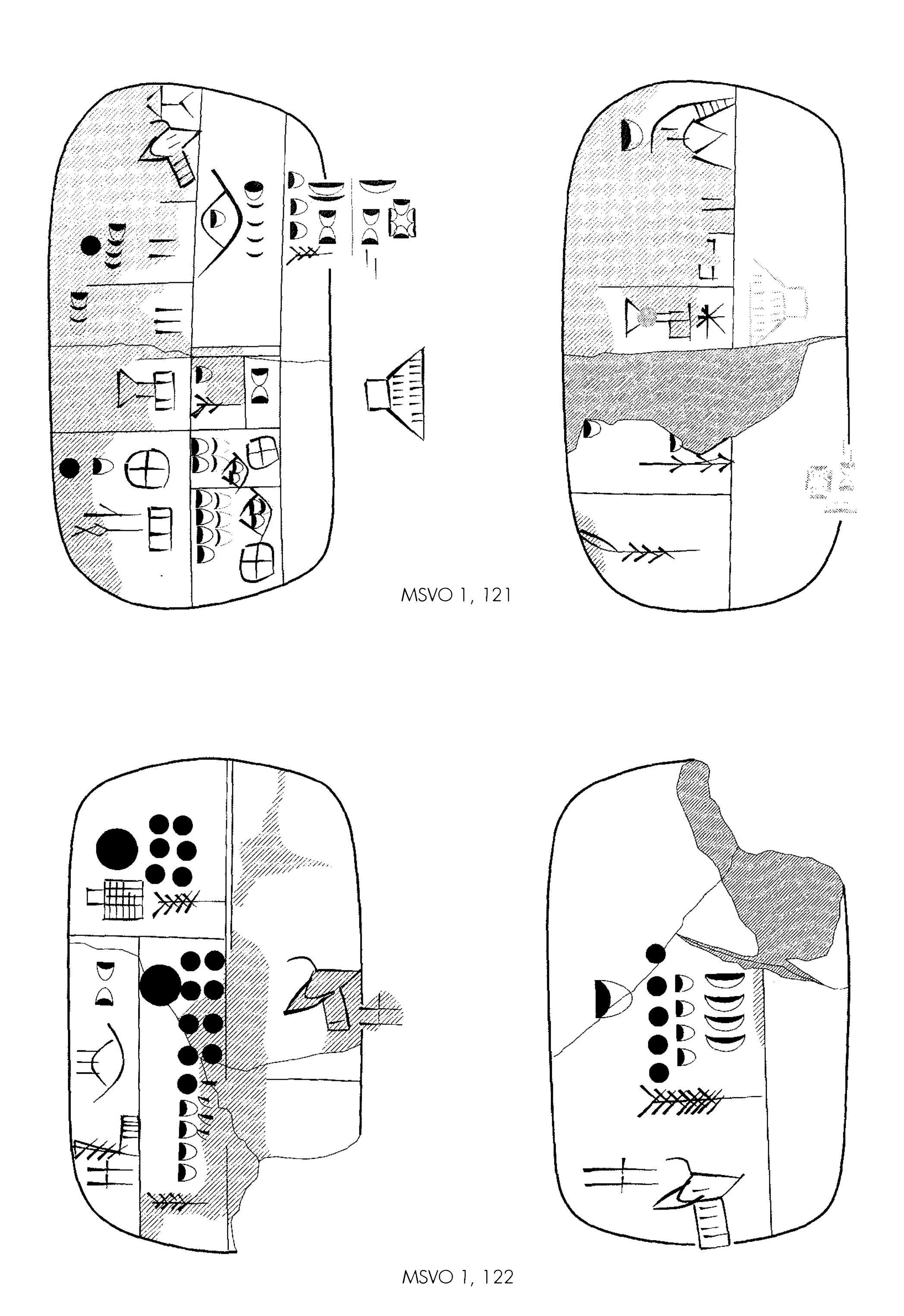


Figure 43: Key texts for the understanding of the archaic system of timekeeping
The two texts above, both from Jemdet Nasr, were instrumental in deciphering the structure of the archaic division of the year into 12 months of 30 days each. Once it was known that in certain contexts grain measures were increased by a tenth, such increases qualified with the sign TAR_a, the calculations behind a number of texts could be deciphered. MSVO 1, 121, demonstrated in this way that the administrative month consisted of 30 days, MSVO 1, 122, that the year consisted of 360 days and thus 12 months.

2b	N_1 ŠE$_a$	N_1 of grain,
2c	N_{24}	($^1/_{10}$ is ?) N_{24}
3a	N_{14} N_1 UDU$_a$ PAP$_a$.BU$_a$.NAM$_2$	11 sheep (for ?) PN,
3b1	4N_1 UDU$_a$ U_4×2N_1	(comprised of) 4 sheep (for ?) two months
3b2	7N_1 UDU U_4×3N_1	and 7 sheep (for ?) 3 months.

It seems that according to the first case of the account the person designated TI GIR$_3$*gunû* is responsible for the distribution of grain over a span of 18 + 14 + 3 = 35 days, represented by the mixed notation (U_4×N_1)+5N_8.[259] These 35 days are translated into a corresponding measure of grain at N_{24} (= $^1/_{10}$ N_1) per day for a total of 3N_1 2N_{39a} N_{24} , or 35 N_{24} of grain. To this an amount equal to $^1/_{10}$ was added,[260] qualified by the sign TAR$_a$.
That a grain measure corresponding to the numerical sign N_{24} was really the basis for this and other time/grain calculations,[261] and that the addition of $^1/_{10}$ was an implicit operation in consolidated accounts, can be demonstrated in the following text MSVO 1, 122. This text records in the second case of its obverse surface a time notation 3N_{57}+U_4 equivalent to three years, followed by a grain notation corresponding to 1188 N_{24}.

obv. i	1	N_{45} 6N_{14} DUB ŠE$_a$	960 N_{24} grain units from the (preceding) account (?),
	2a	N_{24} 3N_{57}+U_4 EN$_a$ PA$_a$	3 years at N_{24} (per day) (from the official ?) EN PA,
	2b	N_{45} 9N_{14} 4N_1 ⸢4N_{39a}⸣ ŠE$_a$	(totaling) 1188 N_{24} grain units.
obv. ii	1	⸢PA$_a$ GIR$_3$*gunû*⸣	(Responsible?:) PA$_a$ GIR$_3$*gunû*.
rev. i	1	N_{34} 5N_{14} 4N_1 4N_{39a} ŠE$_a$ PA$_a$ GIR$_3$*gunû*	(Altogether:) 2148 N_{24} units of grain, (responsible?:) PA GIR$_3$*gunû*

The now straightforward conversion in this account of the time into a grain notation is

$$^{11}/_{10} \times (3 \times 360 \times N_{24} =)\ 1080\ N_{24} = 1188\ N_{24},\ \text{or: } N_{45}\ 9N_{14}\ 4N_1\ 4N_{39a},$$

to which the measure noted in the first case is added for the total on the reverse.[262]

259 The first N_8 of 5N_8 is clumsily impressed, as Langdon also copied it in OECT 7. Vajman apparently read his (U_4×N_1)+N_{14}.4N_8 from a photo, and did not observe the connection with the following grain notations.

260 In fact 3N_1 2N_{39a} N_{24} × $^1/_{10}$ should result in N_{39a} N_{24} N_{28} (i.e., 35N_{24} × $^1/_{10}$ = 3 $^1/_2$ N_{24} = N_{39a} N_{24} N_{28}); N_{39a} N_{24} N_{30a} might have resulted from the difficult calculation of $^1/_{10}$ of 2N_{39a} N_{24}, rounded off to 2N_{39a}, 2N_{39a} × $^1/_{10}$ = $^1/_5$ N_{39a} = N_{29}. N_{29}, unattested in JN, had to be changed to either N_{28} or N_{30}.

261 Compare MSVO 1, 86 (=OECT 7, 92-93) and MSVO 4, 10.

262 Compare MSVO 1, 89 (rev.: N_{45} 9N_{14} 4N_1 4N_{39a} 3N_{57}+U_4, "1188 N_{24} grain units, 3 years"; this is presumably the account from which the entry in the second case of MSVO 1, 122, was drawn), and, calculating with a daily grain measure of N_{39} instead of N_{24}, the accounts MSVO 1, 90 (N_{34} 9N_{14} 3N_1 3N_{39a} NIGIN$_2$ 3N_{57}+U_4, "1188 N_{39} grain units, total of 3 years") and 94 (N_{37}.2N_{47}.2N_{20} (?) ŠE$_a$ 4N_{57}+U_4, "1560 N_{39} grain units, 4 years", and 2N_{34}.N_{45}.⸢8N_{14}⸣ ŠE$_a$ 6N_{57}+U_4, "2340 N_{39} grain units, 6 years"). The time/grain notations of the last text, however, document an addition not of $^1/_{10}$, but of $^1/_{12}$, for which no explanation can be offered, assuming intercalation was not involved.

6.2.2. Ordinal time notations

In addition to the proven cardinal use of the sign combinations representing days, months and years, several archaic texts demonstrate that the same combinations expressed ordinal meaning. All are closely tied to rations, primarily in grain and grain products. For instance, the ordinal nature of the time notations in the texts MSVO 1, 83-84, seems quite clear, judging from the uniform quantities of textile products (?) and dried fruits in the first text, of grain rations or products in the second. The first two columns of no. 84, for instance, record the disbursement of amounts of grain to two officials (?) during days one and two of a five day period:

obv. i	1	[5N_1] ZATU659	5 units of the "grain product" ZATU659
	2	N_1 N_8 N_{39a}	1 $^1/_2$ units of N_{39a}
	3	N_1 N_{24}	1 unit of N_{24}
	4	ZATU651+NINDA 3N_{57} A IB_a	(responsible?:) ...
		U_4+N_8	First day.
obv. ii	1	5N_1 ZATU659	5 units of ZATU659
		N_1 N_{24}	1 unit of N_{24}
		5N_1 5N_{57}+GAR GABURRA EN_a UR BA NUN_a	5 units of GAR ...
		U_4+2N_8	Second day

and so forth with the notations U_4+3N_8, U_4+4N_8 and U_4+5N_8 following comparable quantities of (bisexagesimally counted) grain units.[263]

Two texts from Uqair (?)[264] contain in parallel fashion ordinal notations for years, indeed, both texts record a period of eight years, and both arrive at the same total of 660 of the units N_1.

	MSVO 4, 1		MSVO 4, 2	
obv. i	2N_{45} 6N_{14} $ŠE_a$ ...	1N_{57}+U_4	i 2N_{45} 8N_{14} ...	1N_{57}+U_4
	2N_{19}			
	N_{14}			
	N_{45} 9N_{14} ...	2N_{57}+U_4	⌜N_{45} 7N_{14}⌝ [...	2N_{57}+U_4]
	N_{45} 5N_{14} ...	3N_{57}+U_4	[ ]+N_{14} [...	3N_{57}+U_4]
	8N_{14}			
	4N_{14}[+]			
	[	4N_{57}+U_4]	8N_{14} [...	4N_{57}+U_4]

[263] J. Friberg has suggested in Scientific American 250/2 (February, 1984) 111 that the period recorded in MSVO 1, 84, represented a week of 5 days; considering however that the only other parallel text no. 83 records in like fashion a period of 4 days, and that a reasonable reconstruction of the absolute measures of the grain capacity system would, if at all, favor a week of 6 days (corresponding to the sign N_{39} = 6N_{30} = 6 GAR; see below), this proposal cannot be sustained (a five-week month recalls the week-eponym *ḫamuštum*s of the Old Assyrian period!).

[264] See above, n. 29-30, and fig. 70 below.

obv. ii	$6N_{14}$	...	$5N_{57}+U_4$	$5N_{14}$ [...	$5N_{57}+U_4$⌉
	$8N_{14}$	...	$6N_{57}+U_4$	⌈$5N_{14}$⌉ ...	[$6N_{57}+U_4$]
	$7N_{19}$	...	$7N_{57}+U_4$	ii N_{45} ⌈$8N_{19}$⌉ ...	$7N_{57}+U_4$
	$2N_{45}$ N_{14}		$8N_{57}+U_4$	$9N_{14}$ ...	$8N_{57}$
rev. i	$3N_{34}$ $2N_{45}$ $ŠE_a$ GU_7		$8N_{57}+U_4$	$3N_{34}$ $2N_{45}$ $ŠE_a$ ...	[ ]

Although difficulties remain with the calculations, it is clear from the size of the grain quantities that the entries of the obverse were totaled on the reverse of the tablets, therefore that the separate entries qualified with 1-$8N_{57}+U_4$ recorded amounts from individual years. On the basis of two parallel texts, any judgment about the meaning of an eight-year period would carry little conviction.

6.2.3. Grain and time notations

The relationship between the grain capacity system and time notations was such that they might in fact have reflected each other. Evidence is strong that, as H.J. Nissen has felt for many years,[265] the Uruk period beveled-rim bowl with an average capacity of 0.8 liter served as the model for the pictogram GAR (later Sumerian n i n d a) and represented in general a worker's grain ration for one day. Further, the ideogram GAR can be shown to generally correspond to the numerical sign N_{30a} from the grain capacity system. In particular, the text MSVO 4, 27,[266] proves that the quantity of grain represented by GAR // N_{30a} was a third measure employed as a general daily distribution in the archaic period. This N_{30a} is, as we know, $^1/_{30}$ of the basic unit N_1, and this N_1 is inscribed within the sign U_4 to represent one administrative month of 30 days.

No administrative texts attest to a division of the day into sub-units, aside from the plausible interpretation of the signs U_4 and SIG as designations of 'morning' and 'evening', for instance, as qualifications of probable cult activities at these times, according to our sources centering around the cult of Inanna[267]; however, the lexical "Plant List"[268] seems to include in its section on likely time notations evidence for the division of the day into four smaller units, dividing the day and the night into two parts each.[269]

265 See ATU 2, 153-154[60].

266 Below, fig. 68. The account was first correctly interpreted in JESHO 31, 162-164. The first case reads $4N_{14}$ $ŠE_a$ $U_4{\times}2N_{14}.4N_1$ GAR, "720 N_{30} grain units in 24 months: GAR(-rations)", that is, 24 months × 30 days × N_{30} = 720 N_{30a} (=$4N_{14}$).

267 Note the attestations of the presumable morning and evening Venus (Inanna) in such texts as ATU 5, pl. 2, W 5233,b, pl. 5, W 6288; further, in W 20274,77 (unpublished) and in W 21671 (fig. 44 here) with at once both notations. An administrative use of the designations of morning and evening might be attested in the text W 20274,1 (see below, fig. 50), which contains the summation col. i: N_{48} $4N_{34}$ U_4 GIŠ*tenû* KAR + $9N_{34}$ SIG GIŠ*tenû* KAR = $2N_{48}$ $3N_{34}$ UDU_a SANGA SUKKAL SAR_a PAP_a $ŠURUPPAK_a$ HI E_{2a} NUN_a, that is: "840 (sheep inspected(?)) in the morning ..., 540 (sheep inspected?) in the evening ...; altogether 1380 sheep (inspected by) the exchequer(?; SANGA) ...".

268 See above, section 5, and compare the ED IIIa list SF 7, vi 19-23 (7× U_4 ?), 24 ($U_4.U_4$) and 25-27 ($U_4{\times}N_1$ ...) (unclear).

269 See JESHO 31, 164-168, following collation of the final line of the witness W 20363. ED IIIa texts document the better known division of day and night into three parts each, altogether six, possibly corresponding to the Old Babylonian division of the night into 3 watches (*maṣṣartu*).

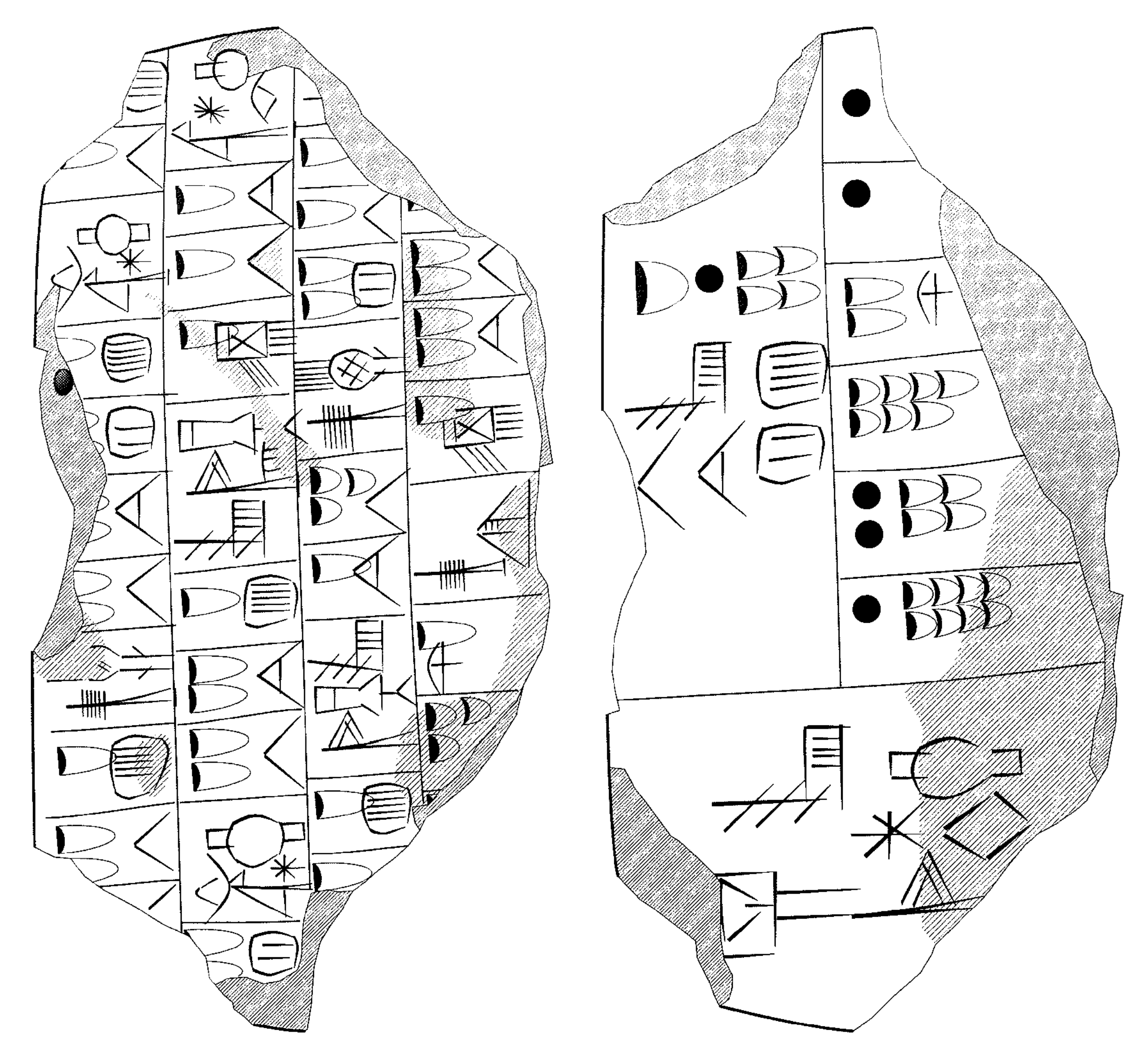


Figure 44: W 21671
This account of apparent distributions of textiles contains possible evidence of an archaic cultic calendar.

These artificial divisions of time can be documented in much the same form throughout the third millennium. First solid evidence of the cultic/agricultural calendar, which we should imagine predates by millennia the imposition of artificial timekeeping on an urban society, is found much later, beginning in the ED IIIb (pre-Sargonic Lagash) period. The Jemdet Nasr texts characterized by colophons including the notation SU_a GIBIL (discussed below, section 6.3.4), however, may be cited as possible evidence of a calendar beginning with a 'new growth' festival ('leather' [sign SU_a] and 'month' might have been homophones in the uncertain archaic language of Uruk). An account of textiles from Uruk, dating to the Uruk III period, might contain evidence of a cultic calendar in the south (figure 44). The account books entries of wool, cloth, etc., subscribed in 10+ sections with notations which are in other contexts suspected to represent cultic festivals, including $EZEN_b$ U_4 AN $MUŠ_{3a}$ ('festival of the morning Inanna'), GIBIL NUN_a ('New growth (festival) of Enki'), $EZEN_b$ SIG AN $MUŠ_{3a}$ ('festival of the evening Inanna'), EN_a $NAGAR_a$ URI_{3a}('Lord ... (festival) of Nanna'), and SU_a NUN ('... (festival) of Enki'; all translations highly speculative).

6.3 Administrative offices

Following a relatively secure identification of a series of realia, including domesticated plants and animals, wooden objects, grain products and textiles, proto-cuneiform texts can be divided into broadly formal categories often closely related to the numerical systems used to quantify recorded objects.[270] These include accounts dealing with archaic fisheries, with domesticated animals and animal products, with (presumably slave) labor, with grain and grain products, and with the administration of fields.

6.3.1. Fisheries[271]

There can be little doubt that next to grain products fish played a primary role in the diet of the earliest settlers of the alluvium,[272] for whom the hunt in the alluvial plain promised no substantial source of protein, and whose access to meat and dairy products from domesticated animals was at all times severely limited.[273] Fish, on the one hand, grow rapidly, require little care and as a rule are not fed, and can be caught with simple technologies. From the perspective of dietary science, fish are, on the other, equal to meat and milk products[274] and are, moreover, easily digestible. The modest effort requisite to their exploitation makes fish an ideal meat substitute for the often protein-low diets of poor communities.[275] The biotope

[270] See ATU 2, pp. 117-156 + plates 54-60, and above, section 6.1. For lack of textual sources which might make the production of metal, wooden, stone and clay objects more understandable, these products are not dealt with in the following. Note in particular the treatment of such products in the commentary volume to the publication of the archaic lexical lists, ATU 3 (in preparation; K. Reiter, Berlin, is currently preparing a commentary to the 'Metal' list with an edition of the Uruk administrative texts dealing with metals).

[271] See generally A. Salonen, Die Fischerei im alten Mesopotamien [...], AASF B166 (Helsinki 1970), and for a more detailed description of the organization of fisheries in the third millennium my Ur III-Fischerei.

[272] This belief derives not only from our understanding of the exploitation of the waters of southern Babylonia documented in administrative archives from later periods, but also from studies of developing countries whose technology and environment in many ways reflects that of archaic Babylonia. The basic problems of fish exploitation, in particular in developing countries, were last dealt with at the World Conference of Fisheries Management and Development in Rome sponsored by the FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations) from 27 June through 6 July 1984. Cf. FAO News Feature WFC/NF/84/2.

[273] For a general introduction into these early developments see D. and J. Oates, The Rise of Civilization (Oxford 1976), in particular pp. 11-18, 96-109, and the bibliography after p. 136; H.J. Nissen, Grundzüge einer Geschichte der Frühzeit des Vorderen Orients (Darmstadt 1983) 18-70. The one-sidedness of grain diets (see K. Butz, "Landwirtschaft," in RlA 6 [1980-83] 471-486, with extensive literature) could only be alleviated by consumption of fish.

[274] FAO WFC/NF/84/2, p.1: "Fish contains some 18 to 22 percent easily-digested protein and in common with other animal proteins, essential amino acids that the human body cannot manufacture." Compare B. Watt and A. Merrill, Composition of Foods, Agricultural Handbook No. 8 (Washington, D.C., 1975) pp. 6-67, table 1. R. Ellison, "Diet in Mesopotamia [...]," Iraq 43 (1981) 35-45 (and again in Iraq 45 [1983] 146-150), has pointed to the lack of the vitamins A and C in the Babylonian diet; fish liver is, however, a powerful source of vitamin A; fish contain also some amounts of ascorbic acid. Natrium is of course contained in fish in high levels, particularly when it has been salted after the catch.

[275] And naturally of the great majority of ancient Babylonians, for whom meat was in all periods only seen on festive occasions. Pre-war Iraq still offered a dietary structure in its non-urban regions comparable to that of third millennium Mesopotamia. According to the FAO Food and Nutrition Paper 1/2: Review of Food Consumption Surveys (Household Food Consumption by Economic Groups; Rome 1979) 181, to fig. 52,

stretching from the Persian gulf into the swamps, lakes and canals of Sumer offered an extraordinary potential in fish, crabs and turtles.[276]

A major problem in the exploitation of fish resources rests, however, in the fact that they easily spoil. In arid regions, this means that fish cannot be transported over great distances, and of course cannot be stored, without being preserved in some form. Thus together with fish exploitation, archaic fishermen must have developed a technology of preservation – parallel to the necessity of new storage technologies which presupposed the expanded exploitation of dairy products discussed below, section 6.3.2. While written documents from the archaic period offer but very sparing information, material finds from archaeological excavations, historical reports[277] and ethnographic studies do act to bridge some gaps in our knowledge about the nature of this exploitation.

the poorest Iraqis on average consumed just 570g of fish and 430g of meat, while the richest consumed 830g fish and 2.8kg of meat, that is, marginally more fish, but more than six times as much meat.

[276] Travel reports from the 19th century already made this point, for example "Aus einem Briefe des Dr. Socin an Prof. Nöldecke, 29. April 1870. An Bord des "Mosul" auf dem Tigris," ZDMG 24 (1870) 471: "Fish are so abundant in the Euphrates, that these animals cost nearly nothing; while I was underway to the Muntefic camp, a 2 1/2 - 3 foot long bînnī, that is, a fish of the highest quality, jumped of itself into the boat." Most recent available data on fishing in the inland waters of Iraq (see A. al-Hadithi, Optimal Utilization of the Water Resources of the Euphrates River of Iraq [Diss. University of Arizona, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor 1979] 120) estimate a yearly catch of 20,500 tons:

Water	Source	Catch in tons
Hammar Lake	Euphrates and Tigris	9,200
Schatra Lake	Euphrates and Tigris	1,320
Abu-Dibbis	Euphrates	6,400
Kurna marsh	Euphrates and Tigris	2,000
Schamiya	Euphrates	420
Habbaniya reservoir	Euphrates	960
Euphrates		160
		20,460

Clearly, the lakes fed by rivers and canals provided the main sources of the catch, 60% of which derived from the carp family. These are unfortunately now artificial figures, since, aside from the short-term upheavals in Iraqi fisheries due to decades of war conditions, long-term damage to the main breeding grounds between the Syrian border and Hit are being guaranteed by dam construction with no consideration of fish locks.

[277] Compare, for instance, Herodotus I 200 (according to J. Feix (ed.), Herodot Historien I [Munich 1963]): "Three Babylonian tribes live entirely from fish, which they catch and dry in the sun." The dried, apparently unsalted fish were ground and eaten in the form of a sort of porridge, or baked into bread cakes. The Greek historian Diodorus Siculus, who traveled through Egypt from 60 to 57 B.C., described the methods of saltwater fishing employed by dwellers of the gulf coast south of Babylon who built walls of woven reed baskets in the water close to the beach. Doors on these baskets opened during high tide, catching with the oncoming low tide the fish, that had swum into them with automatically closing doors. Other coastal dwellers dug canals from the beach up to their settlements, which again with the low tide caught in reed installations the fish that had entered them. The catch was simply removed by hand (Bibliotheca historica 3:21, cited according to F.S. Bodenheimer, Animal and Man in Bible Lands [Leiden 1960] 72; see below, n. 315, for a description of modern fishing methods in Bahrain).

One of the most important, but unfortunately most neglected sources for a better understanding of archaic fishing techniques is, of course, the identification of fish remains from urban centers. There is little doubt that careful gathering and analysis of these remains from excavations of archaic settlement levels in Mesopotamia, beginning in the Ubaid period in the fourth and continuing through the entire third millennium, would have been of great assistance in analyzing our difficult archaic textual material. S. Lloyd in his first report of Ubaid period levels of Eridu, for instance, spoke of "the fish-offerings, of which there were such ubiquitous traces,"[278] and F. Safar discovered that in Temple VI of the settlement "by far the greater part of the pavement-debris consisted of the bones of fish and small animals, evidently brought to the shrine as offerings."[279] Beyond very cursory identifications of some fish families, however, no detailed analysis of these bones was ever conducted,[280] and they were apparently all discarded during excavations, so that it is not possible to determine the origin of the fish or the type of bones represented in these earliest levels representing a period of interregional expansion, in particular into the Persian Gulf.[281]
Equally frustrating are reports of fish finds from the Uruk IV-III period. Lloyd and Safar report again the finds of large numbers of fish bones,[282] and G. Cros uncovered an Uruk III period level 3.35 m below the surface behind the "Maison-des-fruits" of Girsu which contained whole yellow bundles of fully preserved fish skeletons, complete with skins and scales[283].

[278] S. Lloyd and F. Safar, "Eridu [...]," Sumer 3 (1947) 94.

[279] op.cit. 104 and see Sumer 4 (1948) 119: "It was in the niche [behind the Temple VIII alter] created by one of the false doors that we discovered a large intact painted vessel of the "tortoise-shaped" type with a long spout at the shoulder, several examples of which were found at Tepe Gawra, the jar itself was full of fish-bones and plentiful traces of the usual fish-offerings were found in both niches." See further F. Safar et al., Eridu (Baghdad 1981) 101; 107-110: "Since the complete skeleton of a fish was never found, and coherent groups of bones seldom appeared, it occurred to us that the fish might subsequently have been eaten."

[280] S. Payne, "Partial Recovery and Sample Bias: The Results of Some Sieving Experiments," in: E.S. Higgs (ed.), Papers in Economic Prehistory I (Cambridge 1972) 49-64, has demonstrated just how skewed faunal identifications have been in past excavation reports, particularly discouraging in the case of small fauna which are often entirely lost when fine sieving is not employed (see fig. 45 here). See further Payne in A.T. Clason (ed.), Archaeozoological studies [...] (Amsterdam,Oxford, New York 1975) p. 13, and for the potential information to be had from the smallest finds of careful excavations R. Casteel, "Estimation of Size, Minimum Numbers of Individuals, and Seasonal Dating by Means of Fish Scales from Archaeological Sites," in A. Clason, op.cit., 70-86, with extensive literature.

[281] Continuing work by excavation teams in Bahrain and the United Arab Republic promise more information in this regard. See for an early treatment of contacts between Mesopotamia and the gulf J. Oates et al., "Seafaring merchants of Ur?," Antiquity 51 (1977) 221-234; the authors proposed that short-lived colonies may have been established along the coast for the purpose of exploitation of the marine resources. Oates' identification p. 234 of the Eridu fish bones as those of sea bass has not been substantiated.

[282] F. Safar et al., Eridu p. 84.

[283] G. Cros, Nouvelles fouilles de Tello [...] (Paris 1910) 81-83, "Dépôt de poissons". Cros attempted p. 82 to explain the origins of these great numbers of fish remains: "There were thus very certainly two or more rooms, possibly below ground level, in the annex of the ancient Maison-des-Fruits, between the building and the exterior wall supporting the artificial terrace, serving as provisions magazines in particular for dried fish. In the conflagrations, the destructions and pillagings, examples of which are not lacking in the golden age of Sirpourla [=Lagash, city Girsu], these masses of fish were subsequently scattered and dispersed by the collapse of the mud walls; then, with rebuilding on higher levels, they remained buried in successive layers of debris."

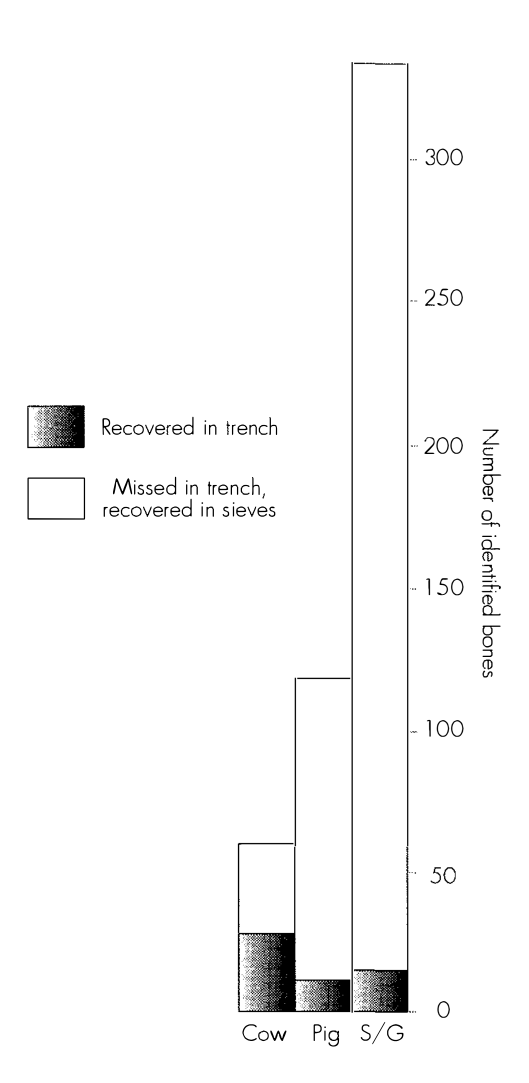


Figure 45: Bone recovery in excavations
Chart demonstrating the low efficiency of unsieved trench recovery (after S. Payne, in: E.S. Higgs [ed.], Papers in Economic Prehistory I [Cambridge 1972] 61, fig. 6). The results shown would be much worse in the case of small mammals, fish and birds.

Fish bones from the Uruk III period are also known from the settlement Farukhabad close to Susa, including bones of the family *Pomadasydae* (grunters), which according to R. Redding were not found in fresh water.[284] Such data and other identifications from Mesopotamia strongly suggest that fish must have been conserved before their transportation from the gulf.

[284] R.W. Redding, "The Faunal Remains," in: H.T. Wright (ed.), An Early Town on the Deh Luran Plain. Excavations at Tepe Farukhabad, Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, no. 13 (Ann Arbor 1981) 234-235, with reference to H. Blegvad, Fishes of the Iranian Gulf. Danish Scientific Investigations in Iran, pt. III (Copenhagen 1944) 121-127, and K.T. Khalaf, The Marine and Freshwater Fishes of Iraq (Baghdad 1961). F. Hole in: F. Hole et al. (eds.), Prehistory and Human Ecology of the Deh Luran Plain [...], Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, no. 1 (Ann Arbor 1969) 327, reported that in the region from ca. 5000 B.C. demand for or trading sources of fish went into a severe decline (possibly because of consumption in Mesopotamia?). See H.E.W. Crawford, "Mesopotamia's invisible exports in the third millennium B.C.," World Archaeology 5/2 (1973) 235: "It seems possible that a land-locked area such as central Iran would have welcomed salt fish as an addition to the diet in exchange for their stones and minerals."

The strongest archaeological evidence for the exploitation of fish resources in Uruk should have come from that city itself. E. Heinrich reported the existence of complete fish skeletons in Uruk III-dated floors, all of which were apparently discarded together with nearly all of the pottery in the same context which might have gone far in dating the archaic tablets from this area.[285]

Assuming fish and fishing techniques remained more or less constant in the third millennium, identifications of bones from later, Early Dynastic levels made by experts using bone atlases offer now a much better picture of the types of fish which were being brought into urban centers, so into Girsu,[286] Uruk,[287] Lagash (al-Hibba)[288] and Abu Salabikh.[289] Of four identified families in Lagash, two – the grunters (*Pomadasydae*, also found in proto-Elamite Farukhabad) and the sea-bream (*Sparidae*) – were saltwater fish from the Persian Gulf, the other two – catfish (*Siluridae*) and carps (*Cyprinidae*) are freshwater fish found in practically all Babylonian fish remains. The Abu Salabikh finds made by the Chicago team in 1963 and since 1975 by British excavators included, next to the expected carp, two sea-bream, two mullet (*Mugilidae*), and one each of herring (*Clupeidae*), catfish, grunter, and of a Persian Gulf barracuda (*Sphyraena jello*) with a reconstructed length of 120-130cm.

The importance of these fish to consumers in southern Babylonia is clear from written documents. The archaic fish list[290] is a compendium of ca. 80 entries representing those few types of fish caught and preserved in the waters of Mesopotamia and presumably in the Persian Gulf, consumed and possibly traded in urban and administrative centers of southern Babylonia, together with a series of designations of implements for fishing and for the transportation and storage of the catch. These objects are in a number of cases represented by apparently quite pictographic signs, as for instance the best attested sign SUḪUR, which seems clearly to have designated less the type than the state of preservation of the fish.[291] The sign is best

[285] UVB 6 (1935) 12 and pl. IV. Discussing a dump in the excavation square Od XVI 4/5 dated to 'Uruk IIIc', the author noted that "many impressions of complete fish skeletons could be seen in the area of the rooms 195, 196 and 198 in the mud flooring."

[286] G. Cros, NFT 81-82.

[287] H.J. Lenzen, UVB 11 (1940) 17, discusses a large room or courtyard in the square Oa XVI,3, whose whole floor "over many square meters is covered with the remains of fish. The layer had a nearly golden-yellow color, the bodies of the fish with scales, bones and vertebrae were clearly recognizable." Early Dynastic catches in Uruk are also documented textually (M.W. Green, ZA 72 [1982] 176, W 17917 iv 2-4: 15;0,0 ku_6 gur sag.gal_2/ku_3.bi 10 gin_2/ku_6 A.lap^{ki}.kam, "15 'head-gur' [ca. 3600 liters] of fish, its silver: 10 shekels, fish of Alap").

[288] A series of identifications of fish remains from excavations directed by D. Hansen in 1970-71 were published by K. Mudar, "Early Dynastic III Animal Utilization in Lagash: A Report on the Fauna of Tell Al-Hiba," JNES 41 (1982) p. 29. Six bones of heads of *Sparidae* are recorded (a *maxilla*, and five *apercule* fragments of large *Apanthopagrus*); the heads were thus not removed.

[289] A. von den Driesch, Iraq 48 (1986) 31-38. See the preliminary reports by J. N. Postgate, "Excavations at Abu Salabikh, 1975 [...]," Iraq 38 (1976) 133-61; id., "Early Dynastic Burial Customs at Abu Salabikh," Sumer 36 (1980) 65-82; J. Clutton-Brock and R. Burleigh, "The Animal Remains from Abu Salabikh: Preliminary Report," Iraq 40 (1978) 89-100.

[290] See above, section 5.

[291] The later Sumerian reading suḫur of the sign, corresponding after the Old Babylonian period to Akkadian *purādu*, 'carp', might have resulted from the type of fish generally delivered in this state of preservation by fishermen, namely the carp native to Mesopotamian waters. The large species called by the Iraqis *bizz* (*Barbus esocinus*), but also by some the "ass fish" (see D. de Rivoyre, Les vrais Arabes et leurs pays [...]

understood as a representation of a fish which has been split, headed[292] and gutted, and dried, before it was delivered to urban administrators who drew up the accounts in archaic Uruk (figure 46).[293]

Whereas the objects designated SUḪUR as well as all other probable designations of fish and fish containers were qualified with the sexagesimal system (figure 47),[294] the object

[Paris 1884] 193: "The river dwellers are want to call it the 'fish of the donkey', because, placed across the back of a donkey of normal size, its head and tail should touch the ground on both sides of the animal"; see further the depiction of the *bizz* in F. Delitzsch, Handel und Wandel in Altbabylonien [Stuttgart 1910] 8). Later designations of split and dried fish were simply ku_6 or suḫur dar.ra (dar = *letû*, 'to split', 'cut in half'; see, for example, the pre-Sargonic Girsu texts DP 303 iv: 390 suḫur ku_6 dar.ra gal.gal; DP 328 i: 170 didli.bi suḫur ku_6 dar.ra, etc.; cf. M. Civil, OrAnt 21 [1982] 24 to gir_2 ku_6 dar uruda, "knife for splitting fish", in the Kish witness of the ED metal list and compare the entry GIR_2 KU_{6a} in the archaic Fish List l. 90 [ATU 3, p. 97]). In the pre-Sargonic Lagash period, suḫur were delivered primarily by fishermen active on inland waters: $šuku_x$ gu_2.edin.na, a.du_{10}, and GAN_2 fieldname, "fishermen of the Gu'edina", "of the sweet water" and "of the field so-and-so", so that the referent carp of the sign is likely. A comparable lexical development can be followed in the Akkadian *nūnu*, "fish," which in Arabic means "large fish", "whale" (Arab. fish is *samak*).

292 Note that head bones from fish have very rarely been recovered from Mesopotamian excavations.

293 Some practical considerations, however, might question the feasibility of drying easily spoiled fish in the hot and often humid climate of the southern Mesopotamian marshlands and the Persian Gulf. Reports on fish drying come primarily from countries with temperate climates, for example, from Canada and Norway. Although according to these reports the ideal temperature for this method of preservations is ca. 27º Celsius with low humidity, recent experiments in Brazil and Cambodia have proven that very good results can be had with well cleaned and lean fish at temperatures of 40º and a humidity of 70% (J. Waterman, The Production of Dried Fish, FAO Fisheries Technical Paper Nr. 160 [Rome 1976] 8-14; 18-32). A reduction of the water content of a typical fish from 80 to 25% eliminates further bacterial action, and at 15% water content (for pickled fish 40%) fungal growth ceases. See further O. Willie, Handbuch der Fischkonservierung (Hamburg 1949; German production); J. Smith, Historical Observations on the Conditions of the Fisheries Among Ancient Greeks and Romans, and on Their Mode of Salting and Pickling Fish, U.S. Commission on Fish and Fisheries, Report of the Commissioner for 1873-4 and 1874-5 (Washington 1876); J. Bottéro, "Konservierung," RlA 6 (1980-83) 191-97; C. Cutting, Fish Saving: A History of Fish Processing from Ancient to Modern Times (London 1955). For ancient Egyptian practice see R. Forbes, Studies in Ancient Technology III (Leiden 1955) 193-194 (p. 193: "The large stoves shown in pictures of ancient houses and the fact that Wen-Amon and others tell us of export of cured fish to Syria go to prove the efficacy of the process [of preservation]"; R. Forbes, op.cit. 194, fig. 37, contains an Egyptian relief of preparation for fish preservation with a depiction of the fish denoted ḪI+SUḪUR in the archaic fish list and called now *fissiḫ*, prepared by modern Egyptians by rubbing salt into the gills, mouth and scales of fish which had already been gutted and cleaned); further J. Dumont, "La pêche dans le Fayoum hellénistique [...]," Chronique d'Egypte 52 (1977) 125-142. The process of drying can be facilitated by first placing the gutted fish in a saline solution, as a result of which a part of the water content is drawn off by the salt; when the fish are then laid out or hung up to dry, they lose 62-67% of their water within a day (Waterman, ibid. 15-17; 25). The fish designated MUN in the fish list, l. 50 (ATU 3, p. 96; probably the precursor of LAK 56, not 55 [DIM×ŠE]) might refer to the practice of salting fish in this way (for the salt containers and sources in the ancient Near East see D. Potts, "On Salt and Salt Gathering in Ancient Mesopotamia," JESHO 27 [1984] 258-267; K. Butz, JESHO 27, 272-316). Fatty fish are not amenable to drying in hot climates due to higher susceptibility to rancidity. The herring *Hilsa ilisha*, a well attested find in Mesopotamian excavations, for example, has a fat content of ca. 20% and so cannot be successfully dried. This fish must therefore have either been consumed fresh, or more probably have been converted to fish oil or to a sauce like classical garum (or Thai *nuoc-mam*) for use.

294 The notation N_{51} SUḪUR, '120 SUḪUR', in the Uruk IV period text W 7227,b obv. i 4 (ATU 5, pl. 26) refers to a probable grain product ration given an official designated SUḪUR (possibly 'fishery worker', see below to GAL SUḪUR).



Figure 46: Dried fish
A modern representation of dried fish, corresponding to the archaic pictogram SUḪUR (after J. Waterman, The Production of Dried Fish, p. 43, fig. 10)

represented by the sign KU_{6a} (the simple pictogram 'fish') was apparently qualified with the bisexagesimal system. Although very few administrative notations including KU_{6a} contain numbers which would make clear the numerical system used, this fact seems sufficiently demonstrated by the entry sequence SUḪUR, KU_{6a} and ZATU759+KU_{6a} in the account W 21107 obv. i 3-6 (see figure 47), in which only KU_{6a} is recorded with a bisexagesimal notation.[295] Since the use of the bisexagesimal system to qualify above all grain and dairy products suggests it was an administrative means of controlling the distribution of rations, we may surmise that KU_{6a} represented a rationed fish. Whether this was a fresh or a processed fish cannot be determined with the texts presently available, although it should be noted that the container represented by the sign ZATU759 may have corresponded to the later Sumerian sa ZI×ZI.a used exclusively in the delivery to pre-Sargonic temple households of freshwater, and thus more likely of fresh fish, and that only the sign KU_{6a} or derivatives of this sign were inscribed within the sign ZATU759 (see below).

Similarly, signs derived from the sign KU_{6a} through a simple rotation (KU_{6a}*tenû*, conventionally transliterated SUKUD), through a doubling of the basic sign form (KU_{6a}+KU_{6a}, SUKUD+SUKUD) or through the addition of stokes to the fish's dorsal section (GIR_a[296]) are attested in the archaic text corpus with some frequency, but as a rule in low numbers, making difficult a determination of the numerical system which was used other than that it must have been either sexagesimal or bisexagesimal. At least two Uruk IV period attestations of a gunified form of SUKUD with clear bisexagesimal notations[297] support their inclusion in the rationing system with KU_{6a}. The bisexagesimal notation qualifying fish represented by the sign GIR_a in an ED I period text should also be noted in this regard.[298]

295 A similar use of the bisexagesimal system with KU_{6a} in the texts W 21375,2 (unpubl.), MSVO 3, 43, and MSVO 4, 72, lead to the conclusion that all numerical notations qualifying KU_{6a} are to be considered bisexagesimal (and that the questionable reference to a sexagesimal notation together with KU_{6a} in the text W 17879,e obv. ii 2, made in ATU 2, 152[44], is to be disregarded).

296 Pre-Sargonic Girsu fishery documents record with greatest frequency the fish called gir and UBI (=ŠE+SUḪUR), which without exception derived from the sea (ab.ba) or hor (? - a.DUN, 'lagoon').

297 The fragments W 6705,c (ATU 5, pl. 12) with the notation [ ] $4N_{51}$ $ŠA_{3c}$ SUKUD*gunû*$_a$ and W 9656,bt (ATU 5, pl. 95) with N_{45} $2N_{54}$ [ ] $2N_{57}$ SUKUD*gunû*$_c$ may refer to quantities of fish, but their poor state of preservation leaves room for doubt. The numerical sign N_{45}, here proven to be a borrowing from the sexagesimal system probably representing 6× N_{54} = "7200" (2×3600) and in the Uruk III period replaced by the sign form N_{56}, is also found in the Uruk IV period notation N_{45} N_{34} X SUKUD in the text W 9655,z (ATU 5, pl. 81); the notation $9N_{34}$, erased on the small tablet before N_{45} N_{34} was written, however, suggests that the notation was intended to be sexagesimal.

298 UET 2, 19 obv. ii 7: $5N_{51}$ GIR_a.

Although the administrative documents from Jemdet Nasr contain no identifiable records of a fishery unit of that household, a series of presumable rationing texts contain, in a standardized sequence of products, entries representing as many as 120 units of the fish SUḪUR. In nearly all of these texts, the following entry contains a numerical notation drawn from the derived bisexagesimal system.[299] This numerical system might then have replaced in Jemdet Nasr bookkeeping bisexagesimal notations representing numbers of KU_{6a} in texts from Uruk.[300]
There is a possibility that the 'discrete' numbers qualifying these fish are only discrete on the surface, that is, that the basic unit N_1 in each of the notations represents some measure or conventional number of (possibly processed) fish. This might seem most obvious in the case of 'double-fish' signs, since the pictogram would correspond to the common practice of binding the tails of paired fish and hanging them over horizontal poles to dry. Considering, further, the relative equivalence values of fish in the later third millennium in Babylonia, the correspondence of 1 DUG_c vessel of dairy fat and 12 SUḪUR attested in the Uruk III period text W 20494,1 (see figure 47) suggests that SUḪUR might have represented some number of dried fish, since the estimated eight liters of dairy oil believed to have been held by the vessel DUG_c should have been value equivalent to some hundreds of fish.[301] Evidence from Jemdet Nasr seems to suggest that the SUḪUR was divided into 10 sub-units of fish.[302]
Some metrological division must be assumed in the case of the numerous containers of fish recorded in the Uruk documents, without exception qualified with the sexagesimal system. These containers are represented by the signs GA_{2a} and ZATU759, which according to the text W 19408,40 formed a semantic category together with the sign AK, an apparent pictogram of a container made of matted reeds.[303]

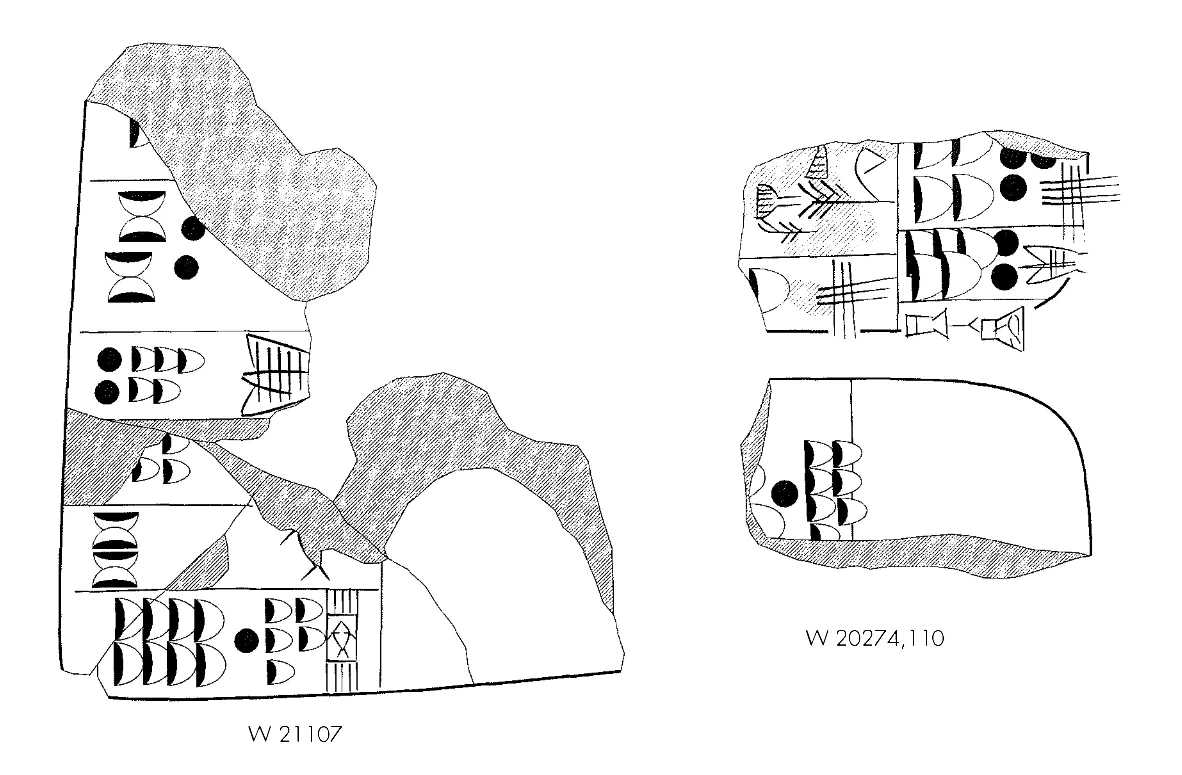
299 See section 6.1 above. The texts include MSVO 1, 93, 103, 108, 109, 111 (sic!), 160, 179 (unclear due to a break, but see the numerical notation in the first case of the tablet's third column); note the inversion of this sequence in the text MSVO 4, 14, possibly from Uqair. Only the receipt MSVO 1, 116, can be excluded from this list; the small numbers of SUḪUR (altogether 7) suggest all the same that the tablet represents partial receipts of goods which when consolidated in an account could well have included objects represented by a B^* notation.

300 The Uruk III period account W 17879,e obv. ii 4 contains the only clear notation of this system together with a probable object designation, the unidentified sign $ZATU676_a$.

301 Confer Ur III-Fischerei, p. 192, table 20, assuming an approximate relationship of 10 liters of butter oil per shekel silver. For the identification of containers used for butter oil, see below, section 6.3.2.

302 I am referring here to the parallel and possibly duplicate accounts MSVO 1, 146 and 150, the entries rev. ii 2b and 3b, respectively, of which contain the notation $5N_8$ SUḪUR. All evidence suggests that when the division of the basic unit N_1 represented by the numerical sign N_8 (▿, N_1 rotated 90° clockwise) did not refer obviously to $^1/_2$ (either in number or, in the case of young animals, in rough value), then it referred to $^1/_{10}$ (see most recently my remarks in N.A.B.U. 1995:38) and thus that the notation $5N_8$ SUḪUR should refer to $^5/_{10}$ of the metrological unit SUḪUR (note that this entry follows and is followed by entries including the fish signs KU_{6a}+KU_{6a} and SUKUD+$SUKUD_b$ which may have explained the source and function of the recorded SUḪUR).

303 The standardization of such containers into sizes compatible with the capacity system used to qualify measures of grain and liquids was documented in later periods by the use in fisheries administration of both baskets of understood capacity and the grain capacity system to record deliveries and transfers of fish (see Ur III-Fischerei, 142-155). The best attested fish documented in this metrological system was qualified $še_6$ (NE), meaning either "cooked" or "smoked" (op.cit. 217-219). The same designation might be attested in line 14 of the archaic fish list (ATU 3, p. 94) and in the account W 21864 (ATU 7, forthcoming; the only other administrative attestation of the sign combination KU_{6a} NE_a is found in the grain account W 15897,c21 [above, fig. 37] obv. i 4, there probably not referring to fish).



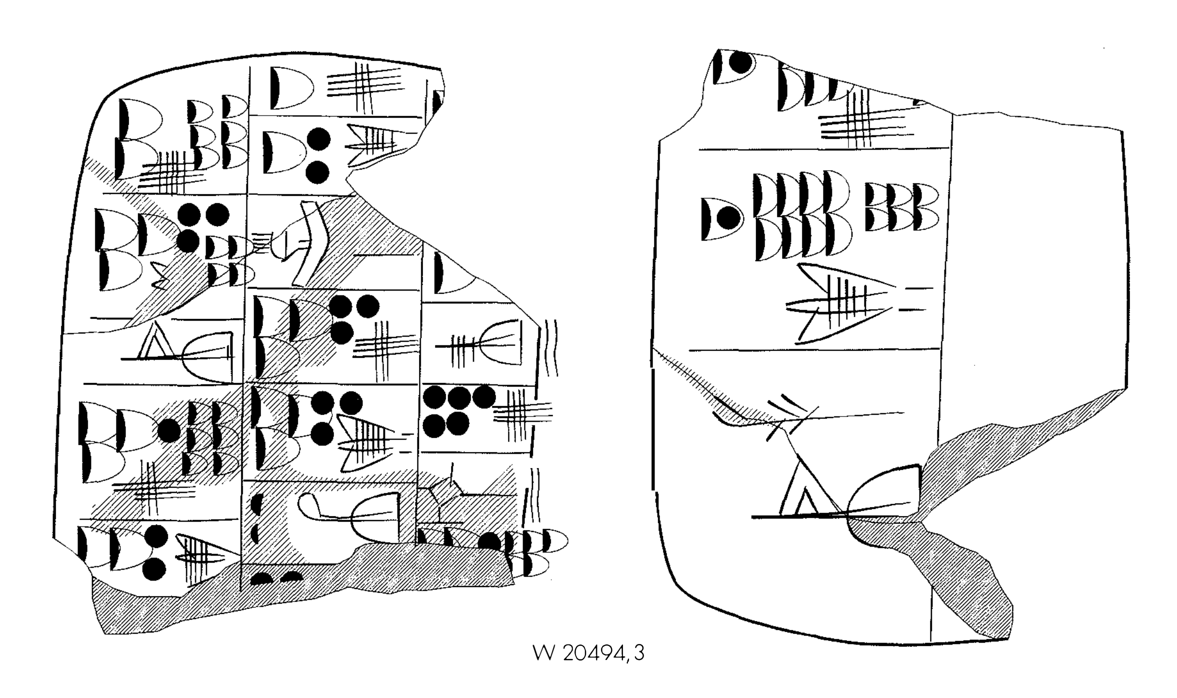
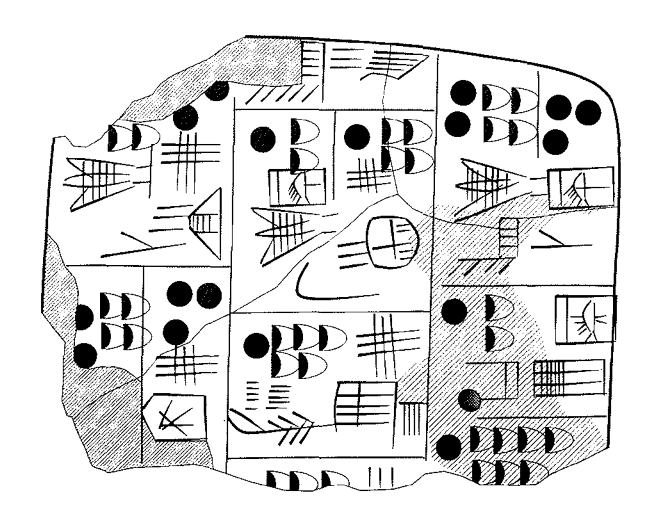
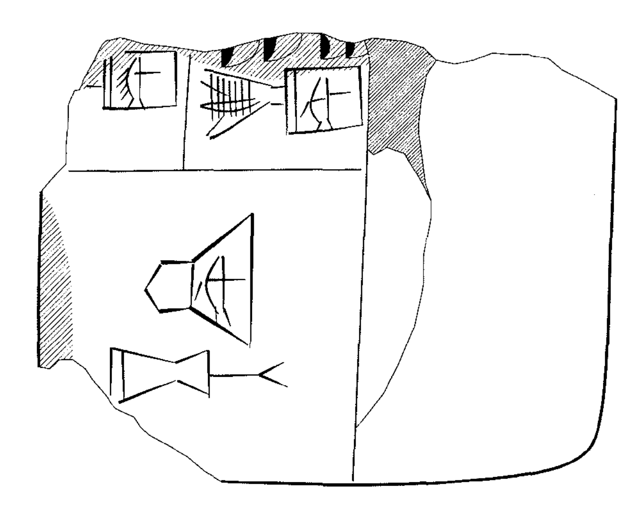
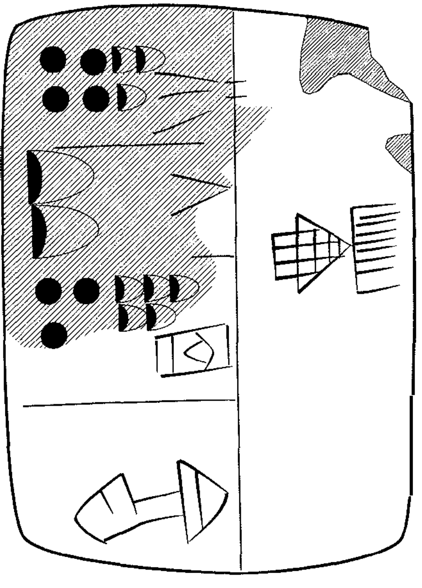


Figure 47: Administrative documentation of the archaic fisheries
The texts shown here and on the following page record the deliveries of archaic fishery offices, consisting of the split and dried fish SUḪUR ( ), of fresh fish KU$_{6a}$ ( ) and containers of presumably fresh fish GA$_{2a1}$+KU$_{6a}$, GA$_{2a1}$+U$_4$ (,), and of products represented by the sign U$_{2a}$ ( ), possibly reed mats. The relation of 12 SUḪUR per DUG$_c$ (a container of dairy fat) documented in the text W 20494,1 on page 138 is unclear.

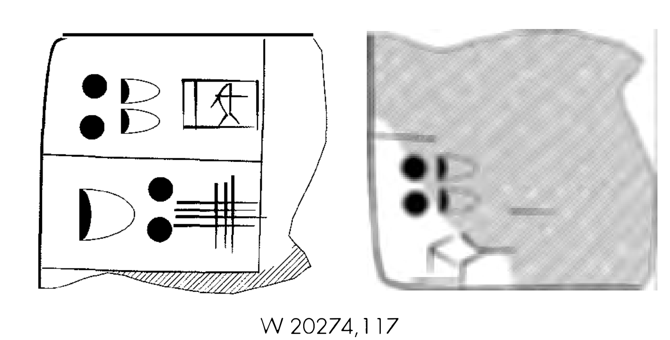




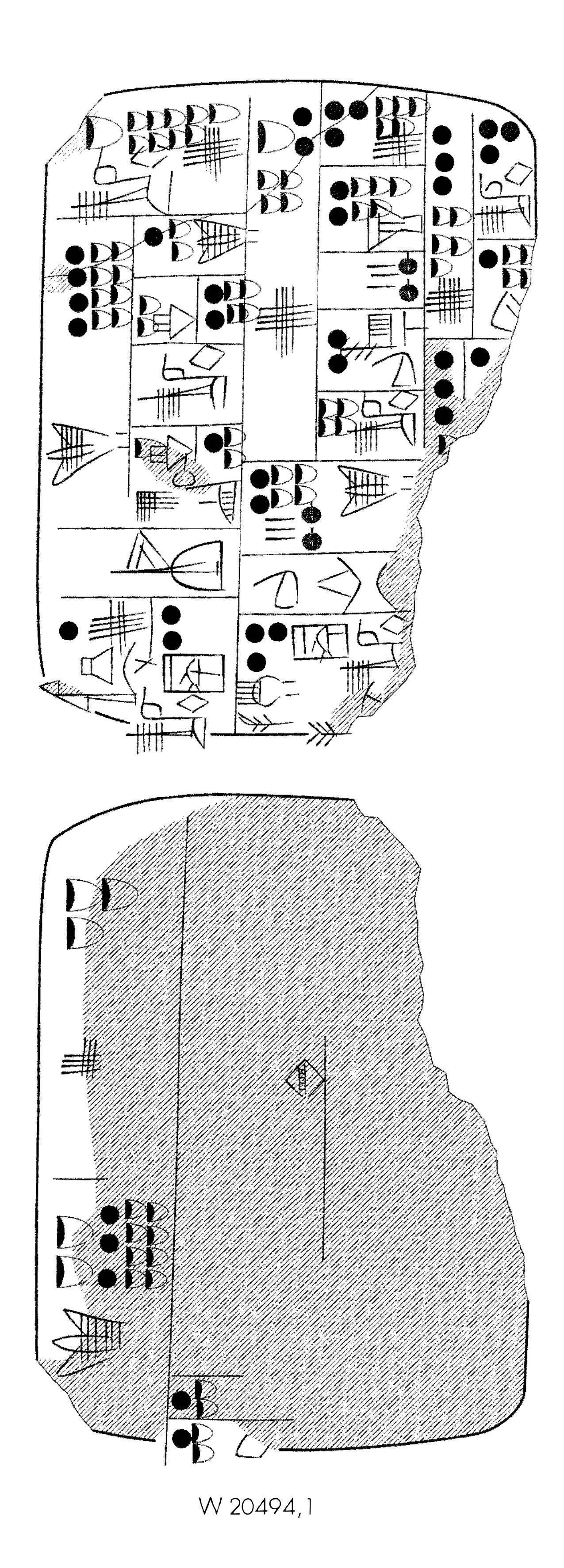
W 20367,1



W 20274,5



W 20274,117



W 20494,1

The former sign GA_{2a} represents a type of basket, in all likelihood also made of reed[304]; signs representing fish inscribed in the sign thus indicated, as is generally true of the pattern 'sign within sign', that these baskets contained fish of the quality indicated by the fish sign employed. Nearly all known fish pictograms are found within the sign GA_{2a}, including that of the dried fish, SUḪUR, but in larger numbers with the signs KU_{6a}, GIR_a and SUKUD. Beyond sign combinations of GA_{2a} and fish pictograms, signs which may have some abstract meaning but which are probably designations of processed fish were inscribed within GA_{2a}. These include U_4 ('sun', 'day', 'white'[305]) and ḪI (?[306]) and are found in accounting contexts which secure their identification as fisheries products.[307] The meaning of the sign ZATU728, also found exclusively in a context of fishery deliveries but not attested lexically, is unclear, but its referent is likely to have been some kind of container.[308]

The sign ZATU759, counted sexagesimally, was written with and without an inscribed sign KU_{6a}, but always in connection with fish.[309] Despite the dangers inherent in purely graphical identifications, it seems difficult to imagine that this sign is not related to the sa ZI×ZI.A, the presumed fish traps of the accounts of pre-Sargonic Girsu[310] which were apparently used to

[304] The sign is then also the natural precursor of the baskets represented by the signs pisan (ga_2) and $pisan_x$ (GA_2×GI) recorded in fisheries accounts of the pre-Sargonic Girsu period, which according to such texts as DP 291 (ii 3-4: 1 $pisan_x$ 0;1,0 mun ku_6 / 1 $pisan_x$ 0;1,0 ku_6 GAR.KI) and VS 14, 143 (i 3: 1 $pisan_x$ 0;1,0 mun ku_6) had a capacity of one Old Sumerian barig (36 $sila_3$, ca. 54 liters).

[305] The sequence SU_a KU_{6a}, U_4 KU_{6a}, $2N_{57}+U_4$ KU_{6a} in the list witness W 20266,49 (ATU 3, pp. 97-98) places the sign in a clear context of time reckoning. $2N_{57}+U_4$ represents 'two years' or 'second year' (above, section 6.2), and SU_a seems in Jemdet Nasr accounts to represent a time unit less than a year, possibly a month or season.

[306] Attested in the fish list l. 94 (ATU 3, 97), in the broken Uruk IV period account W 9656,bo (ATU 5, pl. 94) and the Uruk III period account W 19584,c (unpubl.; according to the Iraq Museum register of April 1986, this text was in the Nasiriya Museum prior to the Kuwait war, but H. Baker, R.J. Matthews and J. N. Postgate, Lost Heritage: Antiquities Stolen from Iraq's Regional Museums, fascicle 2 [London 1993] p. 150, reported the text stolen from the Basra Museum [reference kindly provided by C. Jones]). The meaning of ḪI is here not obvious; the sign is also found in the fish list l. 19 (ATU 3, 95; ḪI KU_{6a}) and in l. 40 as a part of the sign ḪI+SUḪUR (ATU 3, p. 96; compare the variant ḪI+SUḪUR of SUḪUR in l. 4, p. 94, W 21916,2 obv. i 4), where it seems to represent a fish head, as a part of the sign compositum MUD, probably representing a bird's egg, and inscribed within a form of the sign TA (LAL_3, a type of syrup), assuming it's later meaning of 'sweet'. Later tradition of fish deliveries would make a better case for an interpretation of the sign as 'egg', since birds' and turtles' eggs (and not fish heads) were delivered from the marshes by fishermen.

[307] See in particular the texts W 19584,c, 20274,5 and 20274,50.

[308] The notations $2N_{34}$ $5N_{14}$ ZATU728 in W 17879,e obv. i 1 and $2N_{34}$ ZATU728 in W 20274,5 rev. i 2 (a summation of obv. i 2a and 3) prove that the object represented by this sign is, like other fish containers, counted sexagesimally.

[309] See, for example, the accounts W 15195 (unpubl.) obv. i 3-4, 20500+20500,b passim (this unpubl. account records in each of eight cases a relationship of 20 ZATU759+KU_{6a} per 1 UR_2+N_{57}; this might suggest that the unidentified latter sign was related to a yearly [ration ?; with N_{57} = 'one year'] of the fish represented by 20 ZATU759+KU_{6a}, for which compare the textile account W 24024,1 [BaM 22, 115], in which 20-120 ZATU759 SAG correspond to recorded numbers of apparent textile industry tools) 21005 (unpubl.) obv. i 1 (940 ZATU759+KU_{6a}!), 21107 (fig. 47 here) and MSVO 4, 11.

[310] Up to 600 such fish containers were recorded in single accounts (DP 328 i, from the Gu'edina). The fish gu_4, NI, nun, GAM+GAM, and suḫur TUR.TUR were delivered in the sa ZI×ZI.a, all by freshwater fishermen.

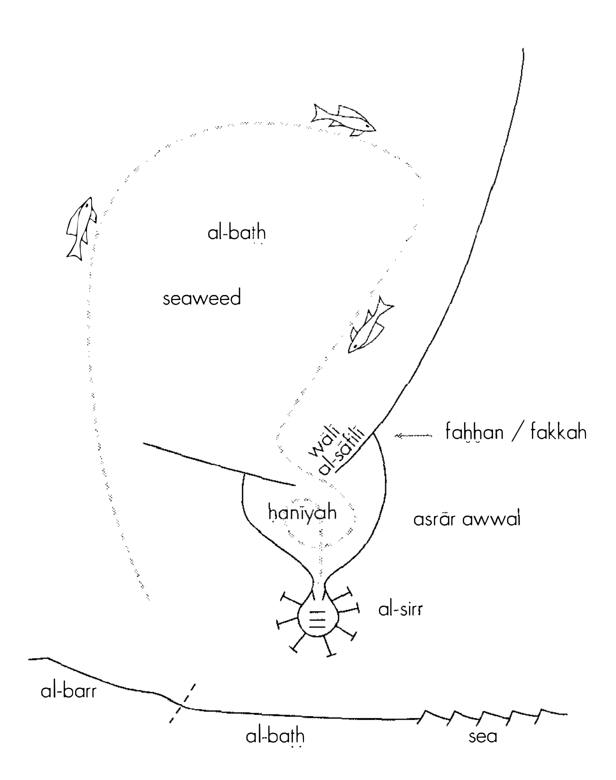


Figure 48: Plan of the Ibzūr fish-trap
The dotted line indicates the movement of the fish feeding upon the seaweed of the flat sea-bed (al-baṯh) uncovered at low tide. Wind and receding water slowly drive the fish into the sirr chamber (after R. Serjeant, BSOAS 31 [1968] 492).

transport fresh fish[311] from the waterways and marshlands of Lagash into the city.[312] Fish delivery accounts suggest that the container like the pisan was of normed capacity.[313] It is unlikely to have been a common fishing net – although there is otherwise no indication in the archaic administrative texts of the use of nets in fishing, net sinkers from all archaeological levels suggest they too must have been in use in the archaic period – since the sign ZATU759 also represented a category of containers including the GA_{2a}, but was more likely an 'open' basket, which would have been of particular use in the canals.[314]

311 Such fish were often characterized as a.de$_2$, 'pouring water', presumably referring to their containers being delivered in temple households.

312 The fisheries accounts in many cases include notations recording the delivery of often large numbers of an object represented by the sign U_{2a} (for example, W 19799, 20274,71, 88, 110, 117, 131, 20367,1, 20494,1 and ,3; see fig. 47 here), in later Sumerian tradition referring to (green) plants. Assuming the object was delivered by fishermen and remembering that the texts W 19948,3, 20274,71 and 20511,8 qualify the object with the sign GU_7, "ration", it would be reasonable to assume the object is an edible plant available to the workers on their fishing expeditions. The fact, however, that GU_7 could also refer to non-edible goods such as textiles (for example, in W 20274,95 rev. ii 1) leaves open the possibility that U_{2a} represented simply an object which was distributed regularly, for example, reed mats from local tribes in the marshes (compare the u$_2$ ninni$_5$ [=*aslum*, a type of reed, also used in making cord] recorded in the Fara period texts TSŠ 369 i and WF 142 together with the fisheries product si.NU×U).

313 DP 332 ii offers a general idea of their size: 10 sa ZI×ZI.a gu$_4$ ku$_6$/ku$_6$ sa ZI×ZI.a 1.a/še 0;1,0.ta / še.bi 2,2,0, "10 Z-nets of 'oxen' carp, per Z-net of fish, one barig of barley each, the grain involved: 2 gur 2 barig." Assuming a rough value equivalence of grain and fish in the pre-Sargonic period in Girsu, we would have 1 sa ZI×ZI.a = 1 barig (ca. 54 liters).

314 The Sumerian 'Home of the Fish' relates a song praising the welcoming qualities to interested fish of such a trap; see M. Civil, Iraq 23 (1961) 154-75, corrected by M.-L. Thomsen, JCS 27 (1975) 197-200, and H.L.J. Vanstiphout, "An Essay on "The Home of the Fish"," OLA 13 (1982) 311-19 (compare W. Römer, Einführung in die Sumerologie [Nijmegen 1982] 104, and id., Die Sumerologie [...], AOAT 238 [Neukirchen-Vluyn 1994] 174). The fisherman will have attached his trap to a canal lock, catching fish in the

It seems given the value of metals unlikely that spears were ever more important in fishing than simple nets and traps (figure 48),[315] the existence of which, though they themselves decay and so are seldom found in excavations, is proven by numerous finds of sinkers (also serving as anchors for traps).[316]

The designation for fishermen, later Sumerian ŠU+KU$_{6a}$ (literally 'hand-fish'), is not obvious in the archaic texts. The meaning of the sign combinations GAL SUḪUR and SANGA SUḪUR in the professions list, which should contain the designation of fishermen, remains a matter of speculation.[317] We may assume that the sign GAL ('large') represented in professional names a foreman of some kind and so the GAL SUḪUR might correspond to the ugula šuku$_x$ of Sumerian tradition.[318] The sign SANGA might represent a counting board and so the title

water flowing through (see Nik I 277 iii 3-4: 9 sa ZI×ZI.a ti(?) ku$_6$ / NAG.KA [in parallel texts always ku$_5$] NI.U$_4$.ka.kam, "9 Z-nets of arrow? fish, from the reservoir ... (?)" [G.J. Selz, ASJ 16, 1994, 225: NAG.ka.na$_4$.ka.kam, unclear; M.A. Powell, ASJ 3, 1981, 144, citing A.P. Riftin, Publications de la Société Egyptologique à l'Université d'État de Leningrad 1, 1929, 16: nag-dúg-ià-ud'-ka-kam]). The fishing methods of the Iraqi marsh dwellers were comparable (S. Westphal-Hellbusch and H. Westphal, Die Ma'dan [...], Forschungen zur Ethnologie und Sozialpsychologie 4, [Berlin 1962] 84):

1. Two fences are erected at right angles to one another in the water. At the open corner, they fasten a net, in which the fish are caught which are swimming along the weir. It is said that they thereby cause a bell to ring. A man waiting next to the net in a boat takes the fish out of the net.
2. You close off a river or a part of a lake with a fence, leaving an opening to one side. The fisherman stands at this opening on a raised platform of reed and mud and spears the fish swimming through it.
3. A fence completely closes off a river or a part of a lake. The fish swimming within the enclosure are caught with bare hands.

Professional fishermen of the Ma'dan formed a particular caste called "Barbara" and were despised by the other tribes. According to F. Bartz, Die großen Fischereiräume der Erde [...] II (Wiesbaden 1965) 19-26, they used no spears, but only nets.

[315] Against M. Roaf, Paléorient 2 (1974) 501, who suspects that the late Ubaid use in Bahrain of traps and nets to catch big fish was supplanted in the Uruk period by fishing with spear and hook. Compare R.B. Serjeant, "Fisher-Folk and Fish-Traps in al-Bahrain," BSOAS 31 (1968) 486-514: "The long shallow shore waters of the Persian-Arabian Gulf, with sandy beaches extending distances of a mile or two under the sea before meeting deeper water, are specially suited for the catching of fish in permanent traps (*hadrah*), or tidal weirs as they have been described, such as may be seen all the way from Iraq along the Arabian coast. At high tide these traps are largely submerged, but as the water recedes the fish are left stranded within their fences (p. 489)." Fig. 48 shows the author's schematic drawing of this device.

[316] A. Salonen, Fischerei pl XI, 11-12; P. Delougaz, OIP 53 (Chicago 1940) 55-56 with figs. 53-55; R.McC. Adams and H.J. Nissen, The Uruk Countryside [...] (Chicago 1972) 213; F. Safar, Sumer 6 (1950) 29-30 (late Ubaid); J. Jordan, UVB 3 (Berlin 1932) 31 and pl. 20d (Ubaid, together with many herring remains); V. Christian, Altertumskunde des Zweistromlandes [...] I (Leipzig 1940) 120, 158, 205-6, 225. Remains of bindings which will have been fastened to nets and traps were found attached to some of these sinkers.

[317] See above, section 5, and ATU 3, 71 to Lu$_2$ A 71-72 (for the Early Dynastic version, see E. Arcari, La lista di professione "Early Dynastic *LU A*" [...], 23).

[318] The sign combination GAL$_a$ SUḪUR is attested in but few administrative documents. In the Uruk IV period text W 9578,m (ATU 5, pl. 60) the combination occurs obv. ii 2 in a context suggestive of an inventory of personnel, there following an entry including the combination GEŠTU$_b$ SUḪUR. GEŠTU$_b$ is itself attested in the list Officials, line 13 (s. ATU 3, p. 20; ED correspondence ama.(ar$_2$.)me), and in the Lu$_2$ A forerunner W 9656,h1 together with the signs UKKIN$_a$, GA$_a$ and KISAL$_{b1}$, in all cases indicating that the former sign like GAL$_a$ represented a hierarchical designation in professional names. GAL$_a$ GA$_a$, also known from the list Lu$_2$ A (l. 20), is, in fact, also attested in the account W 9578,m obv. iii 2. GAL$_a$ SUḪUR is further attested in the accounts W 21086 (unpubl.) obv. i 2, W 22118,5 (ATU 7, forthcoming) obv. i 1 (and W 24008,12 [BaM 22, 89] obv. ii 2 ?) in unclear context.

SANGA SUḪUR an administrator or bookkeeper of the fisheries.[319] Other designations of persons or institutions found in administrative documents dealing primarily with fish apparently include only those referring to receiving agents; indeed, the one account which lists probable fish traps and transportation containers, W 19408,40 (unpublished), has no apparent personal designations.

Judging from later tradition as well as from osteo-archaeological remains, the fishermen will have exploited both the inland waters of southern Babylonia, and the rich marine resources of the near Persian Gulf (Sumerian a.ab.ba),[320] returning to their administrative units with their catch including fish, mollusks,[321] birds[322], wild pigs[323] and, probably, turtles[324]. We

[319] Only attested in the accounts W 9656,ep (ATU 5, pl. 103; unclear whether $SANGA_a$ forms a sign combination with SUḪUR) and MSVO 4, 10 obv. i 1, in the latter text immediately preceding an entry including the possible 'fish tithe collector' ZA_3 (later Sumerian enku, s. M.W. Green, JCS 36 [1984] 93-95) SUḪUR. Both attestations include sexagesimal notations which would at least not exclude the counting of SUḪUR.

[320] Finds of both bones of saltwater fish and of shells of gulf crustaceans make clear that the fishing grounds were not limited to inland waters (to be noted to H. Waetzoldt, "Zu den Strandverschiebungen am Persischen Golf und den Bezeichnungen der Hōrs," in: J. Schäfer, W. Simon [eds.], Strandverschiebungen in ihrer Bedeutung für Geowissenschaften und Archäologie, Ruperto Carola Sonderheft 1981, Heidelberg, 159-81).

[321] See for example K. Mudar, JNES 41 (1982) 33-34 (excavations of al-Hibba, 121 shells of molluscs, 104 of them from salt water varieties); J.G. Evans, "The exploitation of molluscs," in: P.J. Ucko and G.W. Dimbleby, The domestication and exploitation of plants and animals (London 1969) 479-484.; M. Tosi, Catalogue to the exhibition of the Museo Nazionale d'arte orientale, 14.5-19.7.1981: "Conchiglie, il commercio e la lavorazione delle conchiglie marine nel medio oriente dal IV al II millennio a.C.," with shells from Girsu, Mari, and Susa, among other sites; P. Delougaz, OIP 53 (1940) 54, 96 (Khafaje); F. Safar, Sumer 6 (1950) 29: "Great quantities of the shells of freshwater molluscs were found on the floor" [of the 5/H building; Eridu].

[322] The account W 21005 stands with its entries including $ZATU759+KU_{6a}$, $SUKUD+SUKUD_a$ and NAM_c, at the beginning of a long documented tradition of the delivery and distribution of fish together with birds, both deriving from the same fishing grounds. Similar archaic fish/bird accounts are found in the texts MSVO 4, 11, and UET 2, 19 (photo pl. B); see the late Old Akkadian text G. Cros, NFT 184 for the delivery of fish by bird-trappers.

[323] W 12015 (ATU 6, forthcoming) and 20572,2 (unpubl.) conclude with entries of SUḪUR and ŠUBUR ('pig') and so recall the pre-Sargonic Girsu account J. Marzahn, VS 25, 42, which contains, following a notation representing 60 turtles, an entry recording delivery by a fisherman of 2 boars ($šaḫ_2$.^{giš}gi), probably deriving from the marsh (see, for archaic depictions of probable fishermen hunting wild pigs, above, fig. 10, and below, fig. 62; further for Ur III references Ur III-Fischerei, 176-177[+564]).

[324] Although not explicitly identifiable in the archaic texts, later textual references and physical remains from excavations indicate that turtles were at all times brought in by fishermen (compare K.T. Khalaf, Reptiles of Iraq [...] [Baghdad 1959] 83-86). Third millennium Sumerian and Akkadian account entries of the turtles called ba+qualification, ba.al.gi and nig_2.bun_2.na (see Ur III-Fischerei, 222-224 and the literature cited there) will have referred to the following osteo-archaeologically identified animals:

1) Euphrates soft-shell turtle, *Trionyx euphraticus*, see R.W. Redding, in: H.T. Wright (ed.), An Early Town on the Deh Luran Plain [...], Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan no. 13 (Ann Arbor 1981) 236 (Uruk III period, but possibly later entries); J. Boessneck, in: McG. Gibson et al., Excavations at Nippur: Twelth Season, OIC 23 (Chicago 1978) 162 (Old Babylonian; "the meat from these large river turtles is considered tasty"); id., in: B. Hrouda, Isin-Išān Baḥrīyāt I [...] (Munich 1977) 127 (Old Babylonian); id. and M. Kokabi, in: B. Hrouda, Isin-Išān Baḥrīyāt II [...] (Munich 1981) 149 (neo-Babylonian, as a burial good?).

2) Caspian water turtle, *Clemmyx caspica*, see J. Boessneck, in: McG. Gibson et al., OIC 23, 162 (Old Babylonian Nippur; "today common in the canals surrounding Nippur"); F. Hole et al. (eds.), Prehistory and Human Ecology of the Deh Luran Plain [...], Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology, University

have very limited information about the types of boats they used.[325]

6.3.2. Domesticated animals and animal products

It is likely that from the archaic period throughout the third millennium two sectors always enjoyed a dominant position in Babylonian household economies. Clearly the most important resource available to the archaic state was the agricultural land surrounding growing cities, from which sufficient grain was harvested to supply the basis for urban development. The second most important resource was that of domestic animals, and above all of the small cattle sheep and goats, followed by large cattle and pigs.[326]

Sheep and goats (UDU_a)[327]

Large numbers of medium-sized herds of sheep and goats were exploited for their wool and hair, for their dairy products,[328] and for their meat.[329] We may assume that according to traditional practice, the herds moved seasonally between the summer pasture lands located in the Zagros mountains and winter pasture lands, but above all the administrative control, and shearing centers, of the Mesopotamian alluvium. The demand for textiles from non-

of Michigan no. 1 (Ann Arbor 1969) 325 (ca. 7000-6000 B.C.); J. Boessneck, in: B. Hrouda, Isin-Išān Baḥrīyāt I [...], 127 (Old Babylonian).

3) Tortoise, *Testuda graeca ibera*, see J. Boessneck and M. Kokabi, op. cit. 149-150, shell from an Achaemenid grave, with symmetrically drilled holes suggesting its use as lute (compare Latin *testudo* = turtle and lute), probably imported from the north (according to Boessneck; see however R.J. Braidwood, SAOC 31 [1960] 48, Jarmo ca. 6750+250 B.C., and 59, Palegawra ca. 10.000 B.C.; further P.F. Turnbull and C.A. Reed, Fieldiana Anthropology 63/3 [1974] 81-146, fauna from Palegawra).

4) Caspian terrapine, *Mauromys caspica*, see R.W. Redding, op. cit., 236 (s. fig. 64, p. 237); J. Boessneck and M. Kokabi, op. cit. 149 (Kassite).

The very spotty recovery of the remains of small animals may explain the missing evidence for salt water turtles, of which over 4000 bones were unearthed in excavations at Umm an-Nar (third millennium, see E. Hoch, "Reflections on Prehistoric Life at Umm an-Nar [...]", in: M. Taddei [ed.], South Asian Archaeology 1977, vol. 1 [Naples 1979] 601-606). All ba of the pre-Sargonic Girsu fishery accounts were apparently delivered by the gulf fishermen $šuku_x$ ab.ba.

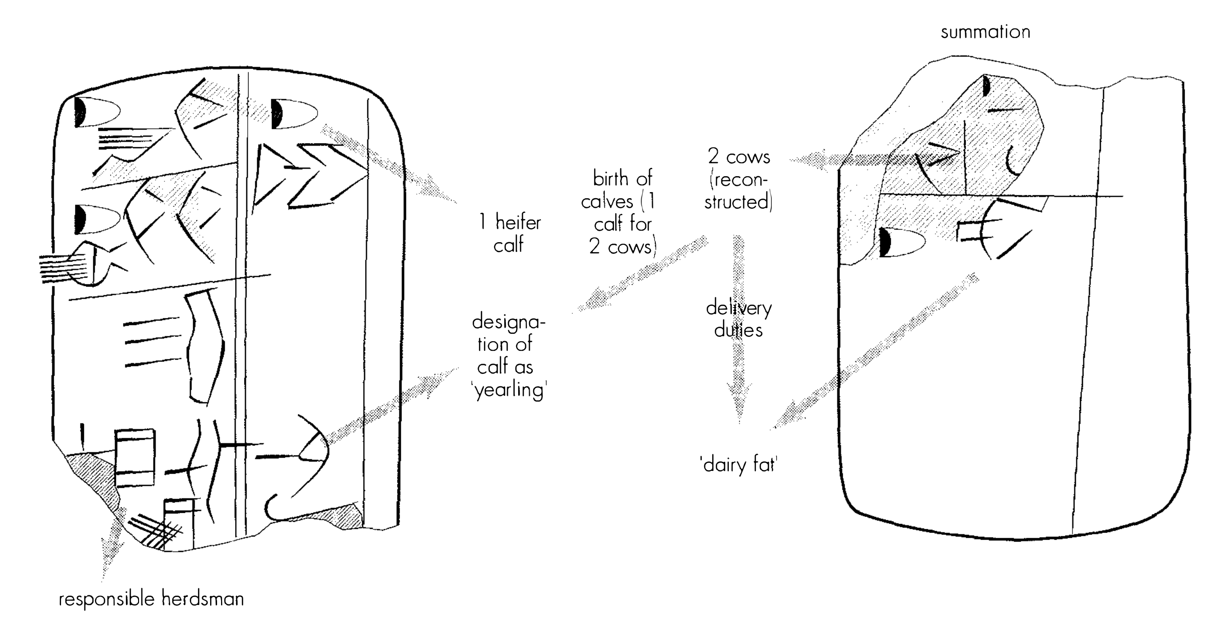
325 See A. Salonen, Fischerei 71-72 and plts. 5-8, 12; id., Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien [...], StOr 8/4 (Helsinki 1939) ; id., Nautica Babyloniaca [...], StOr 11/1 (Helsinki 1942); M.-C. de Graeve, The Ships of the Ancient Near East (c. 2000-500 B.C.), OLA 7 (Leuven 1981); C. Qualls, Early shipping in Mesopotamia (UColumbia dissertation, New York 1981). Compare the pre-Sargonic fishing boat logs DP 334 and DP 344-6.

326 No texts are known from the archaic corpus which document the breeding and exploitation of equids; the signs which presumably represented these animals, ANŠE and possibly KIŠ, are found only in isolated context of possible inventories.

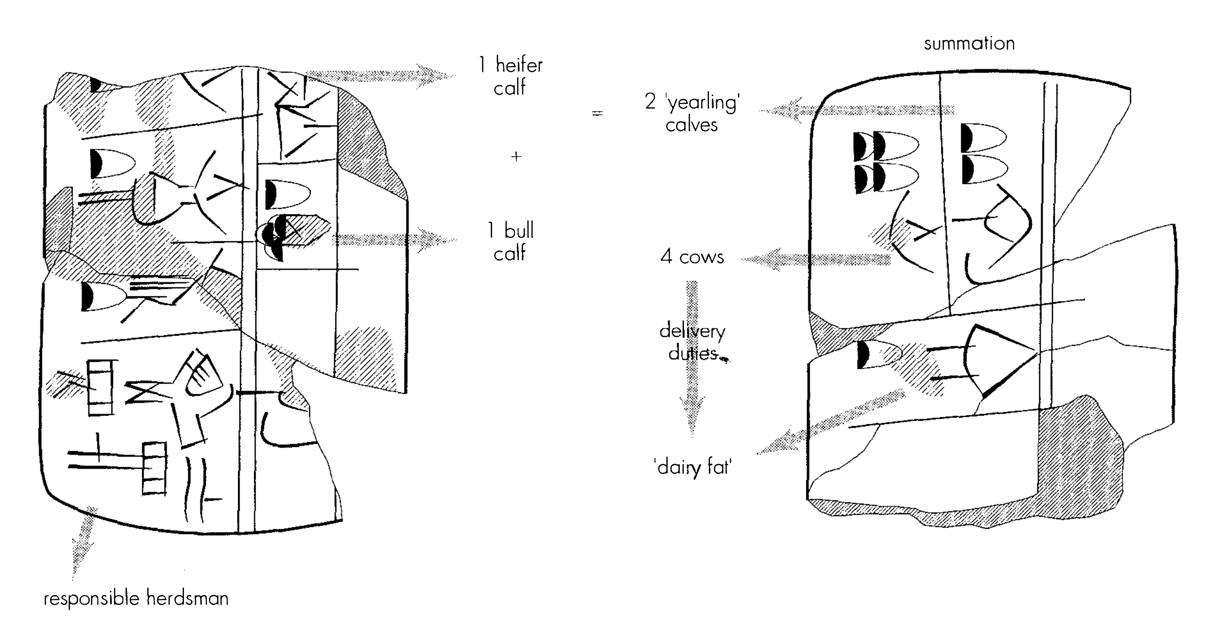
327 The organization and administration of small cattle in the archaic period was first adequately treated by M.W. Green, JNES 39 (1980) 1-35; cf. Archaic Bookkeeping, pp. 89-93.

328 The primary dairy products butter oil and cheese are dealt with separately below.

329 Animals represented by the sign UDU_a formed a standard entry of lists of possibly sacrificial offerings in accounts for the archaic period, best documented in the texts from Jemdet Nasr dealt with by the author in J. Høyrup and P. Damerow (eds.), Changing Views on Ancient Near Eastern Mathematics (Berlin, forthcoming). Note also lines 67-68 of the lexical list Metal (see above, section 5, and ATU 3, pp. 139-140) with the entries GIR_{2a} UDU_a and AN GIR_{2a} UDU_a, both representing a 'sheep and goat knife' used in butchering and flaying the animals. Corresponding entries follow, recording butcher's knives for large cattle, and gutting and filleting knives for fish (ll. 69-72).

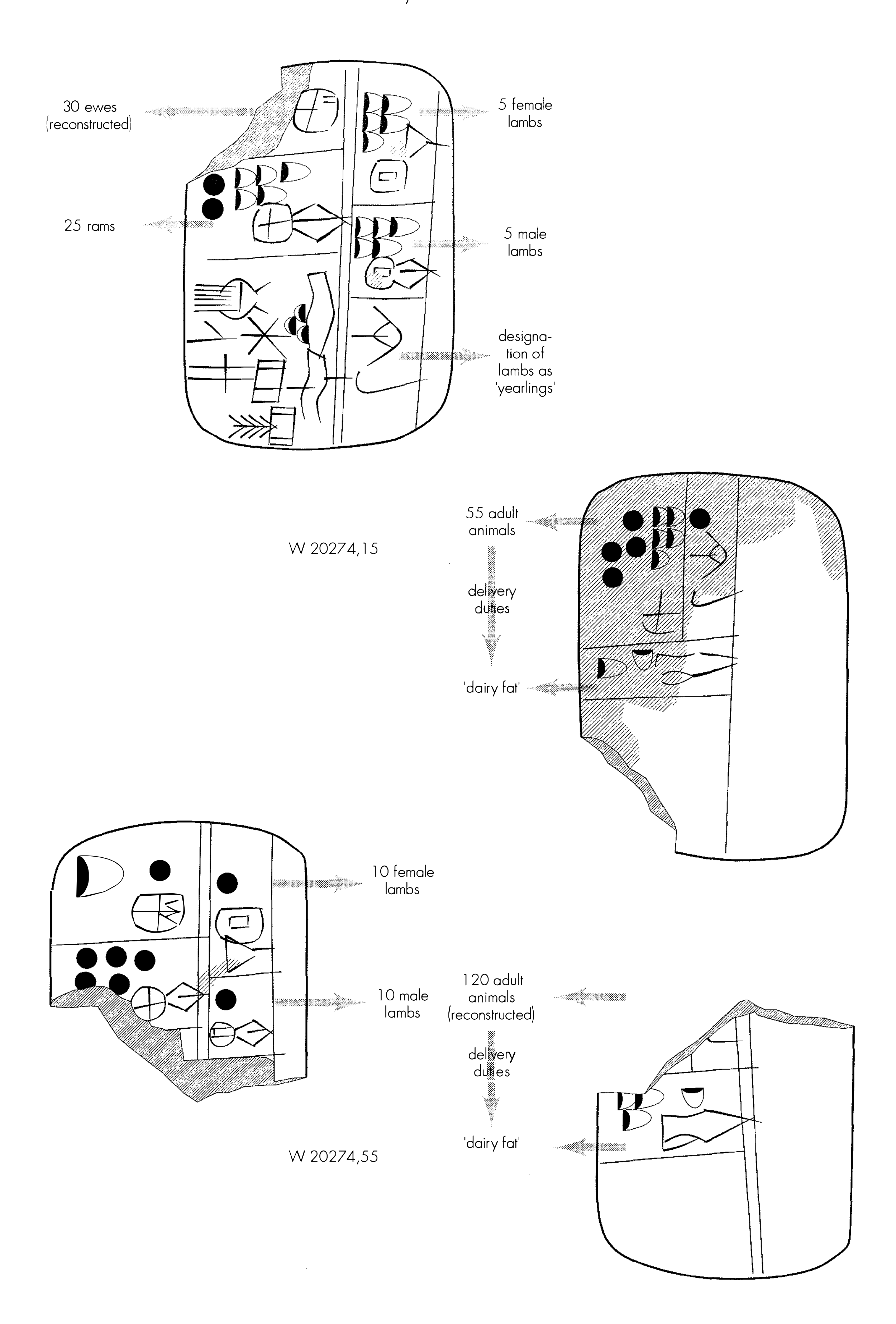


W 20274,12



W 20274,63

Figure 49: Uruk III accounts of herds of milk cows and sheep
The two texts above contain accounts of small herds of cows (3-6 animals). Summations of adult and juvenile animals, and a notation representing delivery duties of dairy fat calculated according to the number of milk-producing cows in the herd, were inscribed on the reverse face of the accounts. Two comparable accounts of herds of sheep are found on page 145. Note that in both cases the responsible shepherds were to deliver one KISIM$_a$ of dairy fat per twenty ewes (⊃ = "1", ▽ = "$^1/_2$").


30 ewes
(reconstructed)
5 female
lambs
25 rams
5 male
lambs
designa-
tion of
lambs as
'yearlings'
W 20274,15
55 adult
animals
delivery
duties
'dairy fat'
10 female
lambs
10 male
lambs
120 adult
animals
(reconstructed)
delivery
duties
'dairy fat'
W 20274,55

agricultural populations in cities was almost exclusively met by textiles woven from wool, to a lesser extent from goat hair. Wool also constituted the most heavily traded commodity in the commercial exchange with the periphery of Mesopotamia. Dairy products too may have entered this interregional trade market.[330]

Although we have no recourse to a lexical compendium listing the signs representing small cattle,[331] the administrative texts are sufficiently informative and consistent in their terminology to allow us to construct a typology of signs which differentiates between age, sex, and possibly also race of the sheep and goats they represent. A group of some 30 Uruk III period accounts, all from Uruk, are the main sources for the identifications made in figure 51 below.[332] Nearly all of these texts represent inventory accounts drawn up once each year to assess the size of the herds, the number of offspring, and the amount of presumable butter oil[333] the herders were expected to deliver as a norm based on the number of ewes or nanny goats in their herds.

For instance, the two texts W 20274,15 and 55, displayed in figure 49, offer a very representative view of the herd sizes and text formats involved. Both of the accounts consist of individual entries inscribed over two columns of the obverse face, and summations of those entries in the left column of the reverse. The first column of the obverse of each contains notations recording the numbers of ewes and rams belonging to each flock. In the following, third case, the responsible shepherd is named. It seems likely that the sign combination $ŠE_a$+NAM_2 at the bottom of this case is a professional name designating a 'feeder' (?). In the second column the lambs were separately registered according to their sex. The qualification of both male and female lambs with the notation $1N_{57}$+U_4 BAR (⊰ ⌣), literally 'one year, outside?',[334] indicates that the animals were born and survived into viability during the accounting year.[335] It is thus likely that these accounts were made at the time of year when the herds were driven down to winter pasture in Babylonia, and so unconnected with the shearing season.

330 See the discussion below of possible trade in dairy oil into Syria and down the Persian gulf.

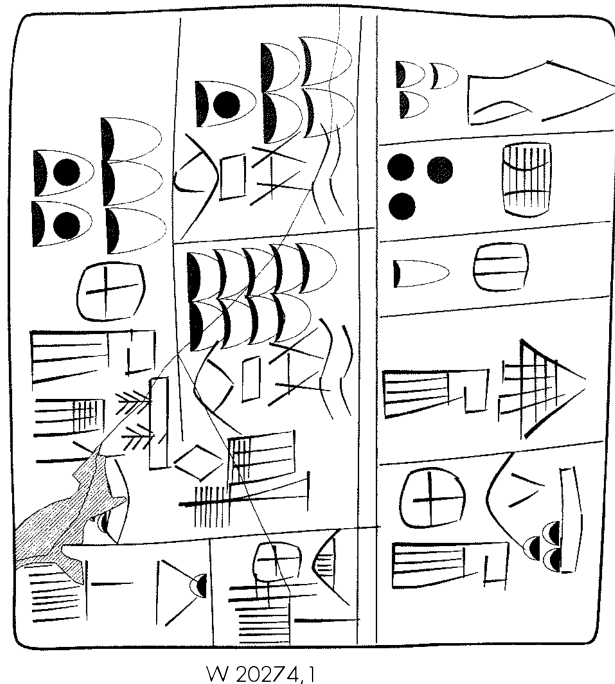
331 The lexical list denoted 'Tribute' does include several entries dealing with sheep and goats (see above, section 5, and ATU 3, pp. 25-28 and 113-117). Aside from the isolated entry l. 9 (//37) with the notation N_{14} $GUKKAL_c$ (possibly '10 fat-tailed sheep'), ll. 22-25 record in a four line sequence the two couplets '10 ewes / 1 ram' and '10 nannies / 1 billy goat'. Although the meaning of this lexical list is unclear, the ratio of 10:1 is suggestive of the service ratio for beginning herds of small cattle.

332 Most were discussed in M.W. Green, JNES 39 (1980) 1-35.

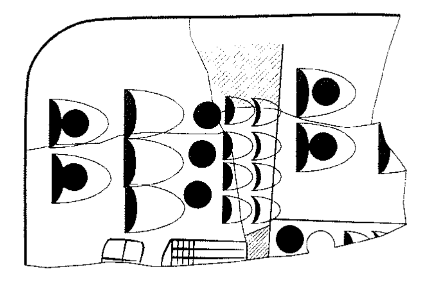
333 I have attempted to gather the pertinent textual material from the third millennium bearing on the question of the products being delivered by herders to state agents in three articles: "Archaic Dairy Metrology," Iraq 53 (1991) 101–4, "Late Uruk Period Cattle and Dairy Products: Evidence from Proto-Cuneiform Sources," BSA 8 (1995) 33-48, and "Regulating Dairy Productivity in the Ur III Period," OrNS 64 (1995) 377-429.

334 See above, section 6.2, for a detailed discussion of time notations in archaic texts. $1N_{57}$+U_4 represented an administrative 360-day year. BAR might instead refer to those juveniles weaned from their mothers or culled from the herd and given over to the official $ŠE_a$+NAM_2. See the following note.

335 We learn in these texts that the number of lambs recorded in the accounting year corresponded to approximately one third of the ewes. Since the accounts represent herd inventories with normed delivery expectations of butter oil (see below), it is impossible to say what precisely this relationship means. It seems most likely that the lambs registered are those which had to be delivered to the herds' owners (either physically delivered to the owners, or simply added to the accounts and thus becoming, on paper, adult members of the flocks in the following year, for which the herders continued to bear all responsibility).



W 20274,1



W 15785,a10

Figure 50: Accounts of large sheep herds
W 20274,1 might represent the accounting of two large herds of sheep, together totaling 1380 animals (note the inclusion in the second column of signs representing dairy fat and wool). The poorly preserved account W 15785,a10 records in a reverse corner a notation representing 1418, and thus the largest number of sheep known from the archaic texts.

The reverse of the texts contains summations of both adult and juvenile animals followed by an entry which records an apparent amount of a dairy product. We have, based on later tradition in Babylonia, interpreted the pictographic sign KISIM$_a$ ( ), a clay vessel, to represent a standard amount of butter oil which that vessel held.
The less well preserved second text contains an entirely parallel account of a herd of sheep. Note that in both texts and in a number of others the vessels KISIM$_a$ stood in an even relationship to the ewes respectively recorded, namely, in a relationship of one KISIM$_a$ to 20 ewes. These 'nice numbers' are as a rule always to be understood as an indication of administrative norms and not as records of real deliveries. In this case, $^1/_{20}$ KISIM$_a$ would then represent the amount of butter oil, derived from sheep milk, which the herders in these two accounts were expected to deliver to the real owners of the sheep, reckoned per year and bearing ewe.[336]
In a precisely parallel fashion, the accounts of goatherds record numbers of nannies and male goats together with yearlings on their obverse, summaries on their reverse faces, the

[336] To be noted to M. Stol, BSA 7 (1993) 100, and RlA 8/3-4 (1994) 194. Butter oil from ewes was not recorded in accounts from the later third millennium; i$_3$.nun (pre-Sargonic Girsu and Old Akkadian) and i$_3$.nun(.ḪA) (Ur III) represented that of goats. Archaic shepherds recorded in the text considered here were required to deliver the capacity equivalence in milk fat of one of the oil vessels represented by the sign KISIM$_a$ per 15 (JNES 39, 21, no. 3, W 20274,74), 20 (JNES 39, 22, no. 6, 21, no. 4, 23, no. 7, 20, no. 1, 22, no. 5 and 24, no. 9 [W 20274,3, 15, 38, 55, 60, and 61, respectively; see fig. 49 to W 20274,15 and 55]) or 30 (JNES 39, 20, no. 2, W 20274,85) ewes.

LARGE CATTLE: COWS AND BULLS	Sex / Age	Females	Males
AB$_2$ GU$_4$	Adults	AB$_2$	GU$_4$
	Juveniles AMAR	SAL AMAR	KUR$_a$ AMAR

Figure 51: Archaic signs for large and small cattle and for pigs
The figure above provides an overview of the signs found in lexical and administrative texts representing large cattle (a series of signs in the same case presents paleographical development, with Uruk IV period signs to the left, Uruk III period signs to the right). Juveniles were differentiated according to sex with the signs SAL ( ) and KUR$_a$ ( ), originally designations of female and male laborers. On page 149 is a table with corresponding signs for the small cattle sheep and goats, and for pigs.

only difference being the use of the sign KISIM$_b$ to qualify the container of apparent dairy fat to be delivered to central offices by the herders.[337] This 'gunified' form of KISIM$_a$ presumably serves to differentiate the two types of oil, but may also reflect some physical characteristic of the jars used, such as incisions or coloring stokes on their outer surface.
Summarizing accounts covering a certain accounting period are particularly informative concerning the general features of economic organization in the archaic period. Unfortunately, such texts are extremely rare. Two tablets from Uruk (W 15785,a10 and W 20274,1, figure 50) nevertheless provide a good glimpse of the scale of the flocks controlled by the state. These accounts record a total of 1,418 and 1,380 sheep, respectively.
The signs which in these accounts represented sheep and goats had no apparent pictographic, but rather an abstract character (figure 51). They have certain common features: the cross, the circle and the lozenge barred by a diagonal line (as a qualification of male animals). Again, young animals are specified by adding certain qualifying strokes or complete signs to the basic signs representing the species referred to. Because of their abstract form, D. Schmandt-Besserat has understood the signs to be two-dimensional representations of three dimensional complex tokens (see above, section 3), that is, of small clay objects inscribed with the design – a cross with possibly further qualifying dots and strokes – that in

[337] The delivery norms for nanny goats may have been five to ten times as much as that of ewes – between 3 and 3 $^{2}/_{3}$ goats per vessel KISIM$_b$, recorded in the texts W 17879,ad, 20274,41, 65 and 148 (JNES 39, 28-29, nos. 22-25). For comparison, goatherds in the Ur III period were expected to deliver between $^{1}/_{3}$ and $^{1}/_{2}$ sila$_3$ (liter) of butter oil per nanny goat (see R.K. Englund, OrNS 64 [1995] 398-399[45]).

		Sex / Age	Females	Males
SMALL CATTLE: SHEEP AND GOATS UDU a b c	Wool Sheep	Adults	U$_8$	UDUNITA a b c
		Juveniles SILA$_4$ c	KIR$_{11}$	SILANITA
	Fat-tailed Sheep (?)		GUKKAL a c b d	
	Goats	Adults	UD$_5$	MAŠ$_2$
		Juveniles	EŠGAR	MAŠ
PIGS		Adults	ŠUBUR	ŠAH$_2$?
		Juveniles		

the corresponding proto-cuneiform sign was incised within a drawn circle, itself representing the small clay ball. This is one of the many appealing theses in her published work; it might further be considered that one of the Uruk IV period variants of the sign UDU ('UDU$_b$'[338]) was made by first impressing the butt end of a large numerical stylus or possibly cylinder seal into the surface of the tablet, upon which the conventional cross of the sign was inscribed. A numerical stylus impression would itself be the proto-cuneiform correspondence of a large token used in a numerical system. P. Damerow and I have, moreover, discussed elsewhere[339] the probability that a cross in the proto-Elamite texts, formed with two oblique impressions of the 'large number' stylus ( ), corresponded entirely to the UDU$_a$ sign in proto-cuneiform accounts. This would suggest that at the time of withdrawal of Babylonian influence from Persia at the end of Uruk IVb (?), this sign belonged to a common repertory, including most of the numerical signs, used by accountants from both regions. It would thus not be surprising to find within one or more of the many unopened Late Uruk clay envelopes examples of the complex token Schmandt-Besserat has posited to refer to sheep, assuming this information was not made sufficiently clear simply by the office the envelopes were kept in.

Textiles

Art-historical analysis of excavated finds from the ancient Near East has played the leading role in discussions of the production and design of textiles: descriptive publications of costumes rendered on statues, seals and reliefs meant to allow above all the chronological sequencing and esthetic judgment of particular works of art.[340] The wealth of information not only about the costumes worn by elites, renderings of which may be expected in the type of heroizing art produced for the ruling class active in palace and temples, but also about simple garments of non-elites, for instance soldiers depicted on Old Sumerian and Old Akkadian steles, aids in our understanding of the types of clothing available and sought in ancient Mesopotamia, given the fact that with but very few exceptions no other physical trace of ancient textiles has survived the millennia since they were worn.[341] For the historian of the third millennium, however, the value of textiles lies less in their constitution than in their exploitation by complex administrations.

338 In the Uruk IV period text W 20820,1 (unpubl.). Note that the 'circle' of the sign TUG$_2$ was inscribed in the same fashion in the text.

339 Tepe Yahya, 53-54.

340 See, for instance, W. Reimpell, Geschichte der babylonischen und assyrischen Kleidung (Berlin 1921); M. Tilke, Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des orientalischen Kostüms (Berlin 1923); E. Strommenger, "Mesopotamische Gewandtypen von der Frühsumerischen bis zur Larsa-Zeit," Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica 2 (1971) 37-55; id., "Kleidung. B. Archäologisch," RIA 6 (1980-83) 31-38.

341 Graves may be expected to offer the greatest opportunities for the retrieval of textiles, and there are scattered reports of the finds of some remains. The extraordinary difficulty in recovering such remains, both in terms of necessary technical expertise and of the high investment of time and resources, tends to hamper, if justifiably or not, the interest of archaeologists in pursuing such work. Occasional impressions of fabrics on preserved artifacts do give us an idea of the type of weave used in textile production. For instance, the weave pattern of a piece of cloth apparently used to wrap and possibly keep moist an archaic tablet from Uruk is clearly visible on the tablet's surface. The pattern on the text W 15776,s (unpubl.) exhibits a weave using course wool, presumably that used to produce the simple garments distributed to state dependents and traded outside of Mesopotamia.

The nature of this exploitation must be deduced from administrative records, of which the greatest numbers derive from the Ur III period. The textile industry centered in the capital city of the Ur III state was intensively organized and run at a grand scale, requiring the labor of some thousands of workers to produce the small numbers of the extraordinarily labor-intensive costumes worn by the king and other elites and the great numbers of garments needed to clothe thousands of dependent laborers in the province of Ur, and to supply state controlled trade agents with large supplies destined for internal and external exchange, through which luxury goods could be secured for the ruling family and for state agencies.[342] All third millennium texts dealing with domestic production distinguish between the raw material wool (Sumerian siki) and finished products (tug_2). While both articles were distributed as rations according to unclear rules of disbursement, complex accounts prove that state controlled exchange mechanisms dealt primarily in wool.[343]

The practical necessities of provisioning a growing urban population, and the easy transportability of wool, suggest that the same general importance will have attached to wool products in archaic Mesopotamia, that is, wool and textile production were at all times after grain production the second most important productive sector of the Babylonian economy. In judging the nature of this sector of the archaic economy and the textual evidence available to us, it is important to note, first, that textile and wool production is unmistakably meshed with domestic sheep herding, and, of much lesser importance, with the production of flax. There must in fact have been a direct relationship between the size of the population and the number of sheep needed to keep it clothed, since an average wool-producing sheep was expected to produce 2 mana (ca. 1 kg),[344] and dependent workers required from 2-4 mana (1-2 kg) of wool per year. Second, signs and sign combinations representing objects in textile accounts often function as ideograms and as implicit designation of measures. A garment 'tug_2' signifies in administrative context a bolt of cloth with understood measurements. Qualifications of such garments will doubtless have also had metrological significance, for instance, the closeness of mesh and subsequent weight will have been known to administrators

[342] See Th. Jacobsen, "On the Textile Industry at Ur under Ibbī-Sîn," Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen [...] dicata (Copenhagen 1953) 172-187; H. Waetzoldt, Untersuchungen zur neusumerischen Textilindustrie (Rome 1972); id., "Kleidung. A. Philologisch," RlA 6 (1980-83) 18-31. The account UET 3, 1505, for instance, documents a yearly wool production of at least 19,275 gu_2 (ca. 630 tons). This amount of wool would be sufficient to clothe more than 300,000 workers at the standard rate of 3-4 pounds per worker. Since, however, the population of the province of Ur at this time must have been substantially smaller (H. Wright in R. McC. Adams, Heartland of Cities [...] [Chicago 1981] 330, estimated the total to be no more than 21,400) the majority of this wool must have gone into exchange channels, and precisely this assumption is proven in numerous accounts from Ur and other provinces of the period which document large transfers of textiles both into foreign markets and into the so-called bala system of internal exchange within the Ur III state.

[343] Only the simple cloths tug_2 guz.za.gin and tug_2 (sag) uš.bar were also dealt into the exchange markets; cf. H. Waetzoldt, UNT, pp. 71-72. Wool was likely the product of greatest value that left state agencies through the offices of the exchange agents dam.gar_3, as is demonstrated by an analysis of consolidated dam.gar_3 accounts.

[344] See F.R. Kraus, Staatliche Viehhaltung im altbabylonischen Lande Larsa (Amsterdam 1966); K. Butz, "Zur Terminologie der Viehwirtschaft in den Texten aus Ebla," in: L. Cagni (ed.), La lingua di Ebla (Naples 1981) 321-353.

charged with controlling the value both in raw materials and labor of textiles leaving and entering their agencies.

A major difficulty in assessing the organization of textile production in the archaic period is the fact that there is no obvious bookkeeping chain between the sheep herds, the wool shearing, and the production of wool from fleece, of garment from wool.[345] Further, we are faced with unpleasant difficulties in identifying the various types of wool and garments recorded in the accounts with a variety of signs and sign combinations, many of which have at least formal graphic correspondences in later Sumerian periods. However, even these correspondences may be fortuitous, given the fact that the archaic texts do not show a clear link between producers – the herds and herders on the one hand, the spinners and weavers on the other – and consumers.

Of course the archaic lexical list of vessels and textiles[346] clearly documents a continuation in the understanding of these and related signs throughout the third millennium, since this list was written in literate centers of Mesopotamia not only outside of Uruk during the archaic period,[347] but also in Fara and Abu Salabikh[348] in the Fara period. The section of this list (above, figure 29) containing references to textiles begins with entries consisting of two undeciphered signs with and without the sign EN_a, 'chief administrator'. The correspondence between the unclear signs ZATU662 and ZATU662+N_{14} in the archaic period and LAGAB*gunû* (s i k $i_x^?$) and LAK30, respectively, in the Fara period is unfortunately of little help in identifying the referents of the archaic signs, since their later counterparts are undeciphered, and did not exist following the Fara period. The next two entries contain the combinations EN_a SIG_{2b} and EN_a TUG_{2a}, respectively, and might be translated "wool/textile (fit for the) EN".[349]

[345] The only documented relationship of product to sheep is that of lambs and dairy fat to ewes found in the herding texts discussed above. However, the account W 20274,1 (fig. 50) seems to imply a connection. Whereas the first column of the text contains a possible inventory of state-owned sheep, the second column contains a standard series of 'sheep products' $3N_1$ $KISIM_a$ / $3N_{14}$ $DARA_{4c1}$ / N_1 TUG_{2a}, "3 $KISIM_a$ (-containers of sheep's butter oil), 30 (units of) wool, 1 garment," which were accounted for by the $SANGA_a$ GA_a and $SANGA_a$ UDU_a AB_2 $ŠURUPPAK_a$, "chief accountant(?) of milk (products)" and "chief accountant(?) of large and small cattle from Šuruppak".

[346] See above, section 5.

[347] The large tablet fragment MSVO 1, 242 (see ATU 3, 66, with plts. 67 and X), was unearthed during the 1928 excavations of L.Ch. Watelin in the northern site of Jemdet Nasr. It certainly contained the entire text, of which only the first half is preserved. The thickness of the fragment at its break suggests that the original tablet was more than two times as large as the preserved section.

[348] SF 64 and OIP 99, 4,7,8-9, respectively.

[349] Whether we are justified in characterizing the qualifying ideograms as 'adjectives' or rather as relative substantives (in genetival relationship to the listed objects) cannot be determined. In the case of the sign combination EN_a TUG_{2a}, it seems apparent that EN_a cannot represent a personal designation, since the sign accompanies the object designation TUG_{2a} in individual cases of texts, persons standing in some relationship to which are recorded later in the accounts in cases containing no numerical signs. This suggests that EN_a TUG_{2a} in such cases is to be understood as "textile (fit for the) EN." The sequence of these signs is, by the way, static in the available witnesses and might indicate a spoken nominal chain of qualifier – qualified, which would be incompatible to the Sumerian/Akkadian norm. Comparable sign sequences are listed in the following note.

The rest of this section of the vessels list consists of entirely formalized double entries: 'qualifier' TUG_{2a}, / 'qualifier' TUG_{2a}*gunû*. Neither this list nor attestations of these signs in administrative documents offer sufficient context to allow a judgment of the difference in meaning the two garment categories TUG_{2a} and TUG_{2a}*gunû* imply. The qualifications of the categories include signs representing colors,[350] apparent designations of the type of weave used in cloth production,[351] and signs of unclear meaning.

Preserved summations of several administrative accounts[352] prove that the signs SIG_{2b}, TUG_{2a}, $DARA_{4c}$, $ŠU_2$, $GADA_a$ and TUG_{2a}+BAD+BAD qualify objects of a single semantic category, since totals of numbers of the objects represented by these signs were expressed as a grand total qualified by some or all of the signs.[353] The collective designations of these objects allow both the construction of semantic categories and the isolation of qualifying signs such as those used to designate colors.

Textile products were counted using the sexagesimal numerical system and so were considered discrete units comparable to humans and animals, to pots and baskets, and to products of wood and metal.[354] Whether in fact a textile-specific metrology is implicit in signs representing textile products is for the time being unclear. It is, however, difficult to imagine that for instance sexagesimally counted units of wool would not have had metrological meaning to accountants of a bureaucracy otherwise so exacting in its recording of the movement of goods. Moreover, the clear evidence of metrological significance in the ideograms representing beer and other grain products, dairy oils, and probably those representing fish baskets,[355] proves that sexagesimally counted discrete units were in fact further divided into smaller units.

350 The standard sequence of colors white (U_4), black (GI_6), yellow (GI) and red (NE_a) is well attested both lexically and in administrative context. For instance, the sections of the list 'Cattle' begins with the sequence E_{2a}, NE_a, U_4, GI_6 + cow/bull/calf (ll. 1-4, 27-30, 53-56, ATU 3, 89-92), the 'Piglist' ll. 37-38 has GI_6/U_4 ŠUBUR (ATU 3, 102, and below, fig. 63), and 'Wood' ll. 27-28 has GIŠ U_4/GI_6 MES (ATU 3, 105-106, and above, fig. 28); such accounts as W 21662,1 contain a particular format with entries representing various qualifications of textile products, in this case of $DARA_{4c2}$, including the color qualifications U_4, NE_a, GUN_{3a} ('checked' ?) and GI_6.

351 So for example lines 99-100 with GAR NE_a, BUR_2 ([+] TUR) in the lines 101-104, and LUM A in lines 113-114 (a connection to later Sumerian g u z.za seems, however, excluded by the use of the sign A instead of expected $NUNUZ_a$ = ZA_8).

352 For example, W 20274,21 (ATU 2, pl. 25), W 20274,80+ (unpubl.) and W 21671 (above, fig. 44).

353 It may at least be assumed that the signs $ŠU_2$ as well as $GADA_a$ designated measures of specific textiles, since the objects they represent belonged to a semantic category together with those represented by the signs TUG_{2a} and SIG_{2b} , all included in a summation on the account W 21671. However, the signs $GADA_a$ and, often associated with $GADA_a$, ME_a, give the pictographic impression of representing tools used in the production of textiles, for example, in the production of yarn; in the case of $GADA_a$, the sign might represent a device used to hang and dry retted and cleaned flax – remembering that iconographic identifications are highly speculative.

354 P. Damerow and I first indicated in ATU 2, p. 129, that the signs $DARA_{4c}$ and SIG_{2d}, both representing types of wool, were counted using the sexagesimal system. It is thus highly probable that all objects represented by related signs were as discrete units counted using the same numerical system. Alone this categorization makes impossible the identification of a number of sign forms (SIG_{2a1-4}) under the lemma SIG_2 in the sign list ATU 2 as variants of SIG_{2b-e}, since they are qualified with the bisexagesimal system and are thus to be connected to the complex of signs representing dry grain products collectively qualified by the ideogram GAR (cp. ATU 2, 133-134).

355 GA_{2a} and ZATU759; see above, section 6.3.1.

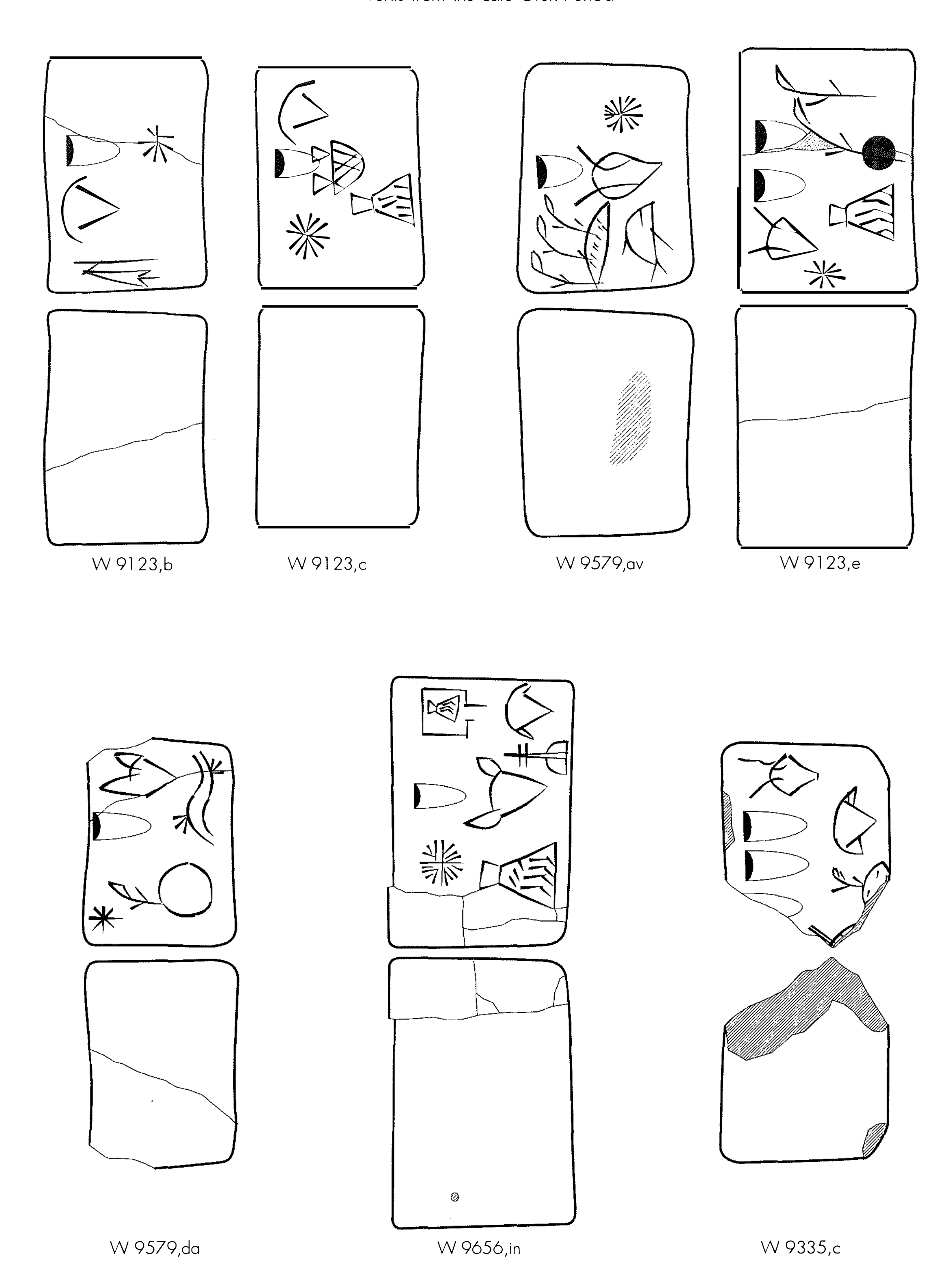


Figure 52: Simple receipts for cattle
The upper series of tablets contains apparent notations representing receipts for one cow (sign) and one or two bulls (sign), the lower series notations representing receipts for one calf (sign) and for mixed cattle (?; sign combination).

Cattle (cows, bulls, oxen; AB_2 GU_4)[356]

Cattle, in the general sense of the term including bulls, oxen, cows and calves, were summarized under the sign combination AB_2+GU_4 (; figure 51). The signs were clearly pictographic: the sign GU_4 was the representation of the head of the bull or ox with horns upturned[357], the sign AB_2 was the representation of a domesticated female *Bos* with down-turned horns, and the sign AMAR was the representation of a head of a hornless calf with ears held upright.[358] The *age* and the function of an animal was expressed by adding to these ideograms specific qualifying signs. The signs designating the *gender* of young animals AMAR, namely KUR_a () and SAL (), might represent the male and female sexual organs.[359]

Later third millennium accounts record large cattle used as draft animals and as producers of meat and dairy fats. Several proto-cuneiform accounts register together the existence of both the plow represented by the sign $APIN_a$ and oxen represented by the sign GU_4, and thus offer meager evidence of the former use of cattle.[360] Meat, too, is poorly attested, or at least poorly recognizable in this period.[361] As sources of dairy fats and cheese, however, cows were clearly prized and closely controlled. Accounts document cattle herd sizes of between 50 in the Uruk IV period and possibly 100-200 in the Uruk III period.[362] The earliest texts record numbers of cattle apparently assigned named officials or institutions, to the near exclusion of records of dairy produce, whereas among the texts dating to the Uruk III period, exceedingly few accounts of groups of cattle are found, but large numbers of records of dairy fats and cheeses, complemented with the existence of an involved metrological system seemingly developed to afford greater control of these products.

[356] See R.K. Englund, BSA 8 (1995) 33-48, and cf. Archaic Bookkeeping, pp. 89-93.

[357] No graphic differentiation is obvious between breeding bulls and castrated oxen, both apparently = GU_4 (the few bulls kept for breeding in pre-Sargonic Girsu were called simply gu_4 ab_2, "bull of the cow").

[358] A. Falkentstein noted in ATU 1, p. 52^{+5}-53^{+1}, the paleographic development, beginning in the Uruk IV period, of the signs AB_2, GU_4 and AMAR. There is some resemblance between the sign GU_4 and several tokens found in context with clay envelopes; see above, n. 101.

[359] See also above, section 5, to the lists "Cattle" and "Tribute". In the latter composition, cows and oxen or bulls were recorded in a relationship of 10:1; if GU_4 here represented bull, the numbers might represent an ideal service ratio employed in archaic cattle breeding.

[360] See, for example, the two texts ATU 5, pl. 86, W 9656,f, and pl. 100, W 9656,dr, with counted APIN GU_4 apparently assigned to temple households. The inscription of the latter text is duplicated in the second column of the obverse of the former. See generally F.R. Kraus, Staatliche Viehhaltung im altbabylonischen Lande Larsa (Amsterdam 1966); K. Butz, "Zur Terminologie der Viehwirtschaft in den Texten aus Ebla," in: L. Cagni (ed.), La lingua di Ebla (Naples 1981) 321-353, to large herds of sheep and cattle owned by palace economies in Mesopotamia.

[361] The very meager bone remains from Uruk of *Bos taurus* identified by J. Boessneck, A. von den Driesch and U. Steger, BaM 15 (1984) 170-172, were almost entirely of adult animals. Although the authors believed the crushed remains indicated the exploitation of cattle for meat, the numbers of bones – only 30 of the 73 specimens were from Late Uruk levels – permit no more than speculation as to whether the animals were selected for meat or were simply butchered in old age or after having died from some other cause.

[362] The former number is derived from the Uruk IV period accounts, the latter extrapolated from an estimation of the absolute size of the delivery norms recorded in the dairy accounts in fig. 49 above transposed to the presumed year account W 20274,97 in fig. 55.

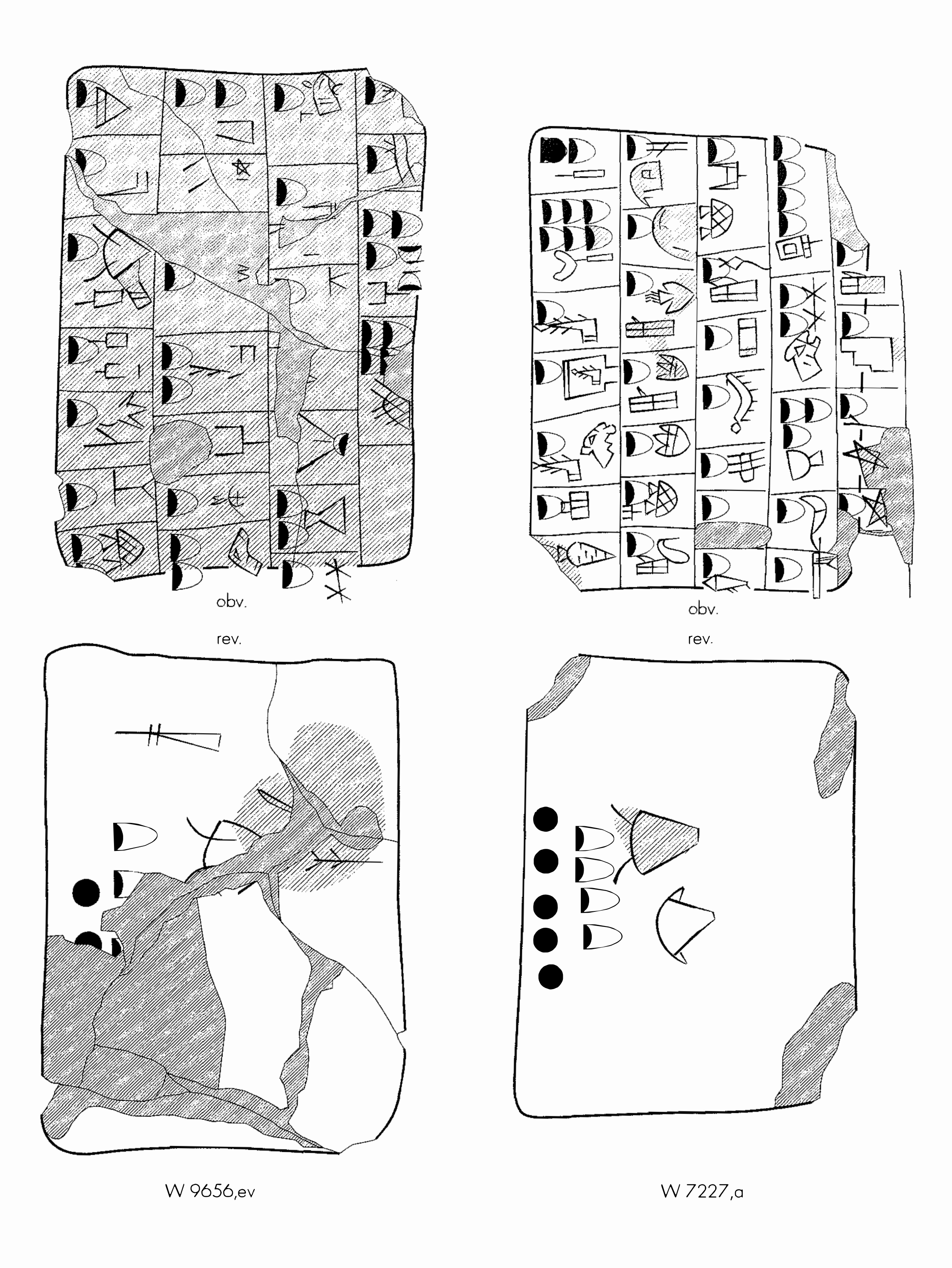
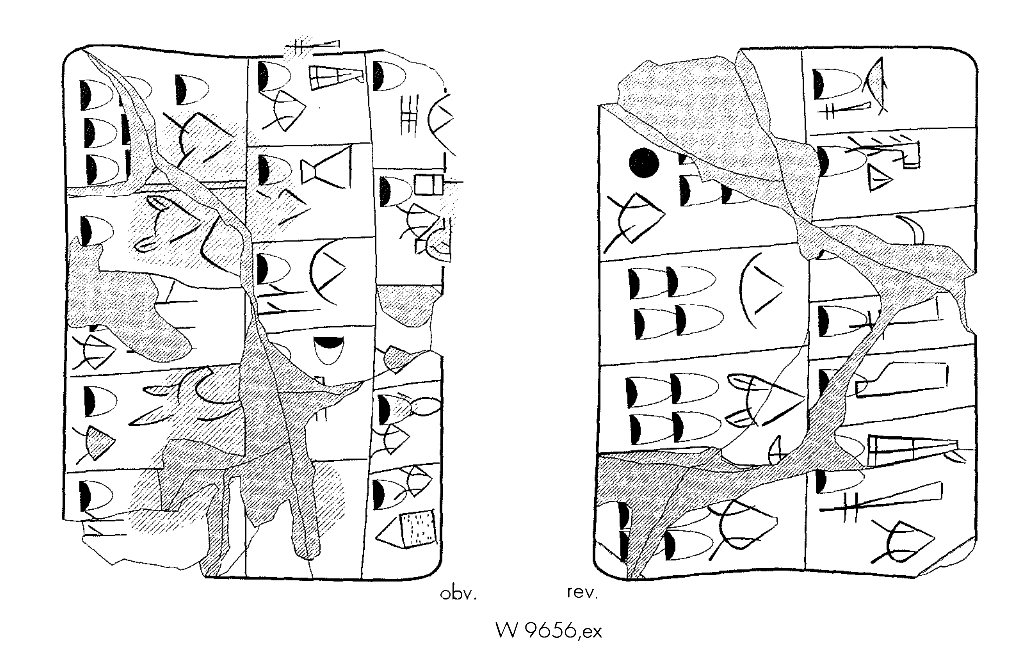
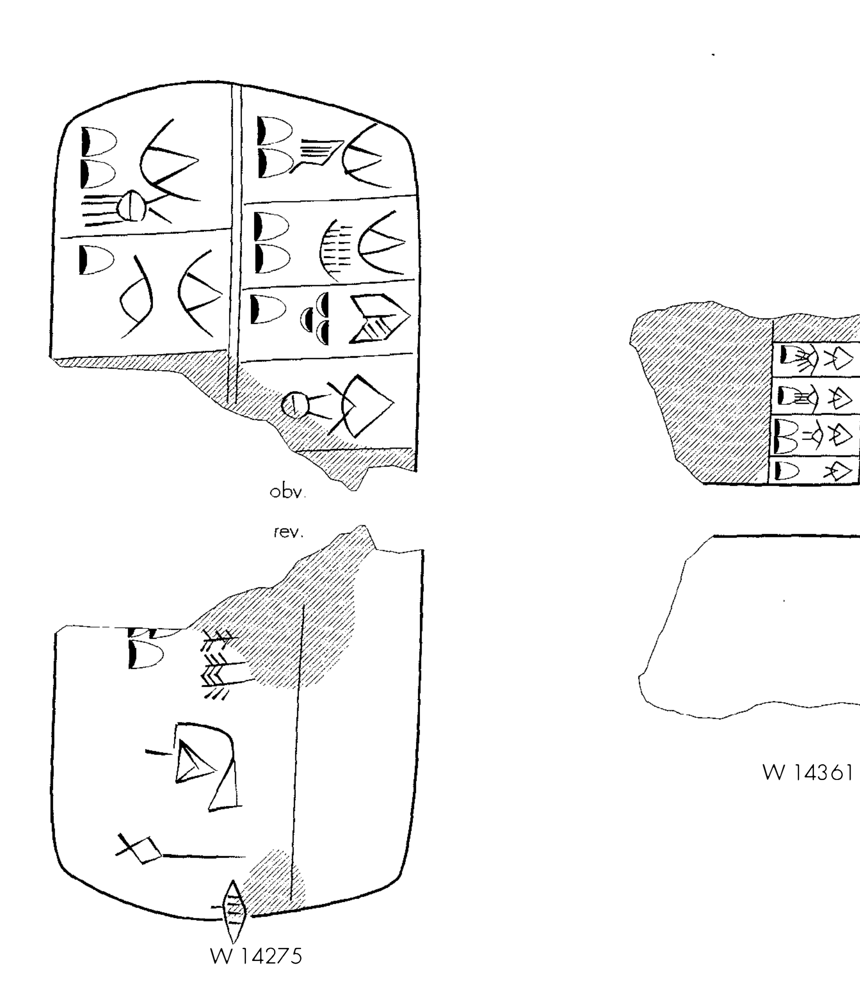


Figure 53: Examples of complex accounts of cattle
The three texts depicted above and on page 157 top date to the Uruk IV period and register numbers of animals totaled on the texts' reverse faces; W 7227,a books a total of 54 cows and bulls. The two Uruk III period texts on page 157 bottom contain accounts of small numbers of cattle qualified with signs known from tł lexical list "Animals" (W 14275), and with sign combinations known to represent the ages of the animals (W 14361; two- through five-year-old bulls).



W 9656,ex



W 14275

W 14361

Cattle as discrete objects were as a rule registered in proto-cuneiform texts in the sexagesimal system [363] Small, characteristically cushion-shaped Uruk IV period tablets record the receipt by a named individual of one or as many as several head of cattle (figure 52). Inscriptions in these accounts consist of numerical notations, one or more signs representing heads of cattle and one or more signs to designate receiving individuals or officials. Reverse faces of the 'receipts' remained uninscribed.

With up to five columns on their obverse face, larger accounts in a format represented by the two tablets W 9656,ev and W 7227,a in figure 53[364] contained thirty and more individual entries, each of which corresponded to one of the simple receipts. The numerical total of the cattle recorded in these entries was entered on the reverse face of the account (rotating the tablet around its 'horizontal' axis). Complete herds of adult and young cattle, probably separated according to the function of the individual animals, were recorded in other accounts (figure 53, W 9656,ex). In accounts from the Uruk IV period, the calves could, just as is true of lambs and the children of dependent laborers who were probably too young to be put to work, be qualified using the sign N_8 (⊽) which in sexagesimal notations generally designated "$^1/_2$" of a discrete unit.[365] Thus the fourth case of the text's second obverse column contains a notation ⌜N_1⌝ N_8 representing one cow and one calf.[366]

Uruk III period accounts of herds of large cattle are very rare and register only modest numbers of animals. The preserved sections of the text W 14275 in figure 53 contain notations representing just 8 head. The age of animals was recorded in some accounts; the text W 14361 (figure 53, bottom right) registers in three cases of its second column notations representing oxen in their fifth, fourth and second years, respectively (sign combinations $5N_{57}$+U_4, $4N_{57}$+U_4 and $2N_{57}$+U_4 GU_4).[367]

Related herding accounts from the Uruk III period, of which only two are preserved well enough to permit a reconstruction of their contents (above, figure 49),[368] record small numbers of cows together with their offspring, qualified SAL+AMAR and KUR_a+AMAR ('heifer calf' and 'bull calf') from the accounting year of the text. Both texts record a ratio of two adult cows per recorded calf.[369]

[363] The exceptional use of the sign N_8 (⊽) in the Uruk IV period to designate immature animals is discussed below.

[364] The largest attested total of adult animals is '54' contained on the reverse of W 7227,a.

[365] See A.A. Vajman, "Die Bezeichnung von Sklaven und Sklavinnen in der protosumerischen Schrift," BaM 20 (1989) 121-133, and the comments of P. Damerow and R.K. Englund, BaM 20, 137-138.

[366] The latter animal was included on the text rev. i 3 among a group of four animals qualified as AMAR.

[367] For a description of archaic designations of years see above, section 6.2. The standard age sequence for Ur III bulls/oxen attested, for example, in the theoretical account TCL 2, 5499 (I. J. Gelb, JCS 21 [1967] 64-69; see Archaic Bookkeeping, 97-102), was gu_4 amar.ga, gu_4 mu.1(AŠ, sign ⊳––), mu.2, mu.3, gu_4 gal, "milk bull-calf, one-year bull, two-year bull, three-year bull, large (full-grown) bull."

[368] W 20274,12 and 63 were first published by M.W. Green, JNES 39 (1980) 32, nos. 35-36; see now Archaic Bookkeeping, 89-93 with fig. 71.

[369] Based on just two small accounts, it is impossible to derive a rule of 'return' for the archaic period similar to the ratio 2:1 known from the Ur III dairying manual discussed above, n. 367.

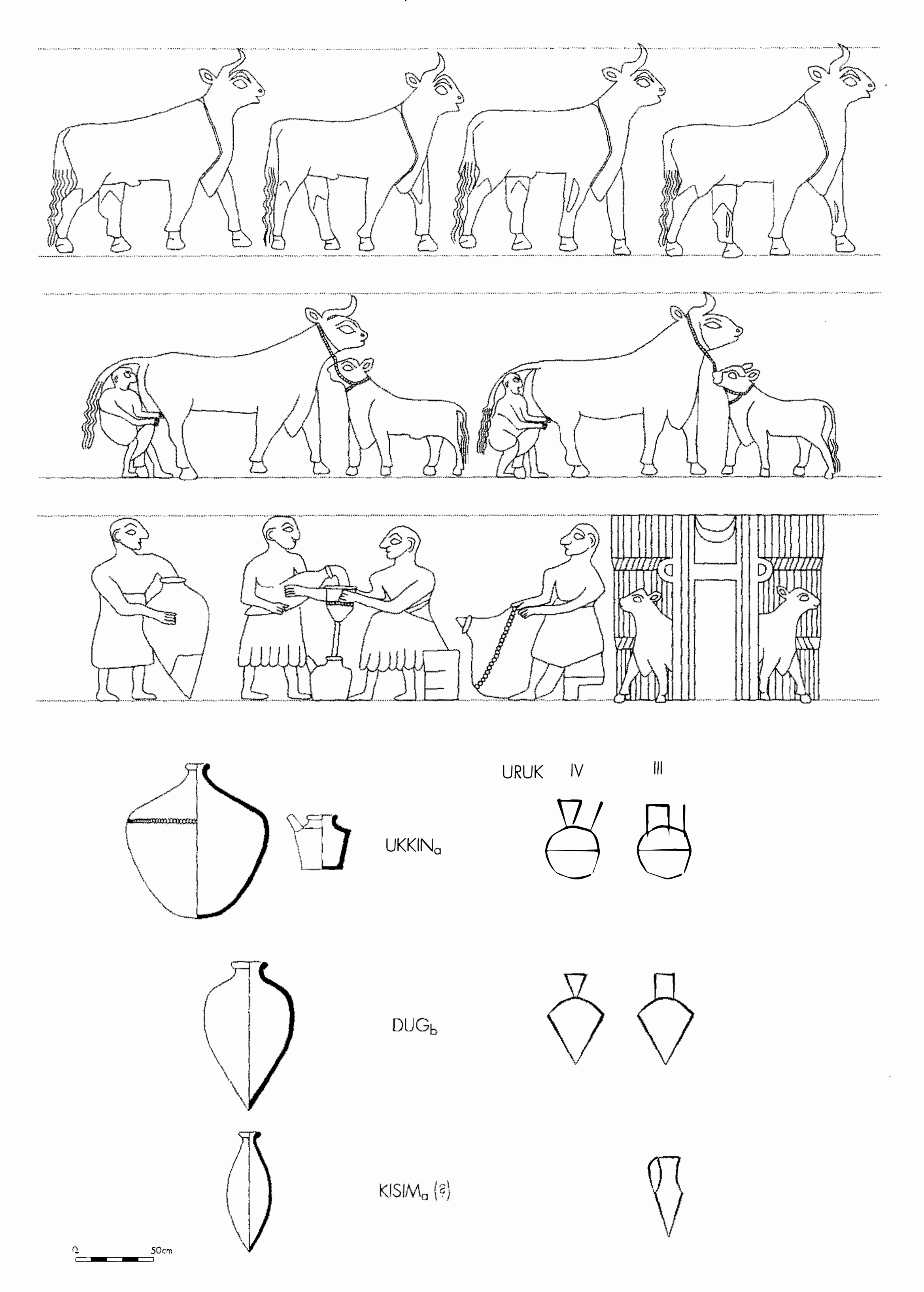


Figure 54: Containers of dairy products in the Late Uruk and Early Dynastic Periods
Above: the Ubaid Frieze (after: P. Gouin, Iraq 55 [1993] 136-137). Below: ceramic jars depicted in the Ubaid frieze (the scale is merely an approximation based on the humans and animals found in the frieze) and possible proto-cuneiform correspondences.

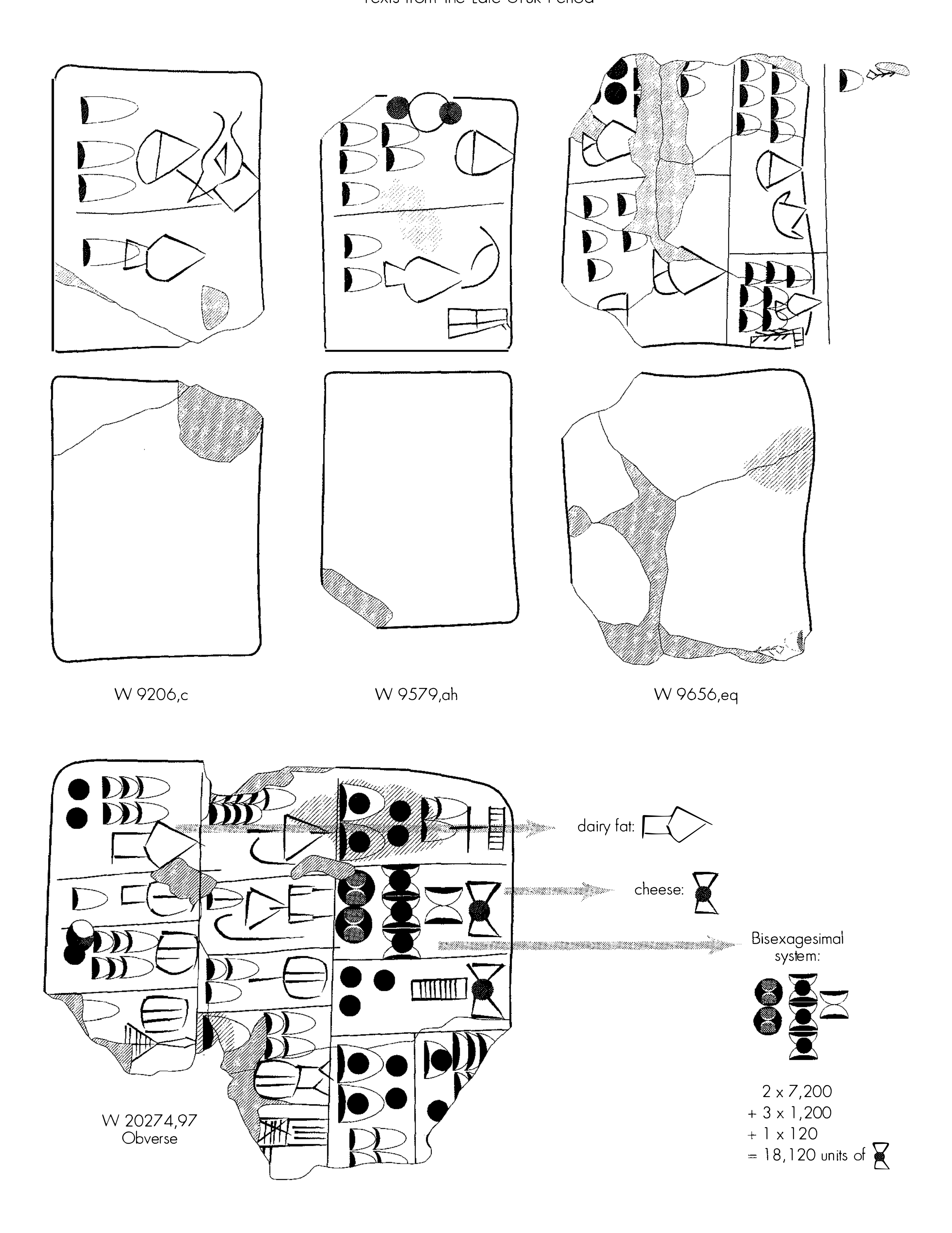


Figure 55: Accounts of dairy products
Simple accounts of dairy products from the Uruk IV period (above) and a large account from the Uruk III period (below [reverse uninscribed]; see ATU 2, pl. 55, and Archaic Bookkeeping, p. 94) of products from animal husbandry, including the signs for dairy fat (DUG_b) and cheese ($GA'AR_{a1}$).

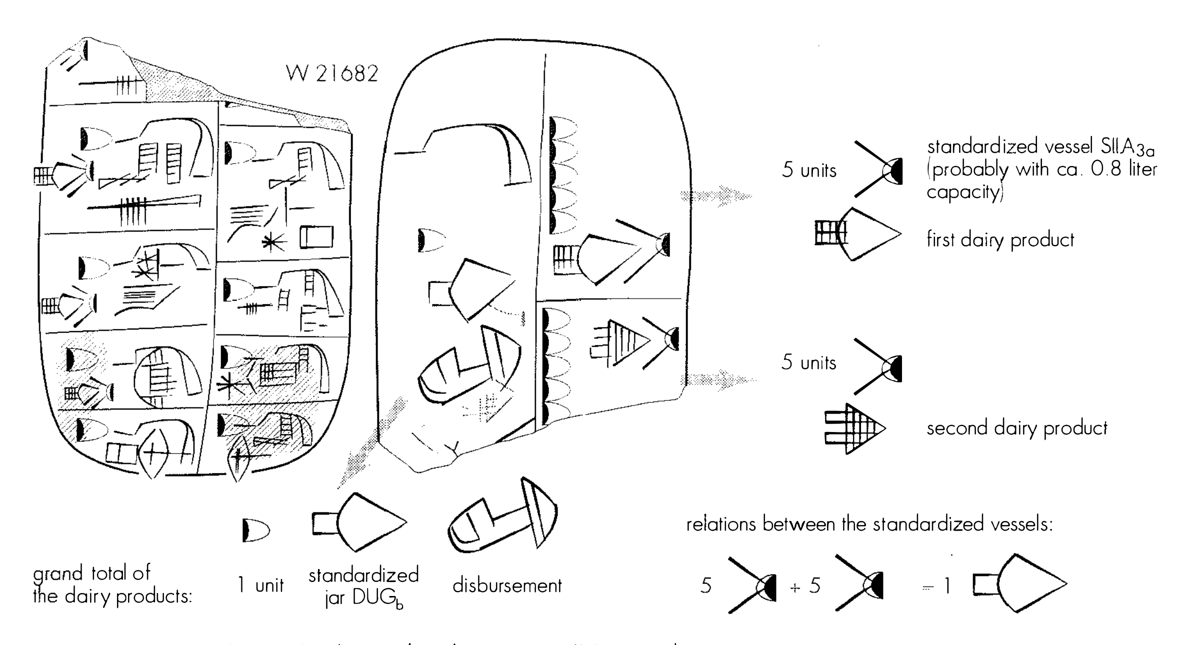


Figure 56: Metrological relationship between $SILA3_a$ and DUG_b

Dairy products

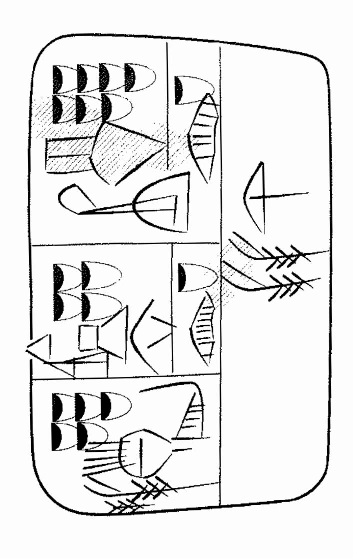
The two dairy cattle accounts depicted in figure 49 book in the totals on their reverse faces one jar of dairy fat[370] (sign DUG_b) per two (W 20274,12) or four (W 20274,63) milk cows, that is, of possibly 2-5 liters per animal. The first eight lines of the archaic lexical list 'Vessels' in fact consist of entries with the signs DUG_b[371], $KISIM_{a/b}$ and other signs which represent containers of fats used in the administration of archaic dairies.[372] These signs, including NI_a, DUG_c and $UKKIN_b$+NI_a,[373] are often found inscribed together in administrative documents

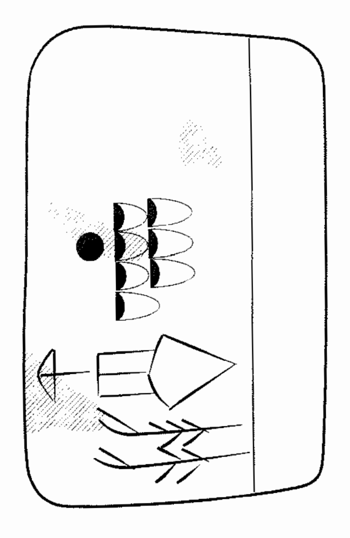
370 Third millennium accounting tradition and technical considerations make this identification relatively secure. See the articles cited above, n. 333.

371 The sign DUG_b, representing a ceramic jar without a spout, was consistently distinguished from the sign DUG_a including the representation of a spout. This fact and the contextual usage of both signs suggest that the former jar will most likely have contained semi-liquids, the latter liquids, above all beers. A large number of signs were impressed in DUG_b in archaic lexical texts, to a lesser extent attested in administrative texts, to specify the product contained in the jar represented by the sign, including among others $ŠE_a$ ('barley'), $NAGA_a$ ('an alkaline plant' ?), TI (?), MAŠ (male goat), KUR_a (a plant related to the grapevine ?), GIŠ ('wood'), KU_{6a} ('fish') and $ŠAH_2$ ('pig'). See ll. 21-61 of the archaic lexical list 'Vessels', fig. 29 above.

372 See below, fig. 61.

373 See below, fig. 60, for a table of the pertinent signs in the periods Uruk IV-III. Of the proto-cuneiform signs representing ceramic vessels, only NI_a may have been a two-dimensional depiction of clay objects found in the pre-literate clay envelopes; see above, section 3. The 'oil tokens,' believed themselves to have represented concrete containers, have been found in clay envelopes from Uruk and from Habuba Kabira in Syria. It may be noted in passing that few chemical analyses on the inner surfaces of Late Uruk pottery vessels have been performed and thus little hard evidence is available which would either support or refute the functional typology implied in fig. 60. The methods used to recognize organic elements, in the case of milk products amino-acids typical of animal proteins, are time-consuming and expensive (see generally Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn (ed.), Proceedings of the 18th International Symposium on Archaeometry and Archaeological Prospection, Bonn 14-17 March 1978, Archaeo-Physika 10, 1978 [Cologne 1979]; M. Frangipane has reported some preliminary identifications of these elements in shards from Late Uruk levels of Arslantepe [personal communication]).





W 20274,6

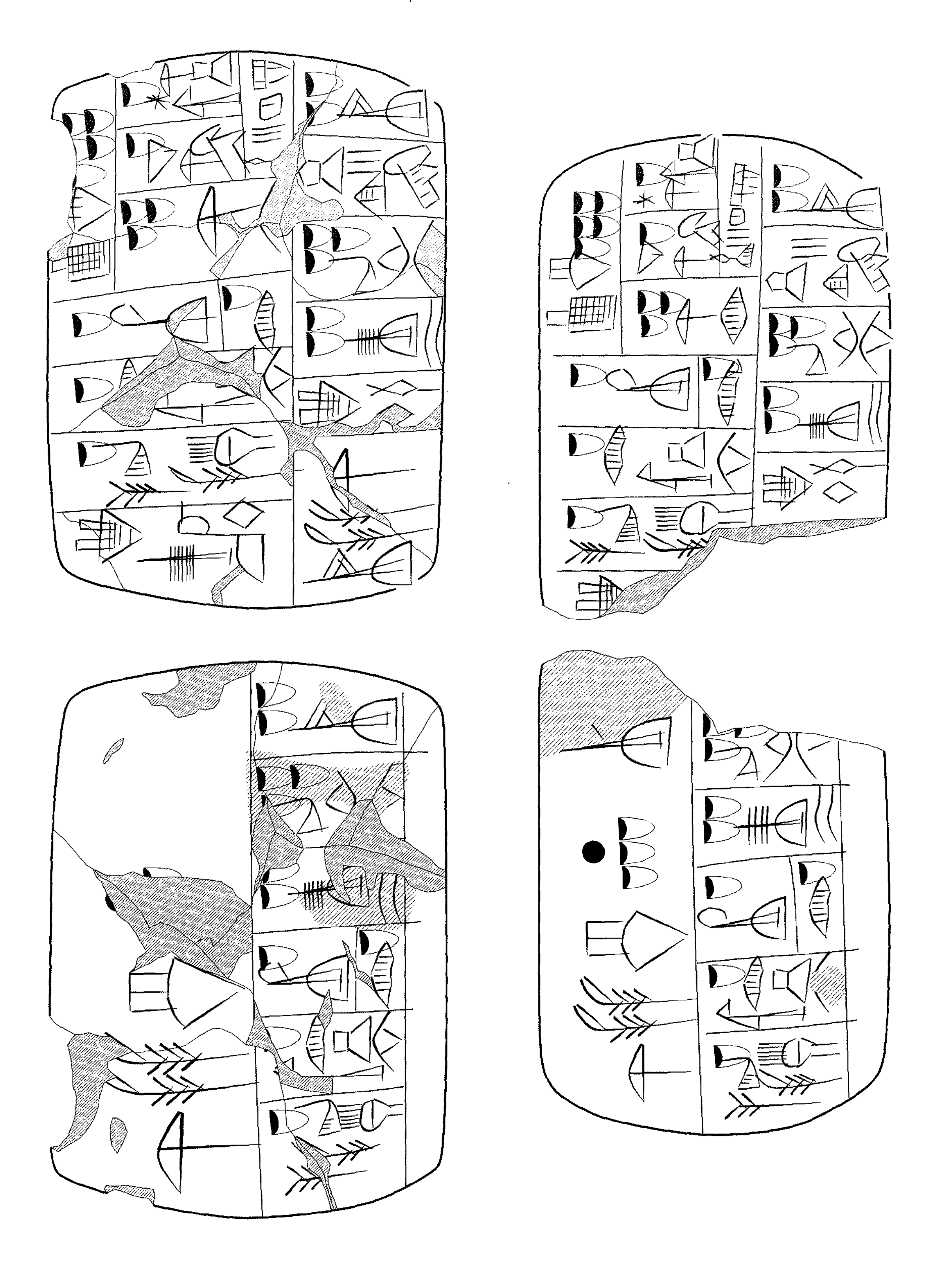
Figure 57: Accounts concerning dairy fat stored in the jar DUG_c
The obverse of the account shown above contains three entries recording numbers of containers of dairy fat; assuming the notation N_1 KU_{3a} [] represents one-half of the basic unit, the addition is: $7\ {}^1/_2 + 4\ {}^1/_2 + 5 = 17$ DUG_c. The two accounts on page 163 contain similar additions including notations representing one-half jar; they are rare examples of duplicate administrative texts from the archaic period.

beginning in the Uruk IV period, and may find correspondences in the famous Early Dynastic Ubaid Frieze (see figure 54).

The association of the sign NI_a with DUG_b in such texts as W 9206,c and W 9579,ah, and of NI_a in the same case with AB_2 and with DUG_c in the text W 9656,eq (all figure 55), demonstrates that this sign should represent a container of dairy fat from its first use in the Uruk IV period.[374] Only indirectly associated with the sign representing dairy fat, DUG_b, is on the other hand the sign GA'AR in such texts as W 20274,97 (figure 55). This sign, found as a general object designation in a section of the archaic vessels list following a long section on containers of fats and other products,[375] is, as a clear precursor of the Fara and pre-Sargonic Lagash sign *LAK* 490 – itself replaced in Ur III documents by the sign combination ga ḪAR/UD*gunû* – , posited to represent a unit of cheese. Whereas oil vessels were counted with the sexagesimal system, cheese was reckoned in discrete units using the bisexagesimal system and so may be associated with the objects represented by GAR (dry grain products) and KU_{6a} (fresh? fish) as another product central to the archaic rationing system.

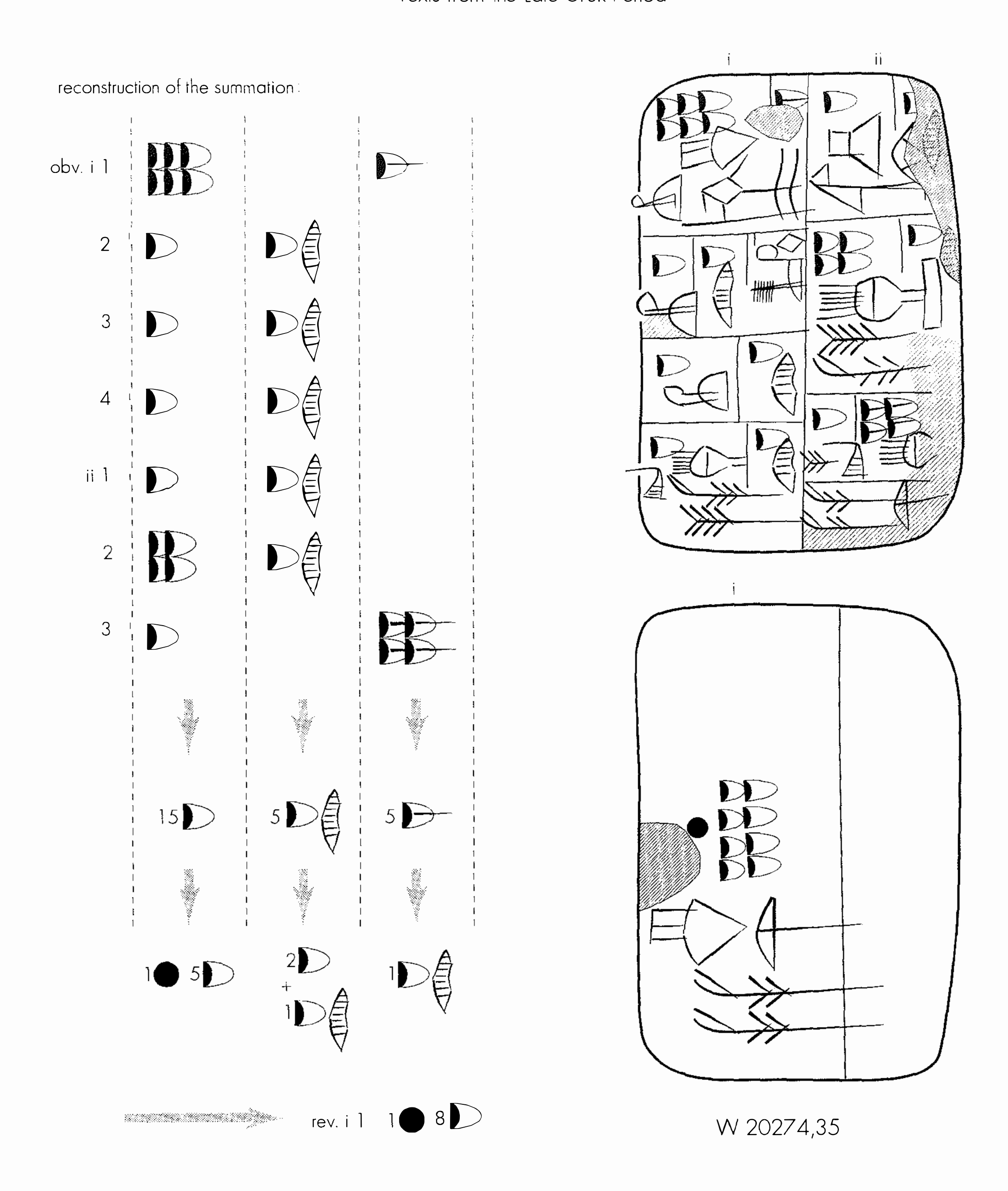
374 The sign, the real referent of which is unknown, is in later cuneiform documents the general designation of oils of all kinds.

375 See above, section 5 with fig. 29.



W 20274,33

W 20274,89



metrological relations:

1 = 2

1 = 5

Figure 58: Account concerning dairy fat stored in the jar DUG_c

This partially reconstructed account of dairy fat stored in jars demonstrates the metrological relations in the system DUG_c.

Containers of dairy oil and other (semi-)liquids were not only as discrete objects counted in the Late Uruk period using the sexagesimal system, but were also as members of a liquid capacity metrological system divided into smaller units using one of three numerical conventions (below, figure 61).

In the first place, the sign N_8 (-) discussed above as a designation of immature cattle in the sexagesimal system as a rule qualified $^1/_2$ of some discrete unit, above all the contents of vessels and baskets.[376] Notations in a number of Uruk IV period texts suggest that the sign N_8 in the sexagesimal system could also represent a smaller fraction than $^1/_2$ of an object, probably $^1/_{10}$; the objects so qualified in these notations are, unfortunately, not always clear, although DUG_c seems attested in at least two of the accounts.[377]

A second means of designating fractions of oil jars is fully documented in the Uruk III account W 21682 (figure 56). The text contains on its obverse face two columns with 5 entries, each of which consists of the numerical sign N_1 together with the sign combinations $SILA_{3a}$+$GARA_{2a}$ or $SILA_{3a}$+GA_a – the former[378] explicitly written in the first four cases of the first column, the latter[379] probably only in the lost first case of the second column – representing units of a dairy product, the sign SI (meaning unknown) and further ideograms probably representing receiving individuals.

The reverse face of the tablet contains in the right column subtotals of each of the obverse columns, numerical notations representing five units qualified by the sign combinations $SILA_{3a}$+$GARA_{2a}$ and $SILA_{3a}$+GA_a, in the second column the final total N_1 DUG_b qualified with SI and the sign GU_7, 'ration'.[380] $SILA_{3a}$ can thus be identified as a pictographic representation of the mass-produced 'Blumentopf' which followed and for some time in Late

[376] ATU 2, 128 c.

[377] W 19466,a and W 20652 (both unpubl.). The notation $3N_1$ $9N_8$ in ATU 5, pl. 111, W 9656,gl (cited ATU 2, 129 d, as ATU 1, no. 490) refers to an object not preserved in the second case of the tablet, and this and the preceding two notations could in principle derive from a number of other numerical systems. Clearly sexagesimal, however, is the notation $1N_{48}$ ⌜$3N_{34}$ $2N_1$⌝ [ ] ⌜$4N_8$⌝ in ATU 5, pl. 64, W 9579,u rev. 1 (cited ATU 2, 129 d, as ATU 1, no. 352); the apparent object represented by the sign combination SUḪUR $KAŠ_b$, literally 'jar of dried fish meal oil,' must at least be admitted as a weak reference for the use of $N_8 < {}^1/_2$ in a sexagesimal notation of oil jars.

[378] A gunified variant of the sign DUG_c is attested in the archaic Ur (ED I-II) version of the lexical list Lu_2 A, l. 20, as a variant of GA_a in the combination GAL_a $GARA_{2a}$, "head of $GARA_{2a}$", and representing a product among notations for domestic animals and other agricultural products in the list 'Tribute'. See ATU 3, pp. 73 and 114-116, respectively; in 'Tribute' followed by a notation of '10 cows'.

[379] The Uruk IV period form GA_a is apparently the representation of a flat basket, the inner surface of which was probably coated with bitumen to be used in the milking of dairy animals.

[380] The sign combination SAG+GAR = GU_7 is extremely common in archaic texts from Jemdet Nasr and Uruk. While SAG seems, pars pro toto, to represent a human in general and not, as in later usage, a chattel slave, its use together with a number of qualifying signs or simply (so-called *gunû*-) strokes apparently served to create abstract concepts. This must be the case with GU_7, since it is in no way obvious that this sign designated "rationed persons," but rather rationing in the abstract. A differentiation between this sign and the common BA is not obvious in texts known to me; they were, however, not interchangeable, since only objects qualified with BA and not those qualified with GU_7 could be subsumed in a total with objects qualified with GI.

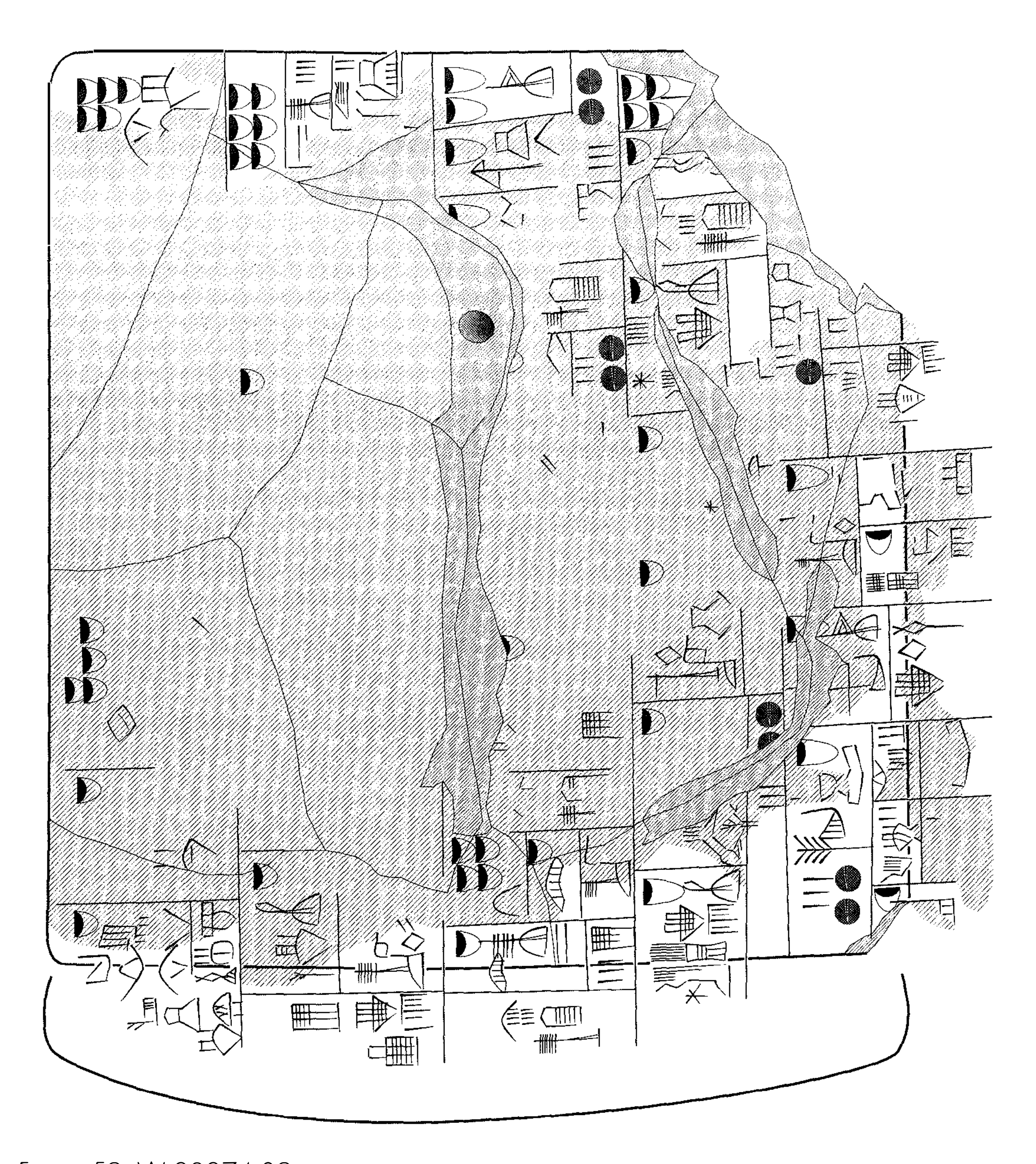
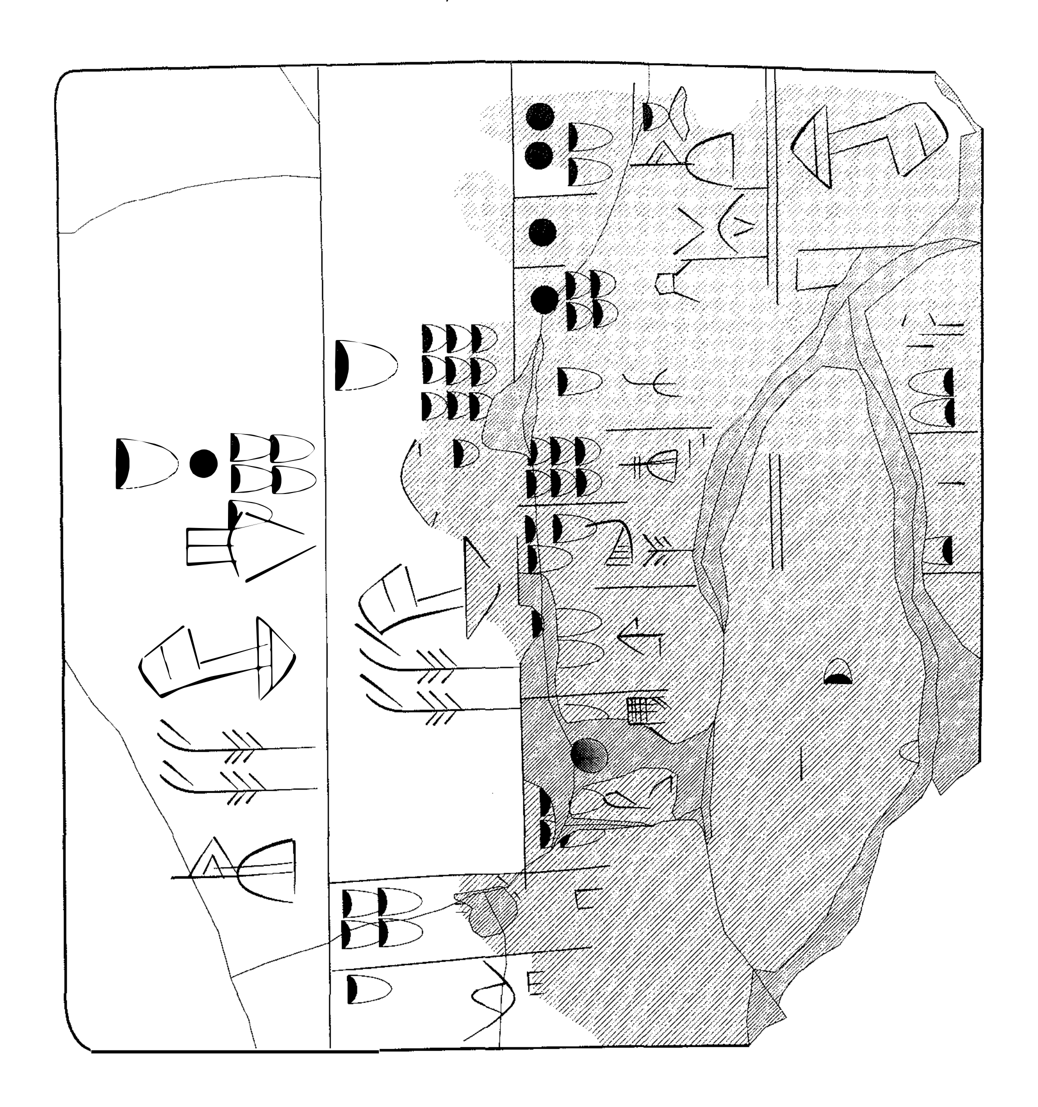


Figure 59: W 20274,39
The largest administrative document in the archaic sources from Uruk contains an involved account of the deliveries of dairy fats to a temple household denoted by the sign .

Uruk levels coexisted with use of the beveled-rim bowl GAR; it represented a measure equal to $^1/_{10}$ of the amount of liquids or semi-liquids contained in the vessel DUG_b.[381]

The third, Uruk III period convention used in qualifying measures of dairy fats seems on its surface substantially more complex than the first two, yet shares the basic structure of $^1/_2$ and $^1/_{10}$ of the unit 'jar'. A large number of accounts, including the largest of the archaic Uruk corpus (figure 59), contain notations in this metrological system which exhibits the structure

[381] The text W 20274,72 (unpubl.) seems to contain an addition ⌜$2N_1$⌝ [ ] + ⌜$2N_1$ $SILA_{3a}$+$GARA_{2a}$⌝ + $1N_8$ = $1N_1$ DUG_b, implying that, as might be expected, N_8 also served in this system to represent both $^1/_2$ of a basic unit and $5 \times N_1$ $SILA_{3a}$.



$1\times N_1$ vessel ($DUG_c/UKKIN_b+NI_a$) = $2\times N_1+KU_{3a}$ (figure 57),[382] N_1+KU_{3a} = $5\times N_2$ (corresponding to the basic unit N_1 crossed by a horizontal stroke; see figures 58, 61)[383]. The full structure of this metrological system (figure 58) may represent a development from the Uruk IV system with, dependent on context, N_8 equal both to N_1 KU_{3a} and to N_2. The meaning of KU_{3a} in this connection is, aside from the fact that it indicated a half measure, not obvious.[384]

[382] W 20274,6 in fig. 57 offers a simple summation of three entries with numbers of a container of fats represented by the sign DUG_c. The only known duplicate administrative texts from the archaic text corpus, W 20274,33 and W 20274,89 (figure 57), contain somewhat more involved accounts, yet the reckoning steps exhibited by both are easily recognizable as simple additions of whole numbers and fractions from the same metrological system. Including only the 3 units qualified as BA KI_a in the second sub-case of the first case of each text's obverse face, the addition is: $3 + 1^1/_2 + {}^1/_2 + 1 + 2 + 3 + 2 = 13$ (DUG_c).

[383] No dairy accounts known to me contain a notation with five or more N_2, in compliance with the expected replacement of $5N_2$ with $1N_1$ KU_{3a}.

[384] I might draw attention to the fact that tokens often related to this sign have been found in clear association with sealed clay envelopes in Uruk and possibly within still complete envelopes from Susa (see above, section 3).

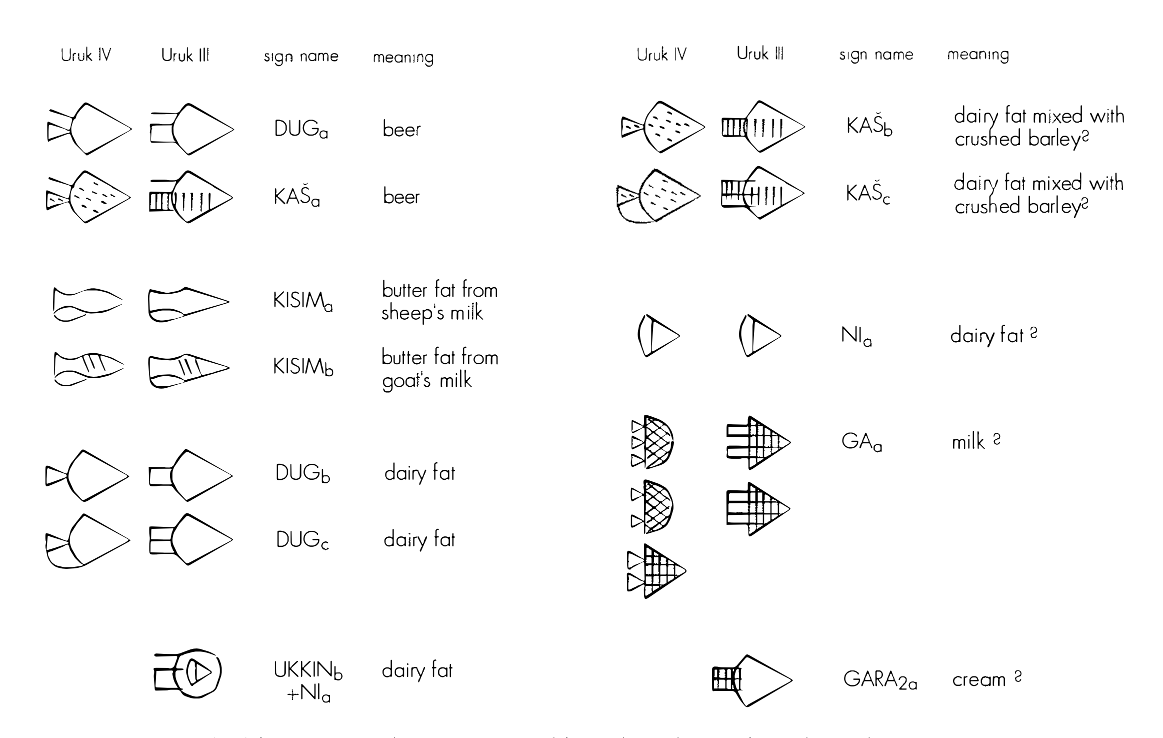


Figure 60: Probable archaic designations of liquid and semi-liquid products

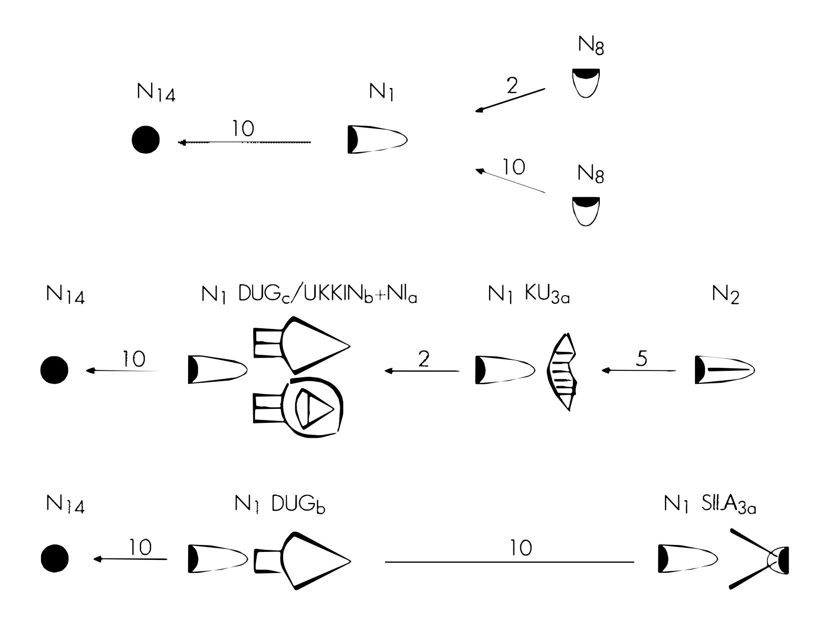


Figure 61: Metrological systems employed in dairy notations
The application of the upper system with dairy products is not proven, the lower two systems are only known from the Uruk III period.

The numerical and metrological systems used to qualify measures of dairy products mirrored in their complexity the pictograms designating the different products themselves (figure 60). According to data derived from excavations, above all measurements conducted on the masses of beveled-rim bowls found in Late Uruk settlements, and in accordance with textual analysis, the most plausible current working hypothesis of the absolute capacities of these various units is the following:[385]

GAR = $1N_8$ (?; Uruk IV) = $SILA_{3a}$ = $1N_2$	=	ca. $^4/_5$ liter
$1N_8$ = $1N_1$ KU_{3a}	=	ca. 4 liters
$1N_1$ $DUG_{b/c}$ etc.	=	ca. 8 liters

Pigs ($ŠAḪ_{2a}$, ŠUBUR)[386]

That pigs represented an important facet in the social and economic lives of archaic Mesopotamia is obvious from archaeological and textual evidence. Of the former, seals dated to Uruk IVb-a present the best evidence, consisting of various depictions of the hunting of boars both by apparent professionals and by administrative elites.[387] Similar hunting scenes are known from a relief on a stone bowl from the Late Uruk period, and from incised and painted depictions on Early Dynastic ceramic vessels from the Diyala region as well as from a small alabaster relief from Ur (figure 62[388]).

Although archaic cylinder seals and reliefs depicted only wild pigs, osteo-archaeological identifications[389] as well as proto-cuneiform tablets demonstrate that the exploitation of

[385] Cp. ATU 2, 153[60]; see also R.K. Englund, JESHO 31 (1988) 160[32], and P. Damerow and R.K. Englund, Tepe Yahya, 24-27.

[386] See R.K. Englund, "Late Uruk Pigs and Other Herded Animals," FS Boehmer (Mainz 1995) 121-133.

[387] See above, fig. 10. Impression 10c depicts two boars standing or running amongst conventionally drawn reed thickets, confronted by what may be the vaunted ruler of Uruk ("Stadtfürst") accompanied by two dogs. According to later sources, pigs were delivered by fishermen, certainly from their fishing grounds in the marshlands of southern Babylonia. See Ur III-Fischerei, 174-177 + 177[564].

[388] 62a: H.R. Hall, La sculpture babylonienne et assyrienne au British Museum, Ars Asiatica 11 (Paris-Brussels 1928) pl. 1, no. 2, BM 118466, and id., The British Museum Quarterly 2 (1927-1928) 12-14 + pl. VI (probably from Uruk); 62b: P. Delougaz, Pottery from the Diyala Region, OIP 63 (Chicago 1952) pl. 80c (from Khafaje; kindly drawn to my attention by U. Moortgat-Correns). In their habitat in the reed thickets of the southern marshes, wild pigs were particularly menacing and certainly no easy bag for ruler or professional hunter. Aggravated boars, feared for their strength and phenomenal charging power, or disturbed sows protecting young, can easily bring men to the ground and with violent bites or a whipping action of their tusks inflict grave and, unless rendered harmless, fatal injuries to internal organs. Wild pigs trapped on islands during the flooding season, on the other hand, were easily killed by spear from boats once the animals were forced into the water. See W. Thesiger, The Marsh Arabs (London 1964) 34-43, 167-169; A. Blunt, A pilgrimage to Nejd [...], vol. I (London 1881) 122-128; R.T. Hatt, The Mammals of Iraq, University of Michigan. Museum of Zoology. Miscellaneous Publications no. 106 (Ann Arbor 1959) 57-59; D.L. Harrison, The Mammals of Arabia, vol. 2 (London 1968) 372-375.

[389] See R.J. Matthews, "The World's First Pig Farmers," Pig Farming 33 (March 1985) 51-55; K.V. Flannery, "Early Pig Domestication in the Fertile Crescent: A Retrospective Look," FS Braidwood, SAOC 36 (Chicago 1983) 163-188; P. Charvát, "Pig, or, on Ethnicity in Archaeology," ArOr 62 (1994) 1-6; and most recently my contribution to the Festschrift Boehmer (cited above, n. 386).

domesticated races, and probably as later also of wild animals kept for purposes of breeding, was closely controlled by the early administration.

Indeed, the importance of pigs and pigherding to archaic bookkeepers is most clearly underscored by a lexical composition described above, section 5, of 58 designations of pigs and their keepers. All entries in this unique Uruk III period list from Uruk (W 12139, figure 63) include the sign ŠUBUR (), 'pig',[390] and, with the exception of the first entry, one or more ideograms representing apparent qualifications of this animal such as age, color or provenience. Since P. Steinkeller has stated that "this source is hardly a "swine" list,"[391] it may be worthwhile to review the reasons behind the identification ŠUBUR = 'pig' made by P. Damerow, H.J. Nissen and myself.

Not only the clear graphic relation of this sign to the sign $\check{S}A\breve{H}_{2a}$ – it is the same sign minus the gunification of the back of the depicted animal's neck, i.e., its bristly mane – but above all the sequence ŠUBUR, $1N_{57}$+ŠUBUR () and $2N_{57}$+ŠUBUR () of the first three cases of the text[392] present a clear correspondence to the age qualifications of pigs attested in later periods.

The identification of this list with designations of pigs seems justified, moreover, by a number of qualifications of the sign ŠUBUR in the text which would be incompatible with other interpretations, for instance, ŠUBUR = "dog".[393] The lines rev. i 2-3 and 7-8 with AB_2 ŠUBUR, NE_a ŠUBUR and GI_6 ŠUBUR, U_4 ŠUBUR, i.e., "'cow'/reddish ŠUBUR" and "black/white ŠUBUR", for example, contain adjectival pairs particularly characteristic in lexical lists and administrative texts dealing with livestock, namely, with large and small cattle. A further example is the entry rev. iii 5 with $\check{S}E_3$ ŠUBUR; the sign seems to represent a product delivered by herders, best attested together with sheep and goats – possibly dung, a highly desirous fuel used in cooking and heating in antiquity.[394] The entries iii 6-7 with $\check{S}E_a$ ŠUBUR and GURUŠDA ŠUBUR also provide hard evidence, since it would be difficult to imagine the purpose of fattening a dog (assuming a correspondence of $\check{S}E_a$ ŠUBUR to later *šaḫ₂ niga*) or of a fattener (*gurušda*) of dogs – or of humans for that matter.[395] Finally, it may be

[390] A. Falkenstein mentioned the text in ATU 1, pp. 45-46, equating the sign 'ŠUBUR' with UR = "dog"; he did not, however, state that the text contained a list of designations of dogs, rather "a list of animal names ... comparable to *ab₂*, "cow", *gud*, "steer", and *amar*, "calf" in the Fara tablet VAT 12806 (=SF 81)." The improbable identification of the text as a dog list nevertheless was assumed in M.W. Green's signlist of ATU 2 s.v. ŠUBUR, and has since been corrected in ATU 2, 156[79]; ATU 3, 22-23 and 100-103 + pl. IV, and my "Late Uruk Pigs [...]," FS Boehmer, pp. 121-133.

[391] In his review of ATU 3 in AfO 42/43 [1995-96] 212.

[392] The entry $3N_{57}$+ŠUBUR in rev. iii 4 = line 54 (fig. 63) may or may not belong to this progression; the sign $3N_{57}$ is known in other combinations to be a graphic variant of the sign KUR_a (), designating a male animal or possibly an animal from the eastern mountains.

[393] An interpretation ŠUBUR = "human" was considered and rejected by A. Falkenstein, in ATU 1, 46, reading UR, since no parallels from Sumerian prosopography to the sign combinations in W 12139 were known to him; UR is, moreover, a different sign, which in its ED I-II form – UET 2, sign no. 284 – assumes precisely the expected function in personal names. The interpretation ŠUBUR = "human" seems further excluded by the probable age qualifications in the text noted above.

[394] See Archaic Bookkeeping, p. 93.

[395] The qualification in the list of ŠUBUR with toponyms, for example, ADAB (ii 8 and see W 20497 iii 1, ATU 3, p. 101, l. 18; the sign combination is also found in the administrative texts MSVO 4, 54, obv. i

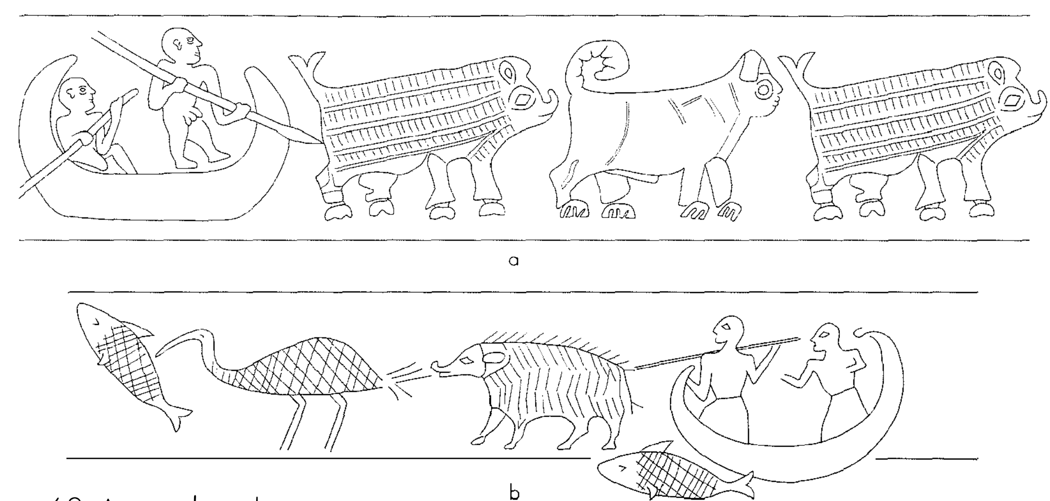


Figure 62: Ancient boar hunts
Reconstructed depictions of boars being hunted with a spear from skiffs in the marshes, in one case a relief on a stone bowl from the Jemdet Nasr period (a; note the use of a hunting dog), in the other an incised drawing on the shoulder of a clay jar from the Diyala region, dated to ED IIIa (b; pig together with the other major food resources of the marshes, birds and fish) (after original drawings by U. Moortgat-Correns; scale: ca. 1:4).

noted that the archaic entry GAL$_a$ ŠUBUR of line 7 of the lexical list ED Lu$_2$ A is apparently in all witnesses from later periods, beginning with the witness from ED I-II Ur, replaced by GAL$_a$ ŠAḪ$_{2a}$.[396] It is thus probable that the two signs coalesced during the hiatus between the Late Uruk and the Early Dynastic periods.

While evidence for a so involved terminology of pigs and organization of pig herding as would seem to be implied by the existence of a lexical pig list including 58 entries is not known from later periods,[397] still the nature of archaic lexical lists as often fanciful paradigmatic

4, and 58, obv. i 2b1, i 5 and rev. i 1) or UB (ii 10), does not assist in identifying the meaning of the sign, but would certainly not exclude the meaning 'pig'. Cp., for instance, MSL 8/2 (Rome 1962) p. 20, ll. 165-166: šaḫ$_2$ Ma$_2$.gan.na(.sig$_5$.ga), '(fine [possibly in the sense of unfattened]) Magan-pig' (and see the Old Babylonian correspondence in SLT 51 v 2); l. 171: šaḫ$_2$ Si.mur.ra, '*Simurrû*-pig'.

396 See below, n. 399.

397 The fact that the list was so long seems most to have motivated Steinkeller in AfO 42/43, 212-213, to doubt our identification – although swine are recorded in ll. 158-183 of the 14th tablet of the lexical series ḪAR.ra = *ḫubullu*, that is, in fully 35 entries (including insertions) representing pigs of different colors (white, black, red, speckled, yellow), habitat (reed thicket), quality ('lordly', 'royal'; fattened) and origins (see B. Landsberger, Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien nach der 14. Tafel der Serie ḪAR-RA = *ḪUBULLU*, ASAW 42/6 [Leipzig 1934] 12-15, 100-103 and id., MSL 8/2, 19-21). This section of Ḫḫ 14 implies that pigs were indeed dealt with in earlier lexical lists in the same paradigmatic and artificial completeness (note that most of the Ḫḫ pig designations are not attested in the contemporary administrative texts), and, of course, the administrative importance of pigs throughout the third millennium makes their exclusion from the lexical record unthinkable. A number of other mistakes in Steinkeller's argument can be corrected here:
1) The idea of a list of dogs derives from Falkenstein and not from Green (see above, n. 390).
2) Steinkeller does not know the meaning of most of the sign combinations accompanying ŠUBUR in the list and so cannot contend that they were not "even remotely connected with pigs or pig products" (p. 212). In fact, the combinations listed above unquestionably represent qualifications of domesticated animals and are fully consistent with 'pigs'.
3) ZATU539 is not "undoubtedly ŠUBUR". The reading of this sign was, in fact, only determined by opting for one of the two signs which in the Fara period seemed to have replaced it in line 7 of the lexical list

name-generating exercises – a phenomenon well documented from later periods but also known, for example, in the archaic list of domestic animals[398] – would make such a complex list imaginable, if not plausible. Thus the list here would presume a categorization of primarily domesticated animals, their products, probably including meat cuts and means of cooking or preserving/salting, and workers involved in the breeding, herding and slaughtering of pigs.

Only one presently known proto-cuneiform account records the keeping of herds of (wild ?) pigs (archaic sign , conventionally read ŠAḪ$_{2a}$ [=ŠUBUR*gunû*][399]). The Uruk III period

Lu$_2$ A, the signs ŠAḪ$_2$ = LAK 40 and 1N$_{57}$+ŠAḪ$_2$ = LAK 39, Sumerian šubur, for which see ATU 3, 70, and E. Arcari, La lista di professioni "Early Dynastic *LU A*" [...] (Naples 1982) 13 and 31, and below, n. 399. I have demonstrated in FS Boehmer (Mainz 1995), p. 125[8], that this presumed correspondence to ŠUBUR was in fact erroneous, and again proposed a conventional reading ŠAḪ of the archaic sign.

4) ŠUBUR = 'pig' is clearly attested in MSVO 4, 72 obv. i 5 (1N$_1$ ŠAKIR$_a$ [=DUG$_b$+NI$_a$] ŠUBUR, following entries with notations of quantities of fish and fish containers; note the probable precursor of the sign UZU [ŠUBUR+X] in the preceding entry of the same text, also found in W 21418,3 [unpubl.] obv. iii 3 after entries for dairy fat and fish), and probably in 55 obv. i 5 and ii 5 (1N$_{57}$+ŠUBUR), possibly in ATU 5, pl. 46, W 9206,c and pl. 97, W 9656,cs (these are the texts identified by Steinkeller p. 213 as ATU 1, nos. 85 and 184, respectively, erroneously identifying ATU-55 [=1N$_{57}$+ŠUBUR] with ŠAḪ$_2$). The entries SUḪUR and ŠUBUR concluding the two accounts W 12015 and 20572,2 (unpubl.), moreover, reflect a practice known from pre-Sargonic Girsu (J. Marzahn, VS 25, 42 obv. ii 2: 2 šaḫ$_2$.^{giš}gi as last entry following several recording fish and turtles, all delivered by a named fisheries foreman). Note also the inclusion in W 13946,a (ATU 2, pl. 47) obv. ii 4 of ŠUBUR with a metal object AN TAG$_{a1}$, possibly a slaughtering axe (cp. the Old Akkadian text TMH 5, 147, 2: šen šaḫ$_2$ tag^{urudu}).

5) The identification of age designations in the list is *not* "merely a supposition" (and correct 'horizontal 1, 2, 3' to 'horizontal 1, 2'). It is tiring to repeat the consistency with which these designations are used in archaic sources, including the text W 23948 cited by Steinkeller p. 212 as evidence of archaic pigherding (the account [see below, fig. 64] does not list two herds of ŠAḪ$_2$ and 1N$_{57}$+ŠAḪ$_2$, as Steinkeller seems to imply; note additionally that the combination 1N$_{57}$+ŠAḪ$_2$ in the account is fully parallel to 1N$_{57}$+ŠUBUR in MSVO 4, 55, etc., cited above, and constituting the second entry of the 'Piglist'), and the logical development later age designations of domestic animals represent relative to these early qualifications.

Nevertheless, it would be foolish not to entertain suggestions of alternative interpretations to the reputed 'Piglist' if they show some merit. However, the old argument of personal designations (p. 213) makes no more sense now than when it was first considered and rejected by Falkenstein – particularly in light of the new evidence not available to the German scholar concerning the archaic designations of laborers, which makes superfluous a discussion of 'dogs/servants'.

[398] See above, section 5.

[399] Pictography and later use of the sign make sufficiently clear its referent pig. The sign is also found inscribed in the sign DUG$_b$ () representing a container of lard in the archaic lexical list 'Vessels' (above, fig. 29, l. 48); see ATU 3, 123-134, in particular the lines 21-61. ŠAḪ$_{2a}$ is in fact the pictographic precursor of the sign with Sumerian reading šaḫ$_2$ or saḫ$_2$ – the sign inscribed in the vessel DUG$_b$ was in the corresponding line of both of the Early Dynastic text witnesses (SF 64 iii 12 and OIP 99, no. 9 iii 3') replaced by ŠAḪ$_2$ = LAK 40 (). Compare the entries ŠAḪ$_2$ ab$_2$/gu$_4$(/amar/am) in the ED cattle list (SF 81, OIP 99, 25-26, MEE 3, nos. 12-17, and the syllabic version MEE 3, no. 62 [edited most recently by J. Krecher, OrAnt 22, 1983, 179-189]) corresponding to ŠAḪ$_{2a}$ AB$_2$ etc. in lines 20 and 46 of the archaic version (ATU 3, pp. 90-91; meaning unclear, usually read dun), the entry ŠAḪ$_2$ ku$_6$ in the ED fish list (SF 9-11, MEE 3, nos. 27-38) corresponding to ŠAḪ$_{2a}$ KU$_{6a}$ in l. 15 of the archaic version (ATU 3, p. 94; 'pig fish'), and the entry LA$_2$:SU ŠAḪ$_2$ in the ED grain list (SF 15-16, MEE 3, nos. 48+49, and see the Old Akkadian version MDP 27, 196) corresponding to l. D5 of the archaic version (ATU 3, p. 144; probably 'pork on a hook').

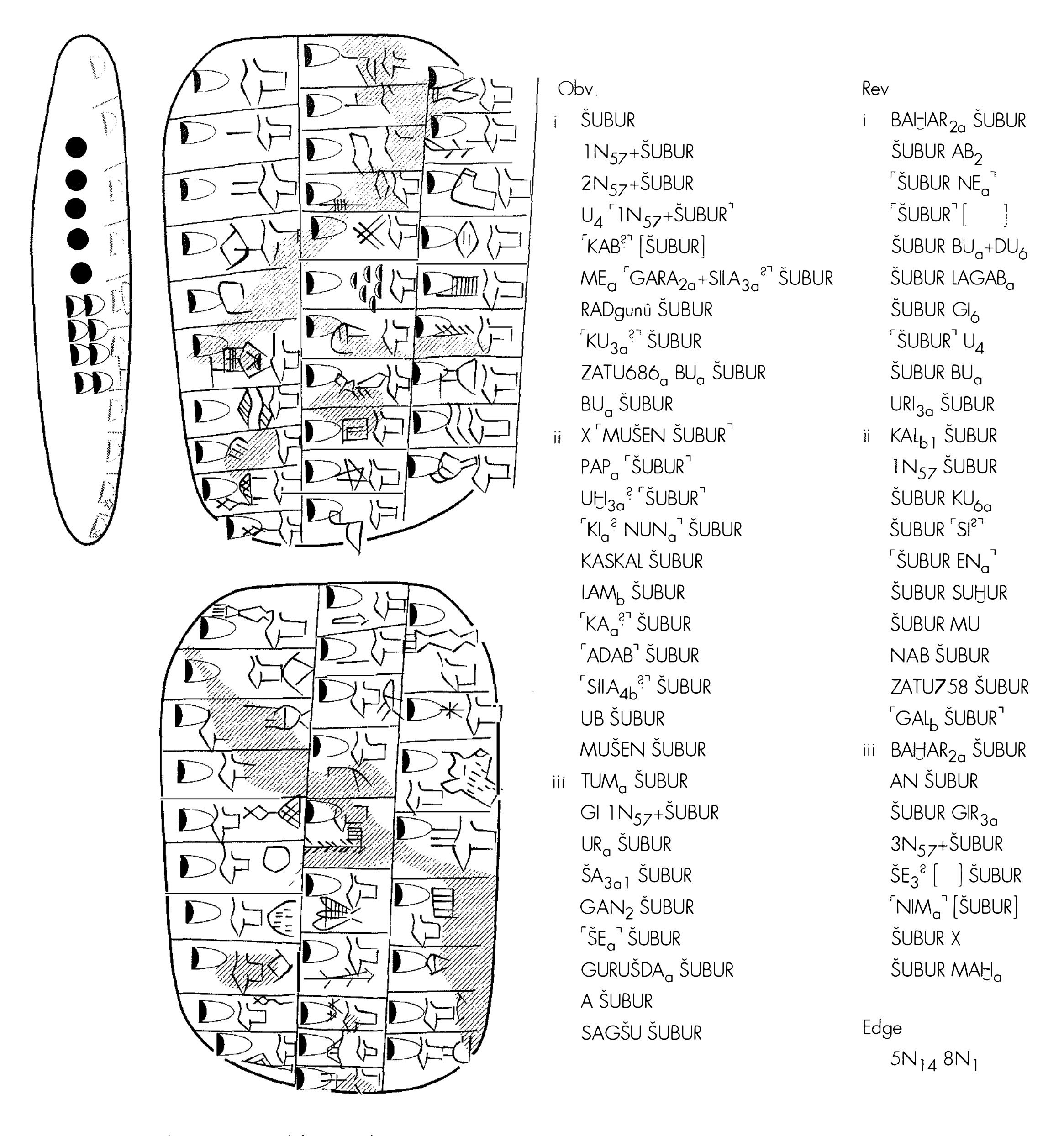


Figure 63: The presumable pig list W 12139
Note the first three entries of the obverse with the progression ŠUBUR, 1N_{57}+ŠUBUR and 2N_{57}+ŠUBUR ("pig", "pig (in its) first (year)", "pig (in its) second (year)"). The left edge of the tablet contains a numerical notation recording the total number of entries in the list (58).

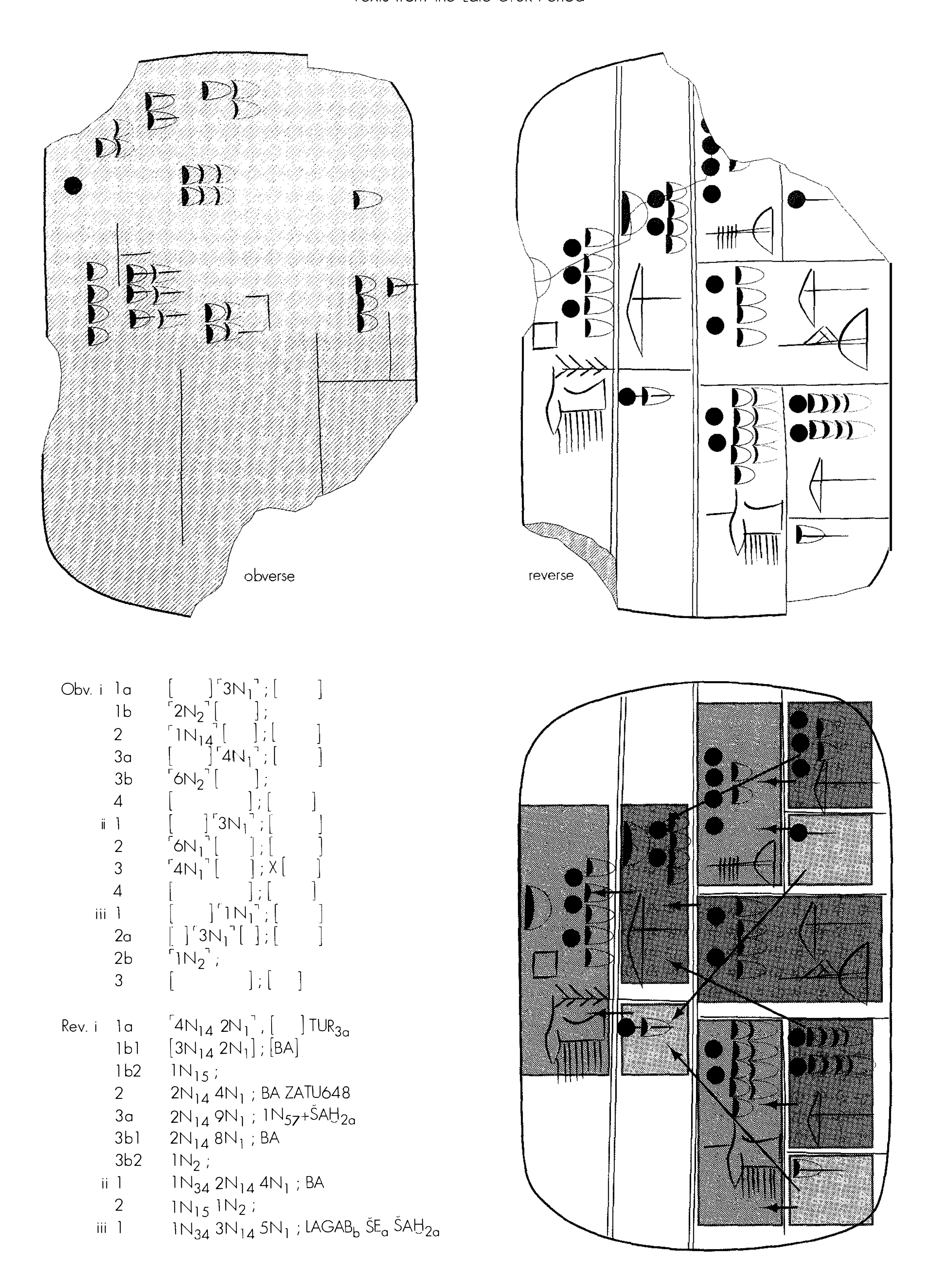


Figure 64: Pig-herding account
The copy and transliteration of the archaic Uruk text W 23948 follow A. Cavigneaux, BaM 22 (1991) 57 (small differences between the drawing here and that of Cavigneaux result from my collation made in Baghdad in April 1986). The lower drawing contains a secure reconstruction of the totals on the reverse of the tablet.

account (figure 64) does, however, offer a good general outline of pigherding in the archaic period. The text apparently records the distribution of animals from a large herd of 95 pigs into two groups of adults assigned temple units in Uruk and a third comprised of juvenile animals. Despite the fact that the obverse of the text is almost entirely destroyed, its preserved traces of deeply impressed numerical signs confirm the assumption that this side of the tablet contained specific information about numbers of animals subsumed in totals on the tablet reverse. It is thus possible to recognize three columns on the obverse which likely correspond to the three main entries of the first column on the reverse face.[400]

The reverse of the partially destroyed account can be completely reconstructed. The first of three columns (counting from the right) consists of three entries, of which the first and third are further divided into two sub-cases to the right and one case to the left that contained a subtotal of animals listed in the sub-cases. Individual entries of numbers of pigs were qualified with the sign conventionally read BA ( ), 'distributed?'/ 'inspected?'[401] or through the addition to their corresponding numerical notation of horizontal strokes (system S'), apparently designating slaughtered animals.[402] The two qualifications BA and the numerical system S' are employed to form the second subtotals in the second column of the reverse of the account, comprising 84 BA animals and 11 counted using system S'; the addition of these two entries results in the final total of animals, qualified in the last (left) column of the reverse as "altogether (LAGAB$_b$/nigin$_2$) 95 grain(-fed, ŠE$_a$) pigs". The animals are also qualified in the text according to their age; young pigs in their first year denoted 1N$_{57}$+ŠAḪ$_{2a}$ (-)[403] were not assigned one of the two households recorded in the first two cases of the reverse.[404]

400 The closest parallel to this text known to me was published by M.W. Green, JNES 39, 33, no. 39 = W 17729,gi (photo: UVB 11 [1940] pl. 38b), an account of a herd of 77 sheep.

401 The sign, in subsequent periods used to denote the distribution of rations to dependent workers and animals, seems best translated in archaic sources with 'inspected' ('and found to be available', pictogram "eye"), roughly corresponding to later Sumerian gub or gal$_2$, or possibly gurum$_2$ (IGI+GAR). See P. Steinkeller, "On the Reading and Meaning of igi-kár and gúrum(IGI.GAR)," ASJ 4 (1982) 149-151.

402 First discussed by M.W. Green, JNES 39 (1980) 8, and interpreted as a qualification of sacrificial animals. A.A. Vajman, VDI 1981/4, 81-82 (see the German translation in BaM 21 [1990] 116-117), subsequently proposed a translation 'slaughtered', which seems to make better sense in context, connecting the sign semantically and graphically to later BAD.

403 The horizontal stroke before the sign ŠAḪ$_{2a}$ is fully parallel to the sign combination U$_4$+1N$_{57}$ BAR used in the herding accounts discussed above, fig. 49, to qualify animals born in the accounting year of the text, whereby the first sign is known to represent "one" or the "first" year (cp. R.K. Englund, JESHO 31 [1988] 156-162). Old Sumerian accounts record the following corresponding qualifications of pigs: šaḫ$_2$ u$_2$ SAL/nita ša$_3$.ḪI for piglets/shoats, šaḫ$_2$ u$_2$ SAL/nita mu. 2-3 for pigs in their 2nd and 3rd years (in all likelihood including gilts, sows and barrows), and šaḫ$_2$.^{giš}gi for breeding hogs, possibly boars ("reed thicket" pigs; cp. A. Deimel, Or 20 [1926] 57-59; R.K. Englund, JESHO 31, 141-147).

404 The institutions were signaled by the signs TUR$_{3a}$ ( ) and ZATU648 ( ), comprised of a simplified form of the sign DU$_{6a}$, a pictogram of a reed hut, and a sign representing a cultic standard or emblem attached to a pole which stood at the front of and was possibly a structural part of the hut. These are two of the pictograms which represented presumable temple households in Uruk (see fig. 31 above).

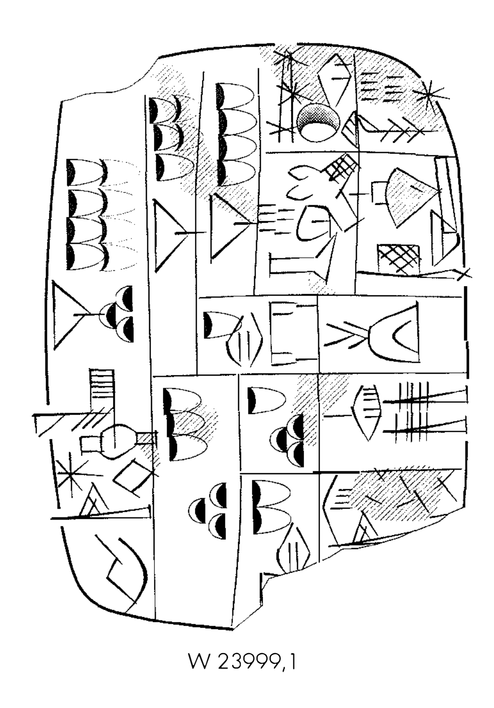
6.3.3. Labor organization

The type of accounting format we have seen employed in recording household herds, including sheep and goats, cattle and pigs, during the archaic period toward the end of the 4th millennium B.C., and the administrative structures which must be assumed to underlie this format, in particular the goal of maximizing control and regulating production of the animals, was not restricted to domesticated beasts. Proto-cuneiform documents seem also to reward us with intriguing, albeit obscure information about the organization and exploitation of men and women, whose labor and low maintenance created the economic surpluses requisite for a growing urban elite; for the same archaic administrative interest in recording, as an example, the age of herded animals may be demonstrated in the organization of dependent labor. Individually named laborers are commonly found in archaic accounts, in which persons involved are totaled and specified by the signs SAL and KUR$_a$. Both signs are probably pictographic representations of human genitalia, the first sign designating the female and the second the male laborer. The compound sign called GEME$_2$ in the sign list ATU 2 represented both male and female laborers in the same way as the sign combination (AB$_2$+GU$_4$, "cow+bull", see above) denoted "cattle" in dairy accounts. The text W 23999,1 depicted in figure 65 contains an account of eight humans designated in the summation SAL+KUR$_a$.[405] SAL and KUR$_a$ are here, just as in accounts recording herds of small and large cattle and, in the case of W 23948, pigs, booked separately according to sex and age: a group of five females consists of four women and one girl, a group of three males of one man and 2 boys.[406] The only difference between the method of accounting for herded animals and for this group of humans, possibly slaves, lies in the fact that following entries of numbers of each sex and age category individual cases record the names of the persons involved.[407] These accounts thus give a strong impression not of being an early census, but rather of being an account of a "herded" family of name-cognizant humans.

[405] This compositum was first recognized by A.A. Vajman, "Die Bezeichnung von Sklaven und Sklavinnen in der protosumerischen Schrift," BaM 20 [1989] 121-133 (German translation of his Russian article in VDI 1974/2, 138-148; see also id., VDI 1981/4, 81-87 = BaM 21 [1990] 116-123), to represent male and female humans; the still seen reading g e m e$_2$ of the compositum in archaic texts is to be rejected. See now the treatment of the signs in proto-cuneiform and proto-Elamite texts in P. Damerow and R.K. Englund, Tepe Yahya, 24 and 53-57.

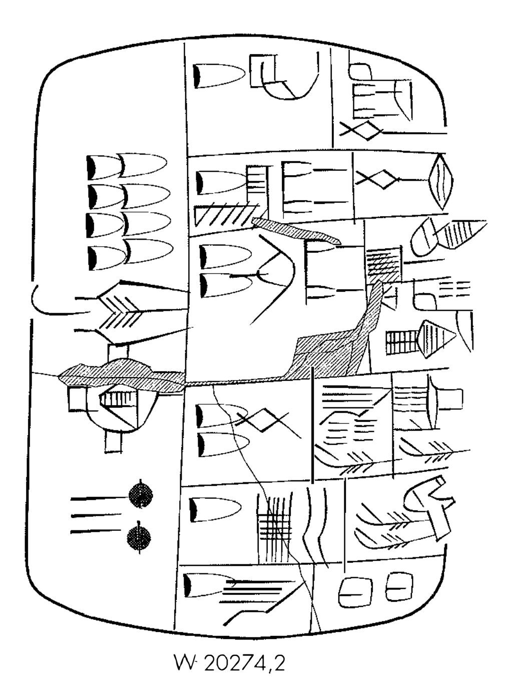
[406] Based on this account, it has been possible to identify a number of other archaic texts of like format and parallel contents, including the second account in fig. 65 (and cp. the Jemdet Nasr accounts MSVO 1, 212-214 [see also Archaic Bookkeeping, 72-75]). Note the clear correspondence in the bookkeeping of the children qualified ŠA$_{3a}$ TUR in W 23999,1 (cf. the entry obv. ii 3a: 2N$_1$; 1N$_{57}$+U$_4$ TUR in W 20274,2 as a possible further correspondence; the qualification in later periods was ša$_3$.ḪI [for children and juvenile animals!]) and the animals qualified 1N$_{57}$+U$_4$ and 1N$_{57}$+ŠAḪ$_{2a}$ for large and small cattle and pigs, respectively. This is not to say that the designation ŠA$_{3a}$ TUR will have qualified infants in their first year, but rather probably children which were 'non-exploitable', i.e., too young to be set to some task. H. Waetzoldt estimated in "Die Situation der Frauen und Kinder anhand ihrer Einkommensverhältnisse zur Zeit der III. Dynastie von Ur," AoF 15 (1988) 40, that children will have been employed during the Ur III period beginning at the age of 5 or 6.

[407] These together with further sign combinations in comparable texts should, as incontrovertible designations of individual persons, play a role in any attempt at language decipherment of the archaic texts (see above, section 4). It must be kept in mind, however, that, as is known from historic periods, dependent laborers and slaves often bore foreign names.



W 23999,1

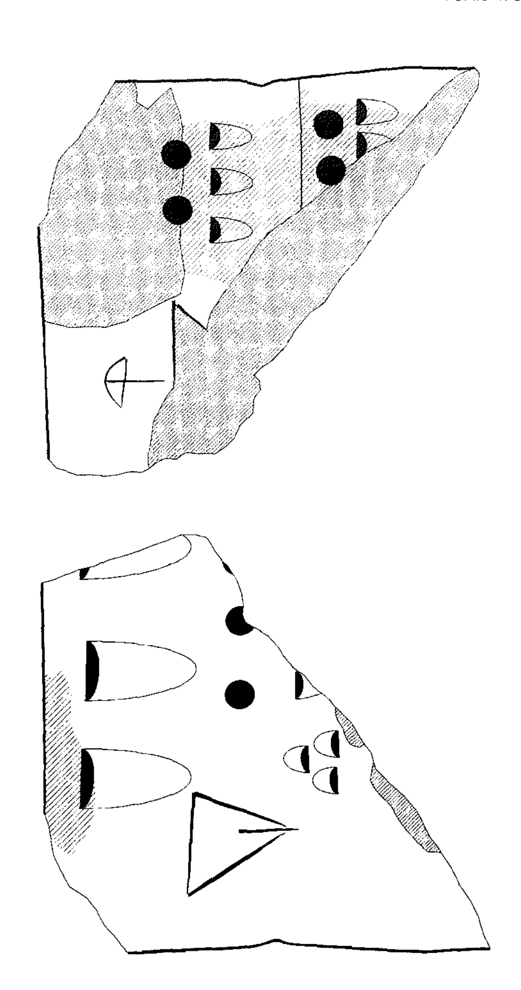
obv. i	1a	⌜5N$_1$⌝ ; SAL
	1b1a	4N$_1$; SAL
	1b1b1	⌜NAB⌝ DI ⌜BU$_a$+DU$_6$⌝
	1b1b2	⌜ZI$_a$$^?$ AN⌝
	1b1b3	ANŠE$_e$ 7N$_{57}$ DUR$_2$ DU
	1b1b4	⌜LAL$_{3a}$$^?$⌝ GAR IG$_b$
	1b2a	1N$_1$; ŠA$_{3a1}$ TUR
	1b2b	TU$_b$
	2a	⌜3N$_1$⌝ , KUR$_a$
	2b1a	1N$_1$; KUR$_a$
	2b1b	NA$_a$ NIR$_a$
	2b2a	2N$_1$; ŠA$_{3a1}$ ⌜TUR⌝
	2b2b1	⌜GI$_6$ KIŠIK$_a$ URI$_{3a}$⌝
	2b2b2	[ ]
obv. ii	1	8N$_1$; SAL+KUR$_a$ EN$_a$ EZEN$_b$ AN ḪI URI$_{3a}$ ZATU774



W 20274,2

obv. i	1a	1N$_1$; AL
	1b	MUŠEN TUR BU$_a$
	2a	1N$_1$; EN$_a$ TUR
	2b	BU$_a$ ŠA$_{3a1}$
	3a	2N$_1$; 1N$_{57}$+U$_4$ TUR
	3b1	GAL$_a$ LU$_2$
	3b2	X MUŠEN 6N$_{57}$ $^?$ KAŠ$_c$
	4a	2N$_1$; BULUG$_3$
	4b1	ŠU ZI$_a$
	4b2	ZI$_a$ ŠUBUR PAP$_a$
	5a	1N$_1$, U$_{2b}$ A
	5b	GI+GI PIRIG$_{b1}$
	6a	1N$_1$; ŠU
	6b	DUR$_2$ DUR$_2$
obv. ii	1	8N$_1$; BAR ŠAM$_2$ ⌜EZEN$_a$+SU$_a$⌝ 3N$_{57}$+NUNUZ$_{a1}$

Figure 65: Accounts of herded humans?
Copies and transliterations of the human 'herd' accounts W 23999,1 (after A. Cavigneaux, BaM 22, 74; collated) and W 20274,2. The texts record a group of eight probable slaves, divided into smaller groups according to sex and age in the first, and possibly in the second text, and named. The reverses are uninscribed.



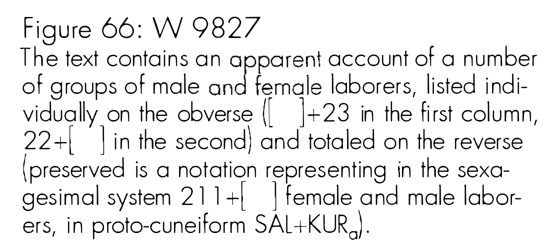


Figure 66: W 9827
The text contains an apparent account of a number of groups of male and female laborers, listed individually on the obverse ([ ]+23 in the first column, 22+[ ] in the second) and totaled on the reverse (preserved is a notation representing in the sexagesimal system 211+[ ] female and male laborers, in proto-cuneiform SAL+KUR$_a$).

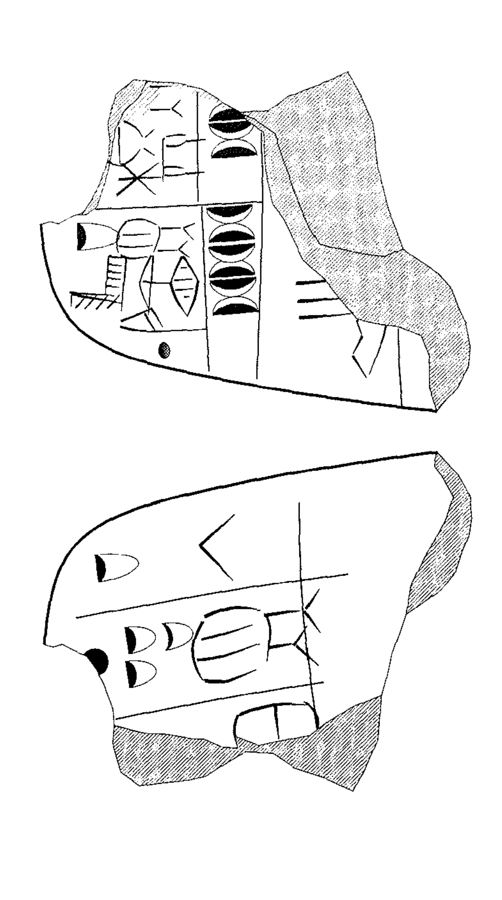


Figure 67: W 20274,93
According to later rationing systems, grain was distributed to laborers on a regular basis, wool or finished garments irregularly, usually once a year. A similar system seems documented in the above account, which records the apparent distribution to individuals of one TUG$_{2a}$+BAD+BAD (a type of textile) and 360 products counted in the bisexagesimal system and thus presumably discrete grain rations.

It has not been possible to more closely quantify the numbers of persons controlled in this fashion by the archaic administrations of Mesopotamia. Such persons, who might conventionally be called 'slaves'[408] until further text finds offer us a better basis for understanding

[408] See the discussions of V.V. Struve, "Some New Data on the Organization of Labour and on Social Structure in Sumer during the IIIrd Dynasty of Ur," in: I.M. Diakonoff (ed.), Ancient Mesopotamia [...] (Moscow 1969) 127-172 (English translation of an article from 1949), G.A. Melikišvili, "Esclavage, féodalisme et mode de production asiatique dans l'Orient ancien," in: Sur le "Mode de production asiatique" (Centre d'Études et de Recherches marxistes, Paris 1974) 257-277, I.M. Diakonoff, "Main Features of the Economy in the Monarchies of Ancient Western Asia," in: The Ancient Empires and The Economy (Section VIII), Troisiéme Conférence Internationale d'Histoire Économique, Munich 1965, (Paris, The Hague 1969) 13-32, id., "Slaves, Helots and Serfs in Early Antiquity," ActAntH 22 (1974) 45-78, and

their exact status, are, however, booked into larger accounts. Such texts as W 9827 (figure 66), presumably of Uruk IV date, represent a consolidation of at least several smaller accounts, each of which was recorded in one case of the text's obverse face. The groups of 20+ individuals in those entries were added on the reverse of the tablet in a total of 211+ SAL+KUR$_a$.

Several archaic texts from Jemdet Nasr more precisely qualified laborers designated SAL and KUR$_a$ with the signs SAG+MA ( ) and ERIM ( ).[409] The latter sign was a pictographic representation of a yoke and presumably denoted fettered captives of war, consistent with reliefs from later periods depicting yoked enemies being led into captivity.[410] The sign combination SAG+MA did not survive past the archaic period. Nevertheless, we can, with some confidence, interpret its constituents to signify a human (the head SAG, known also as a constituent part, together with GAR, of the sign GU$_7$, 'ration for a human') and a pictogram for a cord used to hang fruit to dry (MA), employed in the archaic texts to denote certain categories of fruit. Consequently, the sign combination SAG+MA probably originally signified captives being led away with a rope tied round their necks. Both signs ERIM and SAG+MA qualified, following this interpretation, persons subjected to forced labor, and these were generally qualified SAL and KUR$_a$.

Further data regarding the administration of dependent laborers can be culled from accounts of their victualing.[411] Since no less than in later periods these laborers will have been given only enough to guarantee for their productivity, we can assume that in line with Ur III practice they received approximately a liter of grain daily, and in yearly allotments a new garment, or the amount of wool necessary to make one. One account might reflect such a system of distribution in the archaic period. The obverse face of the text W 20274,93 (figure 67) consists of entries divided into two notations. The first represents '1' of the garments designated TUG$_{2a}$+BAD+BAD followed by sign combinations representing apparent persons or officials,[412] the second is only numerical and represents 3 120 = 360. We can assume that this otherwise unqualified notation stands for grain rations since these are the particular field of application of the bisexagesimal system, and given the fact that the administrative timekeeping system of

I. J. Gelb, "From Freedom to Slavery," in: D.O. Edzard, (ed.), Gesellschaftsklassen im Alten Zweistromland und in den angrenzenden Gebieten, CRRAI 18 (München 1972) 81-92, id., "Prisoners of War in Early Mesopotamia," JNES 32 (1973) 70-98, id., "Definition and Discussion of Slavery and Serfdom," UF 11 (1979) 283-297 (with detailed bibliography pp. 295-297), id., "Terms for Slaves in Ancient Mesopotamia," FS Diakonoff (Warminster 1982) 81-98; for later periods cf. R. Westbrook, 'Slave and Master in Ancient Near Eastern Law," Chicago-Kent Law Review 70 (1995) 1631-1676; M.A. Dandamaev, Slavery in Babylonia. From Nabopolassar to Alexander the Great (626-331 B.C.) (DeKalb, IL, 1984), in particular pp. 30-35 (history of research).

[409] See the texts MSVO 1, 212-214 and 217.

[410] The sign came to represent 'military troop' and later 'soldier/laborer' (Sumerian reading erin$_2$) only after its immediate pictographic meaning was lost.

[411] The question of the third millennium system of rationing has played an important role in judging the nature of those receiving rations. The seminal work of I. J. Gelb, "The Ancient Mesopotamian Ration System," JNES 24 (1965) 230-243, remains a primary source for a general survey of rations.

[412] The second case contains the combination EN$_a$ BA KI$_a$ ZATU647, also found in the geography list ATU 3, 160 no. 1, obv. iii 9 (meaning unclear).

the archaic period operates with a 360-day year it may be posited that the counted rations represent one 'man-year'.[413] Unfortunately, no other accounts exhibit this garment/grain product relationship [414]

Numerous accounts, as well as the archaeological record, do support an assumption that in the redistributive archaic administration grain was rationed to household dependents at a rate consonant with later tradition. A. Deimel first recognized in 1933 the pictographic referent of the sign GAR (Sumerian 'ninda' and Akkadian correspondence *akalu*) as a dining bowl;[415] since H.J. Nissen's discussion of the beveled-rim bowl, a so-called diagnostic ware dating from the Middle Uruk, but at its most common during the Late Uruk period and found in great masses in archaic levels of Uruk, which he interpreted to be a rationing bowl represented by GAR, no consensus has been reached in the field as to the ultimate function of these devices. Suggestions have ranged from the reasonable bread-baking mold, to the less plausible vessels for yogurt or salt.[416] Certainly the written sources give clear testimony to the correctness of Nissen's original interpretation. Counted cereal products in grain accounts are generally totaled and qualified with the ideographic sign GAR.[417] These products can contain the equivalent of grain represented by the sign N_1 down to a measure represented by N_{30c}[418] in the archaic grain capacity system. The ideogram does have a specific metrological equivalent in archaic accounts, however; with some variations, it corresponds to the numerical sign N_{30a} equal to $^1/_{30}$ of the sign N_1 in the capacity system.[419]

413 Note that the same relation applies to the preceding, damaged entry. The only other reasonable interpretation of this 1:360 ratio is that the grain product notation represents a value equivalent of the garment, but the reverse summations suggest that the textile products $\check{S}U_2$ and TUG_{2a}+BAD+BAD, and the small cattle UDU_a were held in the account as discrete objects and not consolidated into a common value equivalent such as grain.

414 Two unpubl. accounts, W 21016,4 and 21019,4 share common notations of $3N_{51}$ = '360' (rations). Their fragmentary state, however, makes a judgment of the purpose of these quantities impossible.

415 ŠL 2, 597.

416 Indeed, the discussion of the function of these bowls continues unabated. Beyond R.K. Englund, "Administrative Timekeeping in Ancient Mesopotamia, JESHO 31 (1988) 121-185, in particular pp. 162-164 with the treatment of the text MSVO 4, 27 (fig. 68 here), according to which the role of GAR as a rationing unit representing one day of grain in the archaic system of administrative timekeeping was firmly established, see the most recent discussions in A.R. Millard, "The Bevelled-Rim Bowls: Their Purpose and Significance," Iraq 50 (1988) 49-57, and G. Buccellati, "Salt at the Dawn of History: The Case of the Bevelled-rim Bowls," in: P. Matthiae et al. (eds.), Resurrecting the Past [...] (Leiden 1990) 17-40.

417 The product GAR seems to stand in contrast to GUG_{2a} (denoting baked breads ?); see MSVO 1, 109 obv. iii 1a, 111 rev. ii 1a, and compare the summation rev. i 1 of grain products booked in ATU 5, pl. 38, W 9123,ae (DU_{8c}, SIG_{2a3}, $ZATU726_d$ and GAR) with the similar qualification of a total in the text W 9169,c.

418 See above, fig. 41.

419 See P. Damerow and R.K. Englund, ATU 2, 153-154[60], and add MSVO 1, 140, obv. i 1a, with an explicit N_{30a} qualifying a GAR reconstructed according to the parallel text MSVO 1, 138, and Archaic Bookkeeping, p. 42, fig. 38, obv. ii 5a (ca. $1N_{29a}$ per unit), and R.K. Englund, JESHO 31, 162-164. For a comprehensive list of further qualifications of the products GAR with metrological and ideographic signs, see the appendix to my article "Grain Accounting Practices in Archaic Mesopotamia," in: J. Høyrup and P. Damerow (eds.), Changing Views on Ancient Near Eastern Mathematics (Berlin forthcoming).

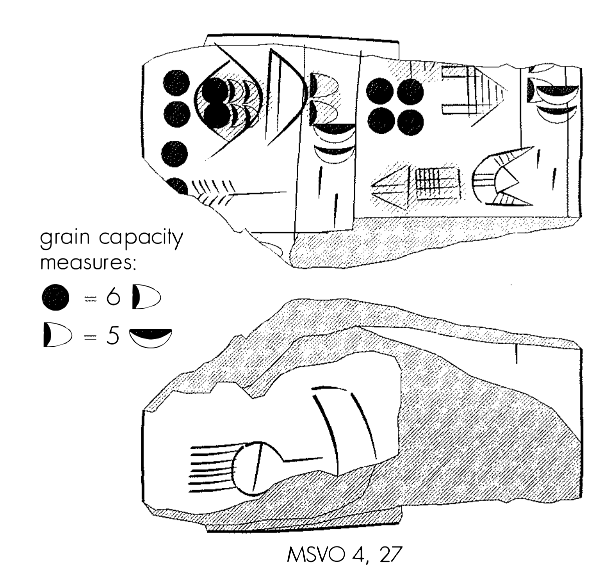


Figure 68: Daily bread
Our best evidence suggests that the beveled-rim bowl was an instrument of the archaic rationing system, equivalent to a daily ration of about 0.8 l. The grain notation in the first case of the text MSVO 4, 27, represents a measure equal to 24 x 30 x N_{30a}, that is, 24 30-day months at one-thirtieth N_1 per day. This one-thirtieth of the basic measure N_1, represented by the sign N_{30a}, is known to correspond to the sign GAR inscribed immediately after the timekeeping notation and this pictogram represents the beveled-rim bowl. The notation $2N_1$ $2N_{39}$ (=2.4 N_1) in the sub-case of the first entry represents exactly one-tenth of the amount recorded in the notation $4N_{14}$ (= 24 N_1).

The fragment of an account pictured in figure 68 offers the clearest textual evidence for the meaning of the sign GAR. MSVO 4, 27,[420] contains a notation recording a grain distribution, qualified as GAR, over a period of 24 months (represented by the sign combination $U_4{\times}2N_{14}.4N_1$). The resulting measure of grain (represented by $4N_{14}$) divided by (24 months × 30 days per month =) 720 days gives us a measure of $^1/_{30} \times N_1$ (remembering that $4N_{14}$ = $24N_1$), or exactly $1N_{30a}$ of grain per day. This is precisely the amount we would expect to correspond to GAR and, as was discussed above, section 6.2, implies a close relationship between the archaic system of administrative timekeeping and the grain capacity system, namely, that 'GAR grain' equals one day, and that '$1N_1$ GAR grain' equals one month. The absolute size of the beveled-rim bowl shows a variance of between about 0.5 and 1 liter,[421] and so is fully consistent with the amounts of grain distributed daily to dependent workers in later third millennium administrative centers.

6.3.4. Grain and grain products

The major activity of laborers at all times in Mesopotamian history consisted of the tending of fields. Third millennium accounts recorded the plowing and sowing of individually surveyed fields, the necessary irrigation and tending of the crops, and the labor-intensive harvest and storage of the grain. Legendary yields of 50:1 and better were documented, and even the norm of 30:1 according to which cereal harvests were predicted and rents and interest calculated in the Ur III period would have appeared fabulous to medieval farmers in Europe.[422]

420 Edited in JESHO 31, 162-164.; see above, n. 266.
421 See still ATU 2, 153-154[60], and the literature cited above, n. 385.
422 See K. Butz, "Landwirtschaft," in RlA 6 (1980-83) 470-486, K. Butz and P. Schröder, "Zu Getreideerträgen in Mesopotamien und dem Mittelmeergebiet," BaM 16 (1985) 165-209, and M.A. Powell, "Salt, Seed, and Yields in Sumerian Agriculture. A Critique of the Theory of Progressive Salinization," ZA 75 (1985) 7-38. B. Hruška has published an excellent survey of current knowledge of Mesopotamian agricultural practices in the preprint series of the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, Berlin, entitled Sumerian Agriculture: New Findings (no. 26, Berlin 1995).

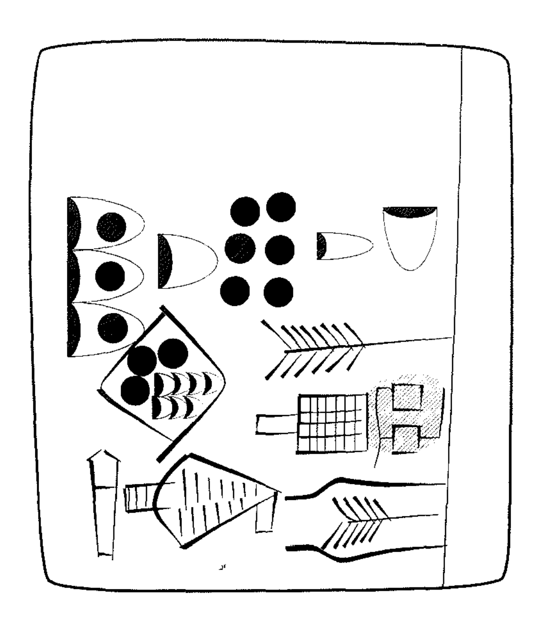


Figure 69: MSVO 3, 29
The single entry probably represents a consolidation of an account contained on another tablet, including notations of a large amount of grain (ca. 135,000 liters), an accounting period of 37 months, and the responsible office "KU ŠIM".

It is thus not unexpected that the majority of archaic accounts are concerned with cereals. However, texts currently available to us seem to document with very few exceptions exclusively the storage and distribution of grain. Such accounts can be recognized above all through the inclusion, usually in the key position of colophons, of the sign $ŠE_a$ (, a pictogram of a barley spike), of a numerical notation using the grain capacity system, or of an ideogram which denotes a grain product, often collectively qualified with the sign GAR (, a pictogram of a beveled-rim bowl probably used to hold a daily ration of grain) or DUG_a (, a pictogram of a clay jar with spout) representing dry grain products and beer, respectively. For example, the account MSVO 3, 29 (figure 69),[423] contains a large grain capacity system notation[424] corresponding, if our interpretation of the absolute size of the measures represented by the individual members of the grain capacity system are correct, to approximately 135,000 liters of grain. The notation is qualified with the object designation $ŠE_a$ and the largest month notation known from the archaic text corpus, namely, a notation representing 37 months.[425] Even though we are not in a position to interpret the final meaning of the ideographic notation accompanying these signs,[426] the size of the grain measure recorded in this text remains an important indication of the size and probable complexity of household economies active in the Late Uruk period.

A pair of Uruk III period grain accounts, both possibly from Uqair, record in eight cases amounts of grain again qualified with the sign $ŠE_a$ and with sign combinations representing

423 The text identification refers to the archaic tablets of the Erlenmeyer collection (see above, n. 49), to be edited forthcoming by P. Damerow and myself in the volume MSVO 3.

424 Recognizable in the final sign N_{39a} (; the repetition of the sign N_{14} six times would also exclude both the sexagesimal and bisexagesimal systems from consideration).

425 That is, three years plus one month. Whether this in any way reflects an archaic intercalation in a three year cycle, as was common in later administrations, is a matter of speculation.

426 They might reflect an exchange transaction account consolidating the grain used in the brewing office of the official 'KU ŠIM' (see Archaic Bookkeeping, pp. 36-37) during this period of 37 month. To put the amount in perspective: 135,000 liters of grain would be sufficient rations to feed a crew of 150 workmen for a period of three years.

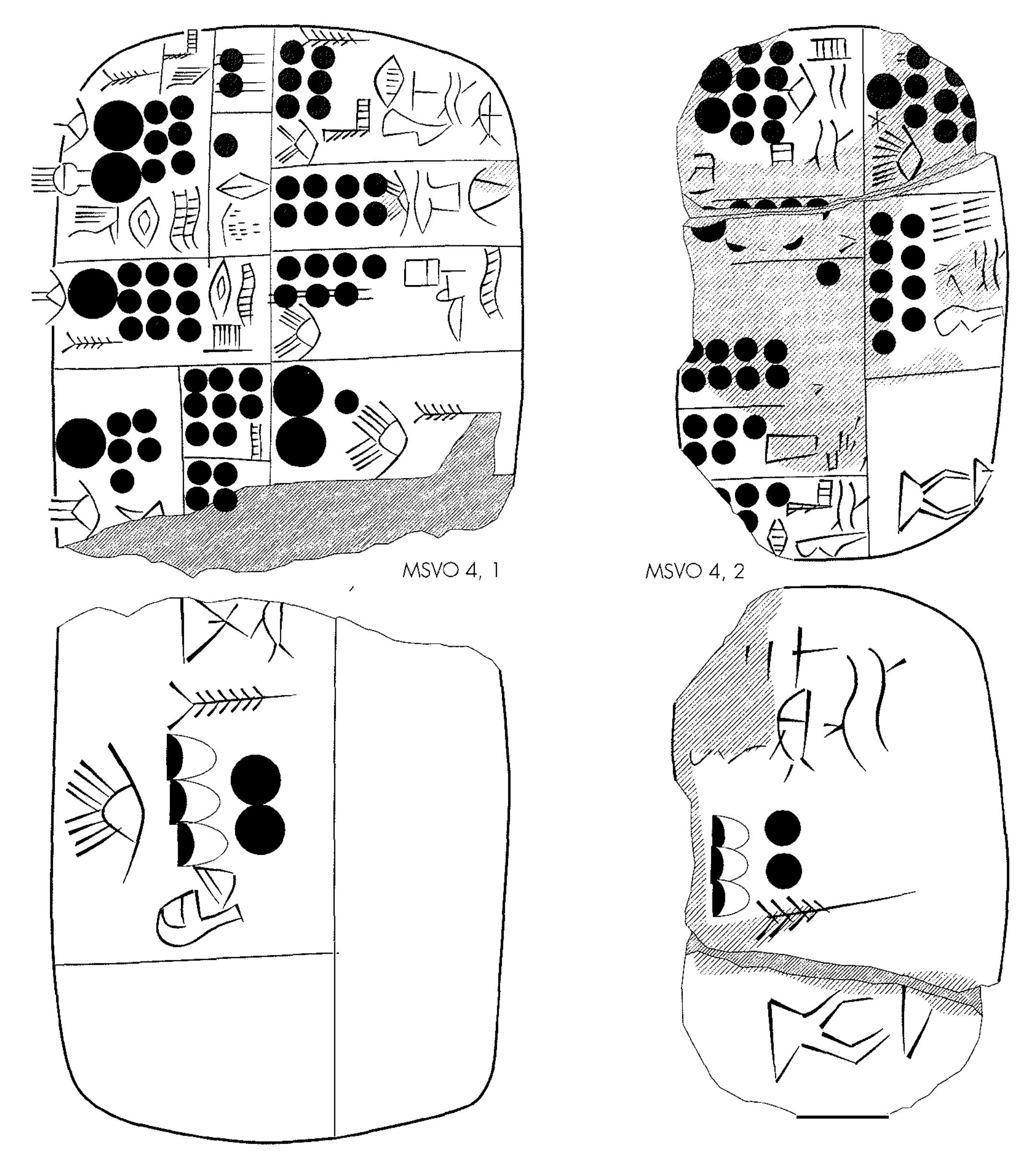


Figure 70: Eight-year grain accounts MSVO 4, 1-2

the first through the eighth year of an unclear administrative period (figure 70).[427] Although the individual grain measures are further qualified according to the apparent field connected with the grain, the purpose of this connection is unclear, since the grain would appear to have neither served as seed nor have been the harvest of the named fields.[428]

[427] 1-8N_{57}+U_4, whereby in the second text 8N_{57}+U_4 is replaced by the simplified 8N_{57} inscribed with two rows of four strokes each. See above, section 6.2. This type of account with ordinally reckoned years is comparable to the time notations and summations in the artificial 10-year Ur III account TCL 2, 5499, for which see Archaic Bookkeeping, pp. 97-102.

[428] The apparent artificial calculations of grain ration distributions (signaled by notations representing round numbers and by the sign GU_7 [=SAG+GAR] in no. 1, rev. i 1) and the fact that both totals are equal to a large measure equivalent to 660 of the basic grain measure units N_1 (representing a measure of approximately 25 liters and so altogether ca. 16,500 liters or 10 tons of grain) at least suggest that the texts might represent production or cost norms.

Grain distribution

Aside from such accounts of larger amounts of grain measured in the capacity system, numerous archaic accounts record the distribution of grain in the form of dry grain products and beer. The Uruk III period text presented in figure 71 is a good example of these types of accounts. The first case of the text's obverse contains two sub-cases. In the first, a bisexagesimal notation representing 598 discrete units is qualified by the sign GAR, so denoting grain rations. In the second, a sexagesimal[429] notation representing 59 units is qualified by the sign DUG_a, denoting jars of beer.[430] The function of the text seems indicated on its reverse face. The sign BA () inscribed alone in the final column to the right must represent a global qualification of the grain products and beer recorded on the obverse; the often close relationship of this sign with notations including the sign GAR seems to suggest that is had a meaning similar to the later tradition of 'distribute'.

This qualification 'distribution' was particularly common in the archaic texts and was used to represent the transfer of goods to lower- and to higher-level state dependents. A BA transaction concerning high-level officials is recorded in the texts MSVO 3, 64 and 58 (figure 72). The obverse of the former tablet has 4 entries, each recording a specific amount of grain in the capacity system, and each including the title of an official. The first, second and fourth entries include professional designations which are found both in the lexical list Lu_2 A and in many administrative accounts. The sign combination EN_c SAL of the third entry is not found in the professions list; it is, however, very common in accounts, particularly in this form in accounts from Jemdet Nasr, where it probable describes the wife of the ruler, EN_a. The reverse side of the tablet contains the usual sum of the entries, qualified by the signs ŠE_a and BA (presumably "grain distribution"), and further sign combinations "KU ŠIM" and "NI SA", which stand for two persons or offices; these are probably co-signers for the transfer of the grain.

A similar account is MSVO 3, 58. Numerical notations representing relatively large measures of grain are booked into entries qualified with sign combinations designating persons, including here the same "KU ŠIM" and "NI SA" who in the first account signed the grain out. The receiving persons in this account, however, are not known from the professions list. A working hypothesis to explain both accounts would be that the named individuals were heads of rather large households who received grain distributions from communal storage facilities.[431]

[429] We know this notation, which in another context might be bisexagesimal, is from the sexagesimal system, since all archaic notations of vessels which cross the '120 barrier' continue with the '60' (), and not with the '120' () signs characteristic of the bisexagesimal system.

[430] Note the close approximation of a 10:1 relationship between dry grain products and jars of beer, which may themselves have had a capacity of ca. eight liters. If the beer was brewed at the rate of 1:1 (one measure of grain per measure of finished beer) – the brewing ratio of the common man in later periods – and if the sign GAR represented the standard measure equal to that represented by the sign N_{30a} (see above, section 6.3.3), these sizes would imply that the two notations of GAR and DUG_a were roughly value-equivalent.

[431] Both texts also offer straightforward evidence of calculations in the capacity system. In MSVO 3, 64, the addition consists of 2 units of the size , + 2 units of the size ●, + 22 units of the size •, + 1 unit of the size . The total can be seen to be fully consistent with the replacement rules of the capacity system discussed above, section 6.1, of $N_{34} = 3N_{45}$, and $N_{45} = 10N_{14}$.

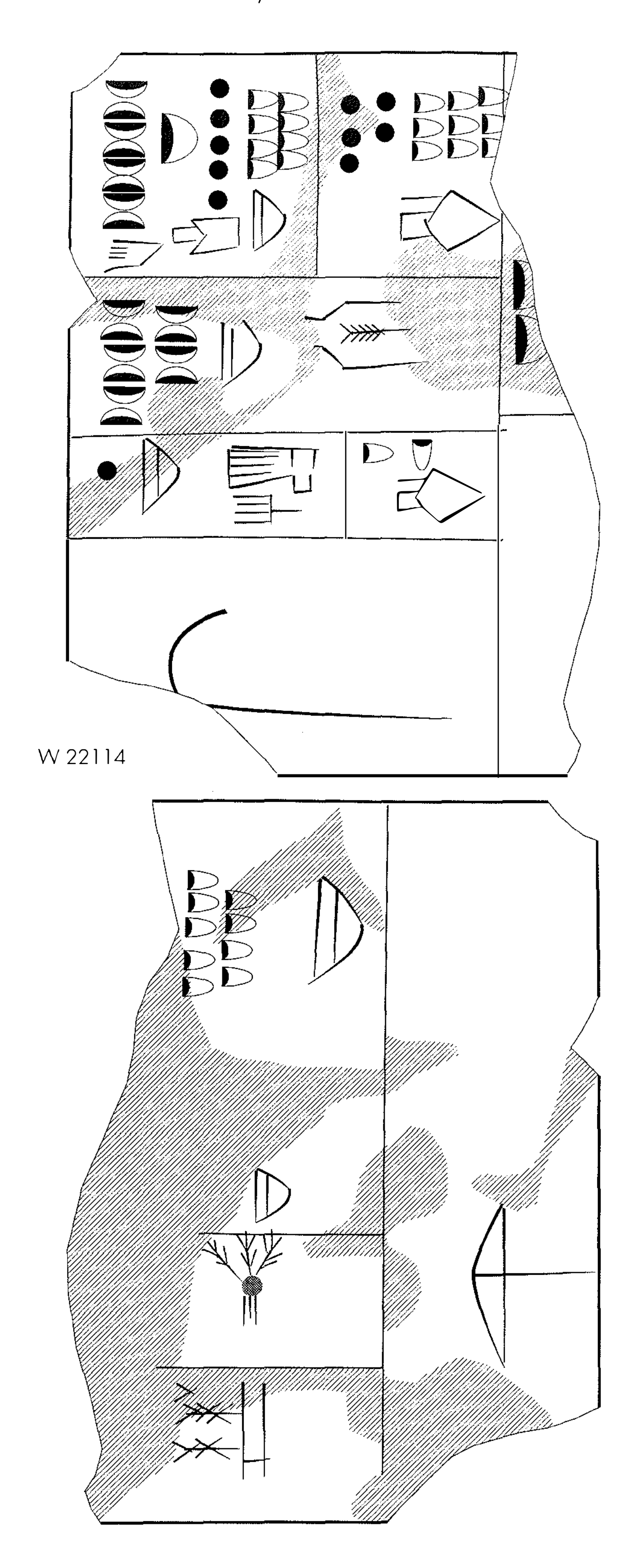
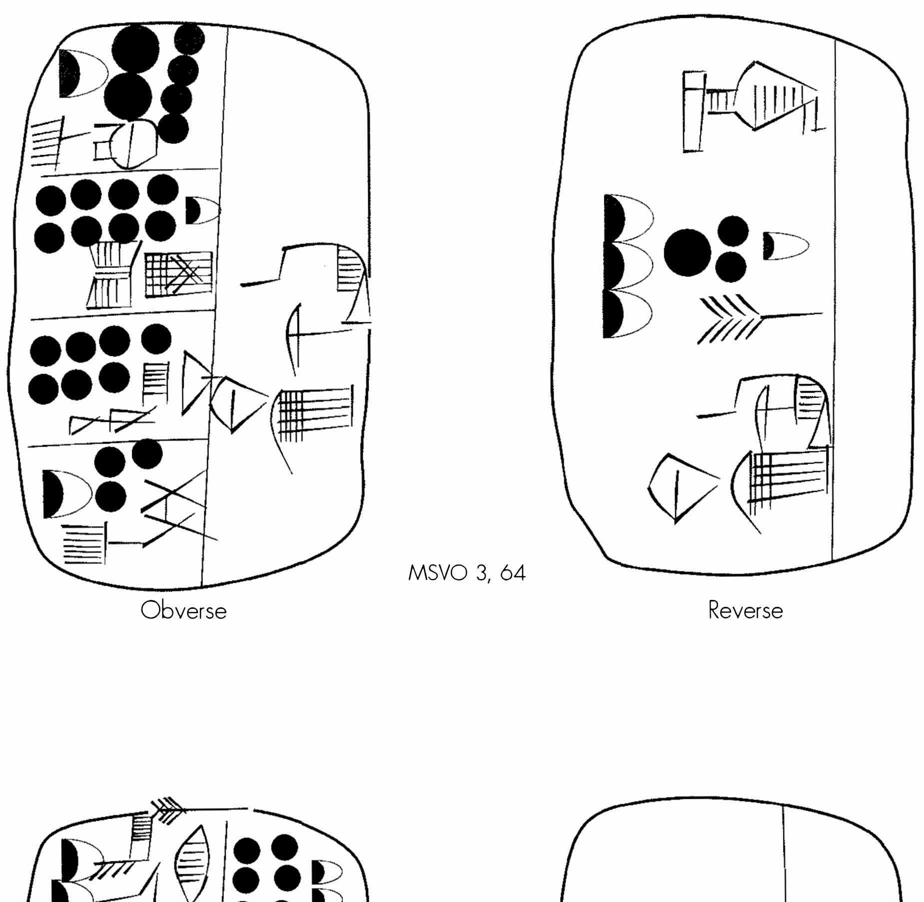


Figure 71: An account of "bread and beer"



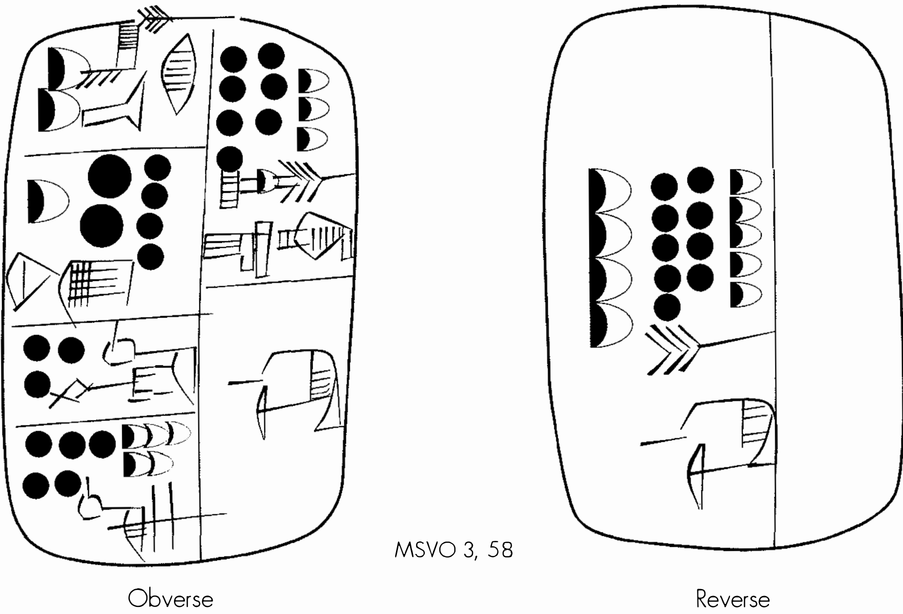


Figure 72: MSVO 3, 64 and 58
These two consolidated accounts contain notations on their obverse faces representing grain distributions (sign BA [ ] on obverse and reverse) to high officials, and a summation on the reverse. The office "KU ŠIM" apparently co-signed the note with "NI SA" in the upper account; note that both offices were themselves beneficiaries of distributions recorded in the lower account.

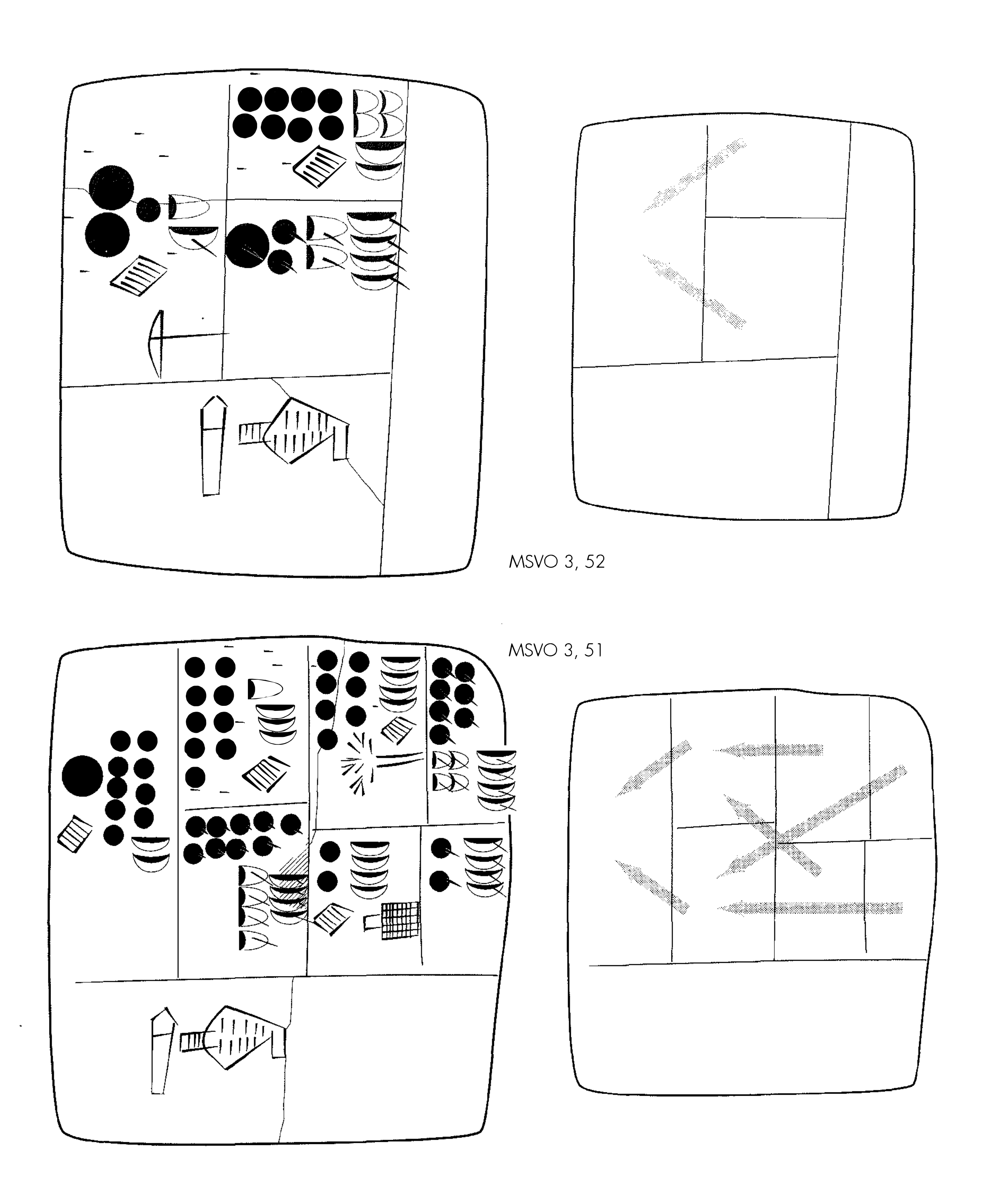


Figure 73: MSVO 3, 52 and 51
The two tablets, inscribed only on the obverse, represent presumably consolidated accounts of beer production drawn from separate tablets. In the first case, notations representing amounts of barley groats and malt were subsumed in a total qualified as "BA", "distribution"; the account is a functional duplicate of the left half of the second tablet, which included, additionally, entries recording distribution to two separate offices (?) ("NAGA" [ ] and "DUB" [ ]). The graphics to the right indicate the individual summanda of the respective texts.

Another pair of accounts from the Erlenmeyer collection, MSVO 3, 52 and 51 (figure 73) offer more explicit information about the function of the official "KU ŠIM". Since these two and a series of further accounts identify "KU ŠIM" as an official responsible for the processing and distribution of large measures of cracked grain or groats on the one hand (represented by notations in the derived capacity system Š*), and of malted barley on the other (represented by notations in the derived capacity system Š'), we have concluded that he is responsible for a brewery directly related to an archaic central administration.[432] Although only noted on the former, we can assume that both accounts dealt with distributions (sign BA) of the brewing ingredients – these being the expenditure journals of the office of "KU ŠIM". Like the accounts discussed above, these texts offer fine examples of the complexity of archaic grain accounts.
The same sort of complexity, however to a somewhat higher degree and centered on the use of the global qualifier GI ( ) instead of BA, is found in the unprovenienced accounts MSVO 4, 45 and 43 in figure 74. Both texts register on the obverse face, in two sections separated by a double dividing line, measures of grain qualified as either barley (by the sign $ŠE_a$ and numerical notations in the basic capacity system) and/or emmer wheat (numerical notations in the derived system Š")[433] together with an ideographic notation which must represent individuals who either received or delivered the measures of grain recorded in the same cases, dependent on our understanding of the sign GI. If this sign has a semantic function similar to that of later Sumerian gi/gi_4, that is, qualifying the movement of goods into a central administrative authority, the individuals would be delivering agents.

Grain calculations

Archaic accountants recorded the movement of grain measures from one office to the next, but also were responsible for overseeing the use of grain in the production process. We have seen that barley and emmer were above all ground and processed into dry grain products, probably a mixture of breads and simple rationing measures, and into barley beer. Ledgers recording the amounts of grain in various stages of processing needed to produce bread and beer belong to the most numerous of all archaic texts. The tablet depicted in figure 75[434] is in fact not one of these accounts; it is, instead, one of but several archaic administrative exercises, as is obvious by the very large and round numbers represented in its individual cases, and by the fact that no persons and no designations of the purpose of the text are recorded.

[432] The latter of the two texts is only on its surface more complex. The left upper half of the account can be seen to parallel the entire account of the former text. To the right, more detailed information was included concerning presumable condiments ($NAGA_a$ and DUB_a) added to the brews.

[433] Barley (six-rowed, *Hordeum hexastichum*) and emmer wheat (*Triticum dicoccum*) are in fact the two major cereals which have been paleobotanically identified in archaic levels of Uruk; see W. Nagel, RlA 3 (1957-71) 316, and J.M. Renfrew, BSA 1 (1984) 32-44. The derived capacity system was created by simply adding two short strokes to either side of signs from the basic system, occasionally simplified to two long strokes drawn through the whole sign. See A.A. Vajman, "Über die protosumerische Schrift," ActAntH 22 (1974) 21-22.

[434] MSVO 4, 66; see above, section 6.2, and the first successful treatment of the text in J. Friberg, ERBM II, 33-43, in copy in id., "Mathematik," RlA 7/7-8 (1990) 539. According to the dealer who sold it to the Iraqi department of antiquities in 1933, the tablet came from Larsa.

The first column of MSVO 4, 66, records numbers of dry grain products counted with the bisexagesimal system, followed in each case with the amount of grain used in their production. In the first case, the production of 60 units of the product (= $^1/_5$) required 60 × $^1/_5$ = 12 (and since 6 = 1 • in the grain capacity system) = 2 •. The same kind of calculations are made in the following cases with ever larger numbers of ever smaller grain products,[435] ending not with a member of the capacity numerical system, but with its ideographic equivalent, the sign GAR+6N_{57}, which as we have seen was the pictographic representation of the beveled-rim rationing bowl supplemented with a varying number of strokes and which had its correspondence in the capacity system with the sign N_{30a} () representing $^1/_{30}$ of the basic unit N_1 (). The second column of the obverse face of this text records in like fashion jars of beer, using the sexagesimal system, and in an accompanying sub-case the amount of barley groats used in their brewing.[436] These clear calculations thus demonstrate the close relationship between numerical systems employed in archaic accounts to qualify discrete objects and the capacity system used to qualify measures of grain:

obv.	i	1	1N_{34} ; 1N_{39a}	2N_{20}
		2	1N_{51} ; 1N_{24}	2N_{20}
		3	⌜1N_{51}⌝ ; 1N_{26}	1N_{20} 2N_5
		4	⌜2N_{51}⌝ 1N_{34} ; 1N_{28}	2N_{20} 3N_5
		5	5N_{51} ; 1N_{29a}	4N_{20}
		6	⌜5N_{54}⌝ ; GAR+6N_{57}	1N_{37} 3N_{20} 2N_5
	ii	1	2N_{34} ; DUG$_a$+U$_{2a}$	⌜5N_{20}⌝ 1N_5 1N_{42a}
		2	3N_{34} ; DUG+AŠ$_a$	6N_{20}
		3	5N_{34} ; KAŠ$_a$	3N_{20} 2N_5
rev.	i	1	1N_{54} ; BA GAR	1N_{47} 1N_{20} 5N_5
		2	5N_{54} ; GAR+5N_{57}	1N_{37} 3N_{20} 2N_5
		3	1N_{48} ; DUG$_a$ KAŠ$_a$	1N_{47} 4N_{20} 3N_5 1N_{42a}
	ii	1	1N_{37} 2N_{47} 9N_{20} 4N_5 1N_{42a}	
		2	8N_{18} 4N_3 1N_{40}	

The grain calculations:[437]

obv. i	1	60 x $^1/_5$	( )	= 12x	= 2x •
	2	120 x $^1/_{10}$	( )	= 12x	= 2x •

[435] Each of the products is in fact well represented as such in the archaic text corpus, in all cases employing the bisexagesimal counting system.

[436] As with the dry grain products, the type of beer recorded in the first entry required more grain for its production, the following two types progressively less, due probably to the fact that higher beer qualities required more barley in the brewing process than did the beer of the "common man". The sign DUG$_a$ is according to this text the denoter of a beer vessel of a particular size, KAŠ$_a$ the denoter of the liquid itself. The differentiation between DUG$_a$ and DUG$_b$ (and) was in the archaic sources very strict. The latter sign lacking the representation of a spout referred without exception to vessels containing different kinds of fats, for the most part animal fats such as ghee, lard and the like.

[437] The results are shown in the basic capacity system. All calculated grain "costs" are in fact in the derived system Š* (see above, fig. 41).

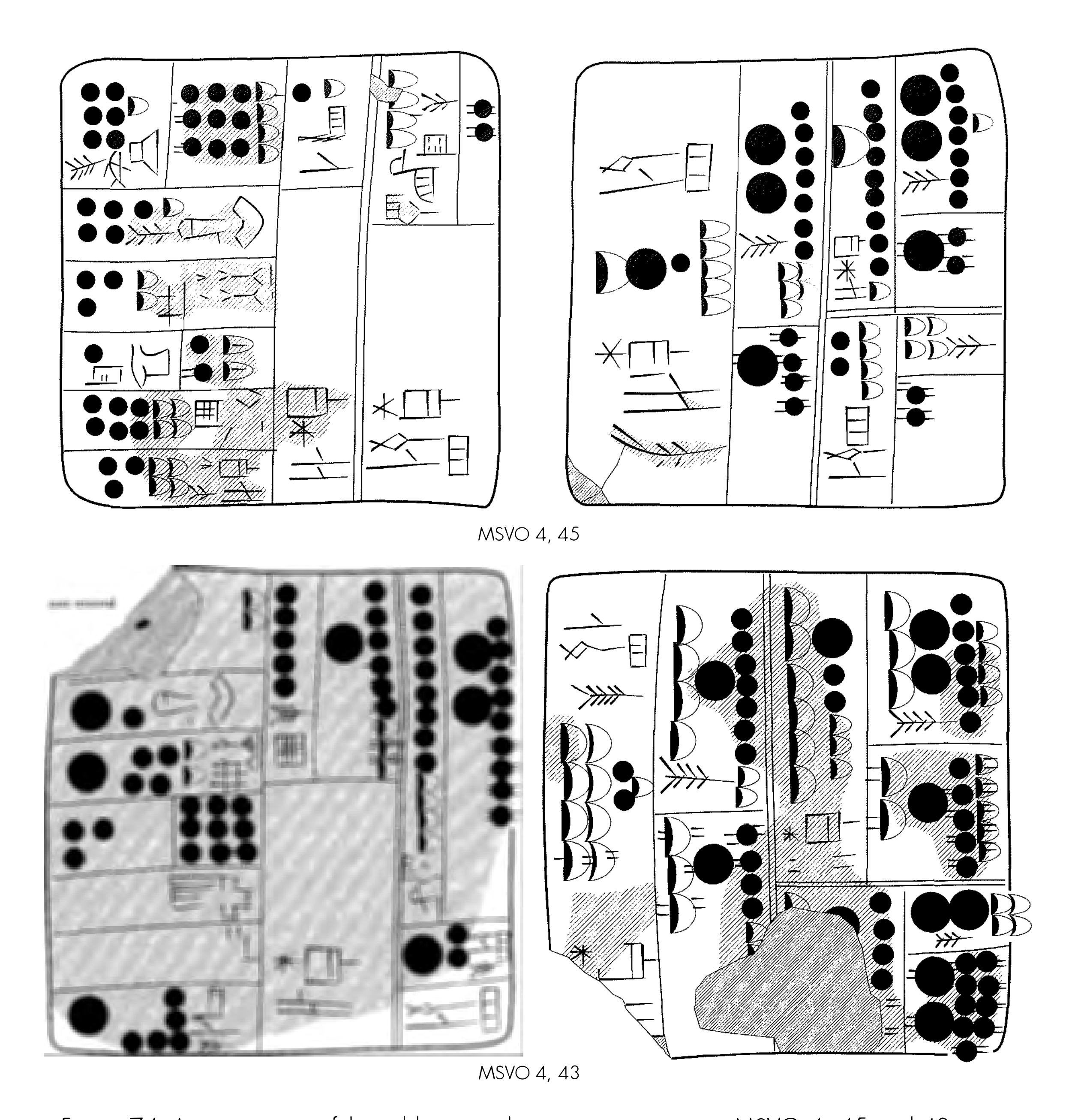
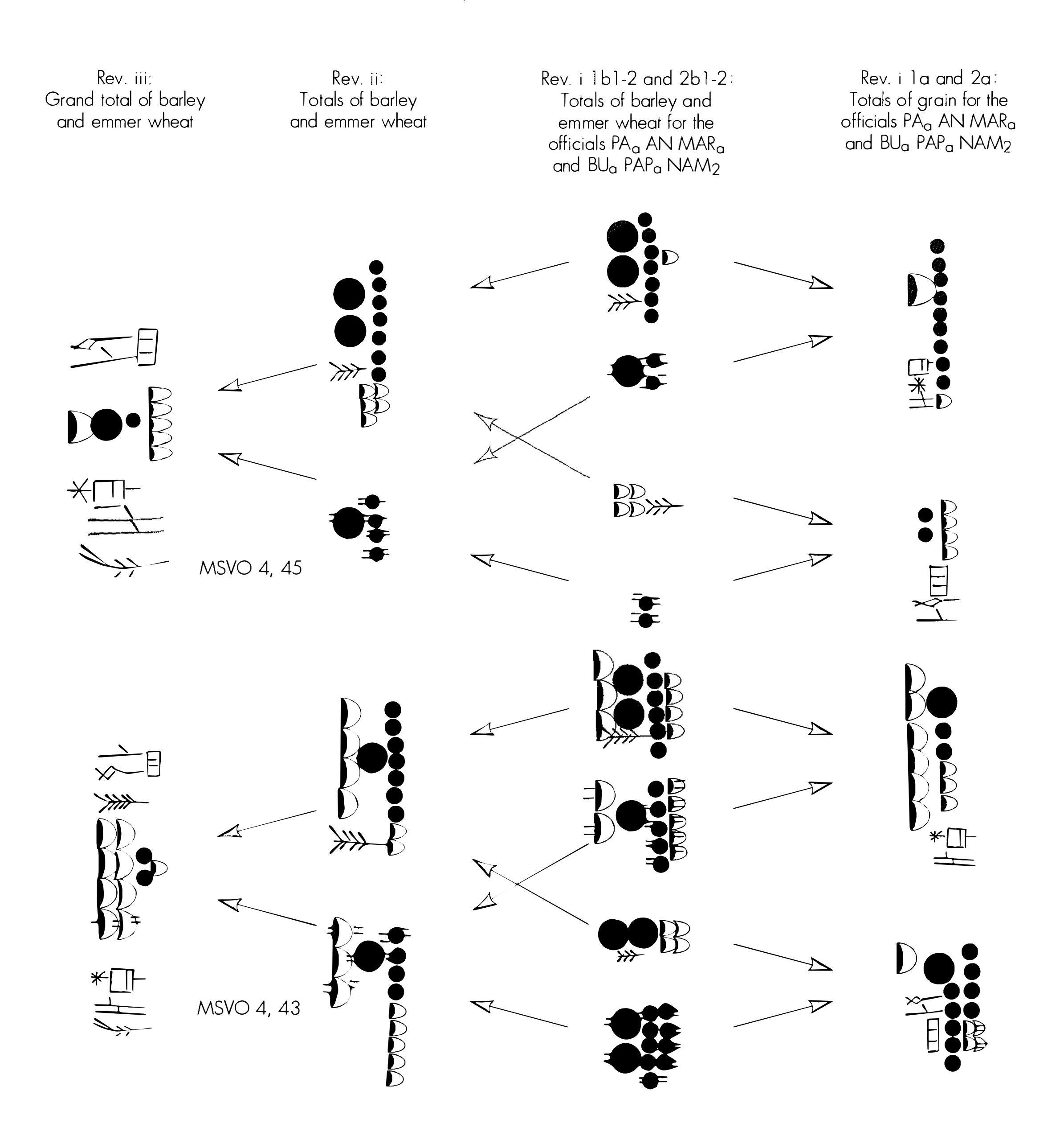


Figure 74: A comparison of the additions in the two grain accounts MSVO 4, 45 and 43.

	3	$120 \times {}^{1}/_{15}$ ⊳	(sign)	= 8x ⊳	=	1x ●	2x ⊳
	4	$300 \times {}^{1}/_{20}$ ⊳	(sign)	= 15x ⊳	=	2x ●	3x ⊳
	5	$600 \times {}^{1}/_{25}$ ⊳	(sign)	= 24x ⊳	=	4x ●	
rev. i	1	1200		1x ⬤		1x ●	5x ⊳

The first column of the reverse of MSVO 4, 66, contains the totals of the dry grain products and of the beer vessels, in each case with a notation of the total amount of grain used in their production, added together for a grand total of barley groats in the second column to



the left. A final notation below this grand total represents, as we know from complete accounts of archaic brewing offices, the amount of malt added to the beer during its processing.[438] The quantity of malt added varies according to the sort of beer (figures 76-77); in the case of MSVO 4, 66, the malt was added to all three sorts at an average rate of 3 measures of malt to 5 of barley groats.

[438] The oblique stroke added to the signs of the system Š' is presumably the pictographic representation of the sprout from the individual kernels, just as the dotted impressions of the system Š* are suggestive of cracked or rough-ground barley groats.

The account recorded on the tablet MSVO 3, 11 (figure 76), offers more exact calculations. The entries on the obverse of the text consist of varying numbers of numerical notations qualified by the signs ŠEN$_b$, ŠEN$_c$*tenû* and DUG$_a$ (, and) designating types of beer, and followed by an ideographic notation representing a temple household or a high official. The reverse of the tablet carries the sum of the jars for each beer type together with the amount of barley and malt needed for their production.[439]

The same sequence of entries representing a delivery to one office, recorded in the middle column of the obverse of MSVO 3, 11, is found in another account, MSVO 3, 6 (figure 76). It may be that the latter text merely records a different delivery of the same measures of beer; however, we suspect that the oblique stroke added to the sign GI in the large account[440] acted as an accounting check-off that the entry had been successfully carried over.

A veritable manual of grain calculations was inscribed on one tablet from the Erlenmeyer collection (figure 77). Eleven different cereal products and five kinds of beer were compiled in a form which, given subscripts indicating the purpose of the account and for whom it was drawn up, would have been ascribed to a normal accounting office. Lacking these ideographic qualifications, the text is, like MSVO 4, 66 (figure 75), to be considered a school exercise. As in MSVO 4, 66, five different numerical systems were used in the account: the bisexagesimal system for the cereal products, the sexagesimal system for the beer containers, and three different systems for the measures of cereals.[441]

The grain calculations in MSVO 3, 2:

obv. i	1	10! x $^1/_2$	( )	= 5x	=	1x	
	2	10 x $^1/_3$	( )	= 3 $^1/_3$x			
	3	20 x $^1/_4$	( )	= 5x	=	1x	
	4	30 x $^1/_5$	( )	= 6x	=	1x	1x
	5	20 x $^1/_5$	(/)	= 4x			
	6	60 x $^1/_6$	( )	= 10x	=	2x	
obv. ii	2	30 x $^1/_6$	( )	= 5x			
					=	1x	3x [442]
		30 x $^1/_{10}$	( )	= 3x			

[439] Beers qualified ŠEN$_b$ were brewed with the addition of malt at the rate of 1:1 for both types GAL$_a$ and TUR. The beer qualified simply DUG$_a$ was supplemented with malt at the rate of 2:3.

[440] Note the same check mark added to the sign U$_4$ at the bottom of the first column, and to GI in the fourth case of the third column of the text.

[441] The basic system was used for the specification of the quantities of the cereal ingredients contained in the products; the other two are those derived systems used to qualify barley groats and malt.

[442] Different amounts of rough-ground barley were required in the production of the respective units ŠA*gunû* (x) and DU$_{8c}$*gunû* (y). In the first case (obv. ii 2), 30 x and 30 y required the equivalent of 8N$_{39}$ grain, or on average $^2/_{15}$ N$_{39}$ per unit; in the second (obv. iii 2), 120 of the former and 60 of the latter products required the equivalent of 26N$_{39}$. Since the replacement of x and y with the factor $^2/_{15}$ would in the second case result in $(180 \times {}^2/_{15} =)$ 24 instead of the recorded 26 N$_{39}$, the solution which fits both equations $30x + 30y = 8N_{39}$ and $120x + 60y = 26N_{39}$ will require $x \neq y$. This solution, which also harmonizes with what we know from other attestations of the products concerned, requires that $x = {}^1/_6$ and $y = {}^1/_{10}$ N$_{39}$ (solving for y: $120x = 32N_{39} - 120y$ and $120x = 26N_{39} - 60y$, or $60y = 6N_{39}$, or $y = {}^1/_{10} N_{39}$, with, directly, $x = {}^1/_6 N_{39}$).

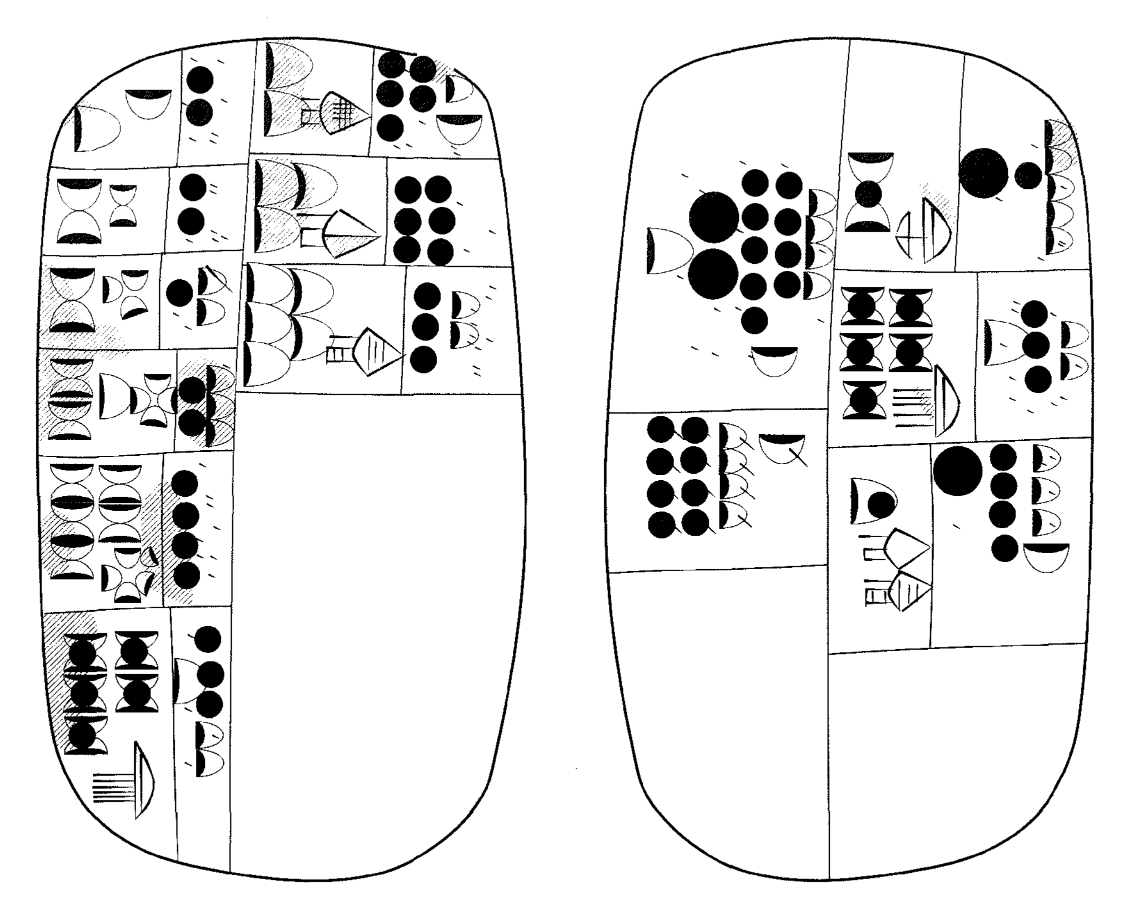


Figure 75: MSVO 4, 66
The text pictured above represents one of only several administrative exercise tablets from the archaic corpus. First published and partially understood by A. Falkenstein, MSVO 4, 66, was a key text in Jöran Friberg's correct identification of the structure of the archaic metrological system used to count grain measures, in particular the relationship of 1:6 between the two signs N_{14} and N_1 earlier believed to be 1:10.

5   1800 x $^1/_5$ ( ) = 360x = 1x   2x [443]

obv. iii 2   120 x $^1/_6$ ( ) = 20x

= 5x   1x [444]

60 x $^1/_{10}$ ( ) = 6x

Knowledge of the calculations of archaic grain processing evident in the artificial texts discussed above substantially eases the task of understanding the meaning of large numbers of real grain accounts, and even aids in reconstructing all or part of damaged texts. The preserved text and a nearly complete reconstruction of a grain account from Jemdet Nasr[445] offered in figure 78 are good examples of this process.[446]

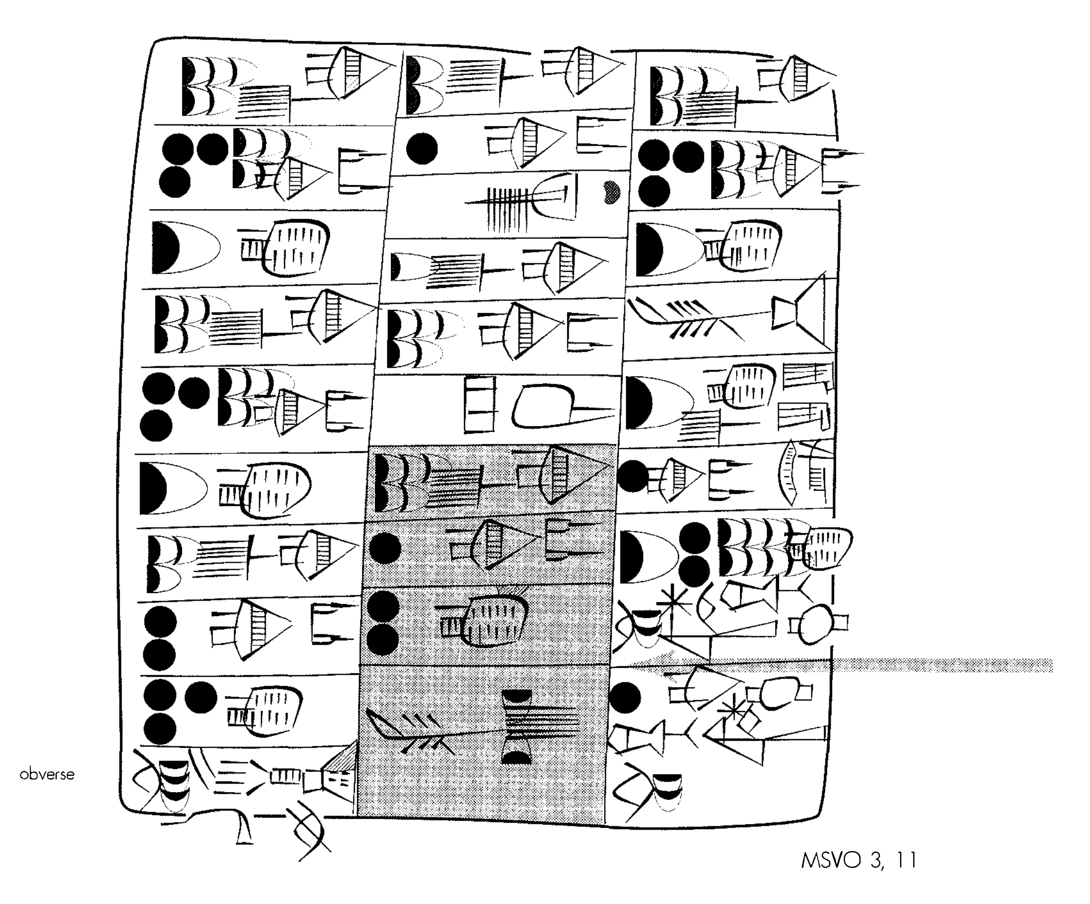
443 Note the deviation from the norm of GAR = $^1/_{30}$ N_1.

444 See above, n. 442.

445 Cereal grains found inside pots at Jemdet Nasr were discussed by H. Field, "Ancient Wheat and Barley from Kish, Mesopotamia," American Anthropologist 34 (1932) 303-309.

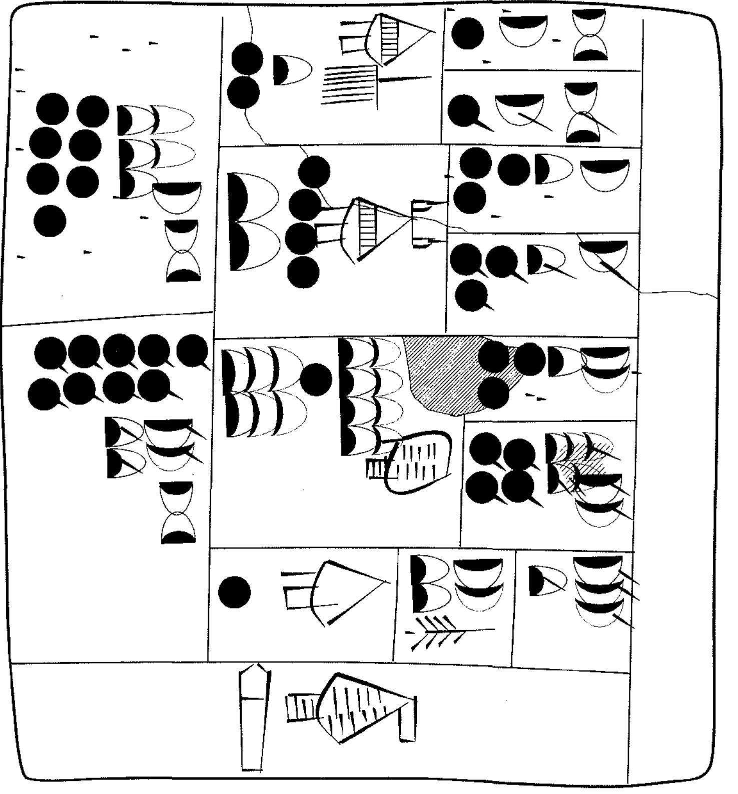
446 See the detailed treatment of this text in my "Grain Accounting Practices in Archaic Mesopotamia," in: J. Høyrup and P. Damerow (eds.), Changing Views on Ancient Near Eastern Mathematics (Berlin, forthcoming).

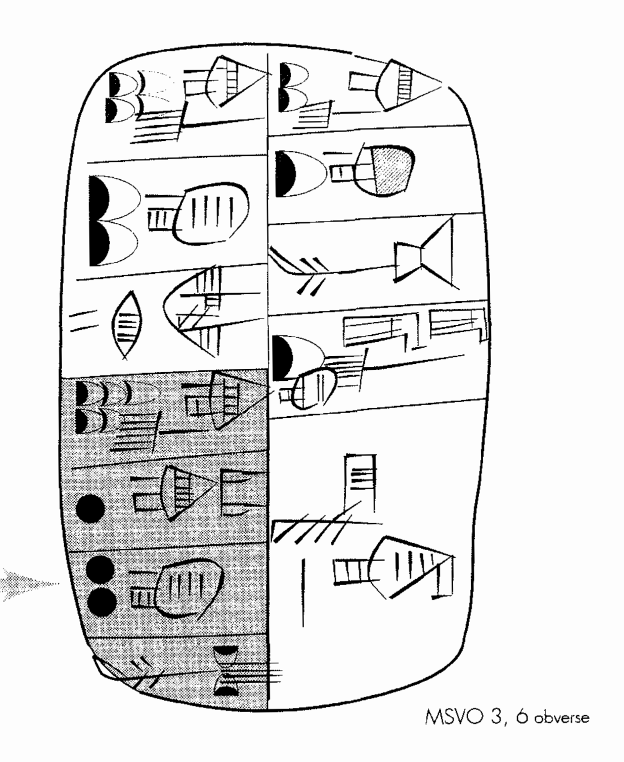
obverse



MSVO 3, 11

reverse





entries concerning the same beer distribution to the same office called.

Figure 76: MSVO 3, 11 and 6

The large account on page 194 represents the consolidation of at least five texts, one of which is depicted above (note particularly the oblique stroke etched at the base of the sign GI [ ] in the former text, missing in the latter; it presumably indicated that the respective entry had been checked for accuracy). The counted measures of beer (jugs, probably of various sizes and/or representing beer sorts of different strengths) recorded on the obverse of MSVO 3, 11, were in the reverse of the account totaled and qualified with the amount of the grain products 'barley groats' and 'malt' required for their brewing. The entire account was signed by the responsible office "KU ŠIM".

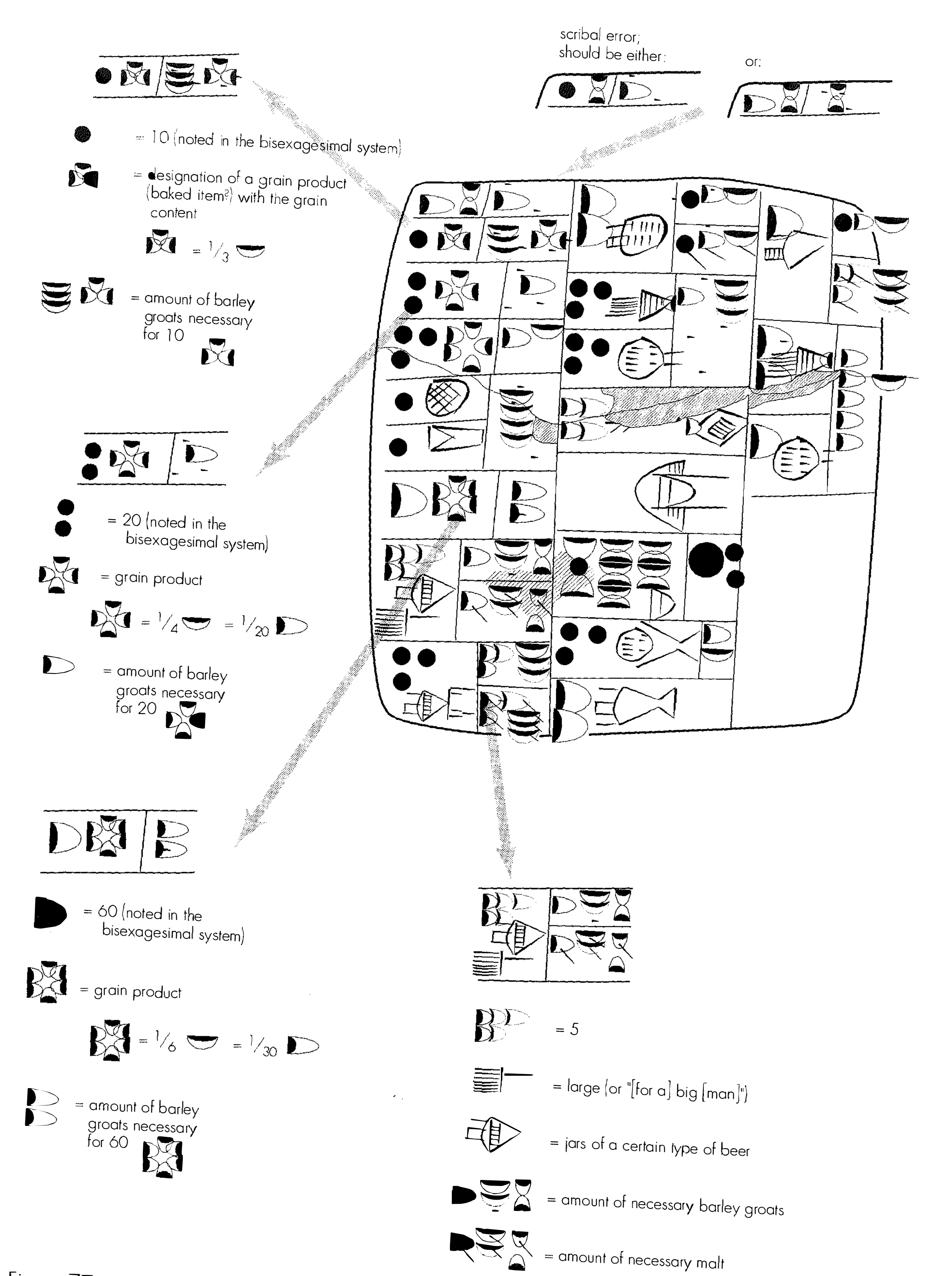


Figure 77: MSVO 3, 2
The text seems to have served as a school exercixe in administrative bookkeeping.

The obverse face of the tablet contains three discrete sections. The first presents a number of grain products together with the amount of grain necessary for their production, clearly parallel to the format seen in figures 75 and 77 above. These objects are quantified using the bisexagesimal system for dry grain products and the sexagesimal for jugs of beer, and the measures of grain needed are, as seen before, qualified with notations from the derived capacity systems designating groats and, in the case of beer, malt.[447] A double dividing line below the last grain notation in obv. ii 3 separates this section from a second section with entries recording non-cereal objects. These include animals and animal products (dried fish [SUḪUR, see above, section 6.3.1], sheep and goats [UDU$_a$, see above, section 6.3.2], containers of animal fats, textile goods) and dried fruits[448]. With the exception of the still poorly understood notation N_{52} from the derived bisexagesimal system B* in the case ii 6[449], all notations derive from the sexagesimal system. The final, ideographic section describes the function of the text. This notation seems to include a toponym NI$_a$+RU (possibly the archaic designation of Jemdet Nasr[450]), a time notation 2N_{57} SU$_a$ GIBIL[451] and a qualification of all the recorded products, GU$_7$, which may be translated "rations".[452]

447 The total of the amount of barley groats used in its brewing, recorded on the reverse of the tablet, allows us to confidently reconstruct the first of the two beer notations as 20 beer jugs (DUG$_a$ KAŠ$_a$), requiring (2N_1 N_{39} N_{24} [rev. ii 2b1] - 3N_{39} N_{24} [obv. ii 2b] =) N_1 3N_{39}, or 8 of the units N_{39}. This means that each jug of KAŠ$_a$ required $^2/_5$ N_{39} or perhaps just 1 $^1/_2$ - 2 liters of barley groats. The second beer qualified with the sign combination E$_{2a}$ DUB$_a$ required $^1/_3$ N_{39} of grain for each of 10 jugs. The same $^1/_3$ N_{39} is also attested as the grain quantity necessary for the production of a jug of beer in the text MSVO 4, 66 (fig. 75), with obv. ii 3: 5N_{34} KAŠ$_a$ / 3N_{20} 2N_5, i.e., 300 ÷ ((3   6 + 2)   5 =) 100N_{39} = 3 jugs per N_{39}. There seems to have been no fast rule concerning the inclusion of malt measures with entries of individual types of beer. See fig. 79 below.

448 The entries obv. iii 1-4 include object designations which form a particular set of goods best documented in a large group of Jemdet Nasr tablets sealed with the so-called City Seal (R.J. Matthews, MSVO 2, 34-38, and see above, fig. 27). Based primarily on the pictography and later use of the sign MA together with length measurements (see above, n. 116), it is plausibly equated with a string used to tie up and dry fruit, and in a transferred sense with the fruit itself.

449 Notations in this system might represent a type of fish product.

450 Note that 1) the sign combination is attested only in the Jemdet Nasr text corpus, yet in very large numbers (in fully 59 of 244 texts), 2) a characteristic entry sequence in the large city seal text group, PN / NI$_a$+RU / 3N_{57} MUŠ$_{3a}$ / UNUG$_a$ (perhaps "from PN of Jemdet Nasr, for the male(?; 3N_{57} ≈ KUR$_a$) Inanna in Uruk"), exhibits the pattern PN / GN$_1$ / DN / GN$_2$ known from other texts, and 3) the combination NI$_a$+RU is most often attested with AB$_a$, which may be the "strange building" of Jemdet Nasr (see above, section 2) as well as with SANGA$_a$, "bookkeeper". It cannot be excluded, however, that NI$_a$+RU itself refers to a SANGA$_a$ official at Jemdet Nasr.

451 In a position otherwise occupied by signs denoting years, nN_{57}+U$_4$. The double stroke 2N_{57} seems to lend numerical meaning to the entire combination, although it has been impossible to discover the numerical structure of the apparent system in the same fashion as was possible to delineate the archaic administrative time notations for year, month and day (above, section 6.2). We have in this system the numerical notations 1N_{57}, 2N_{57}, 3N_{57}, 4N_{57}, in MSVO 1, 94, 6N_1 and 1N_{14} 2N_1, and in MSVO 1, 90, the complex notation 3N_{57}+U$_4$ SU$_a$ 6N_1 GIBIL (cp. my remarks in J. Høyrup and P. Damerow (eds.), Changing Views on Ancient Near Eastern Mathematics [Berlin, forthcoming]).

452 See above, n. 380

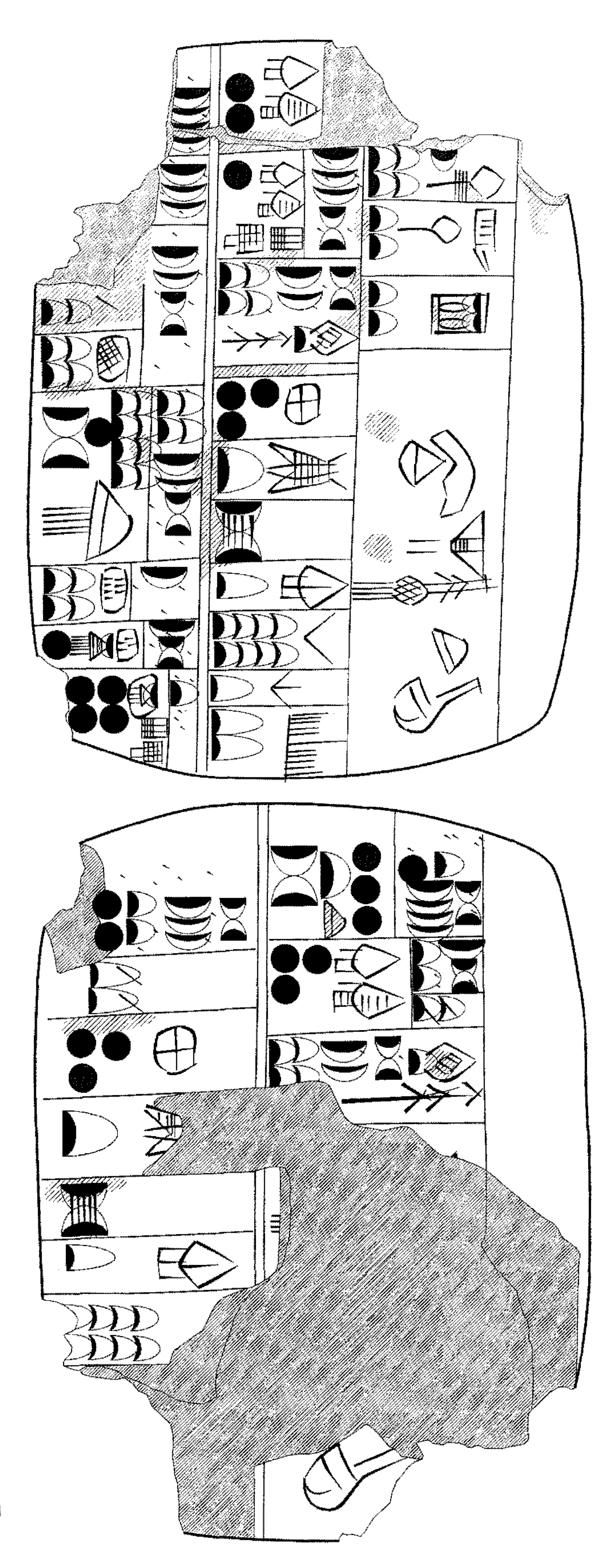
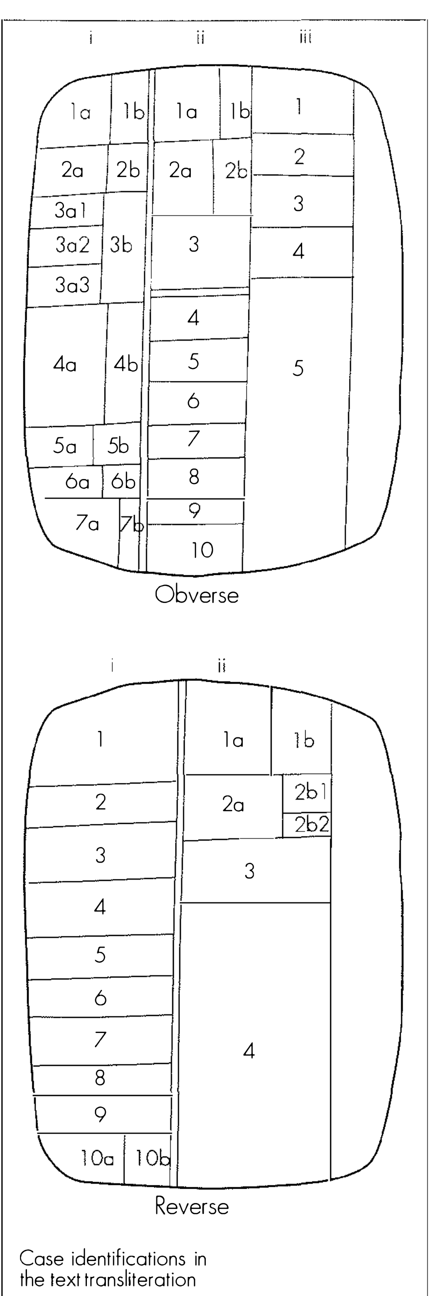
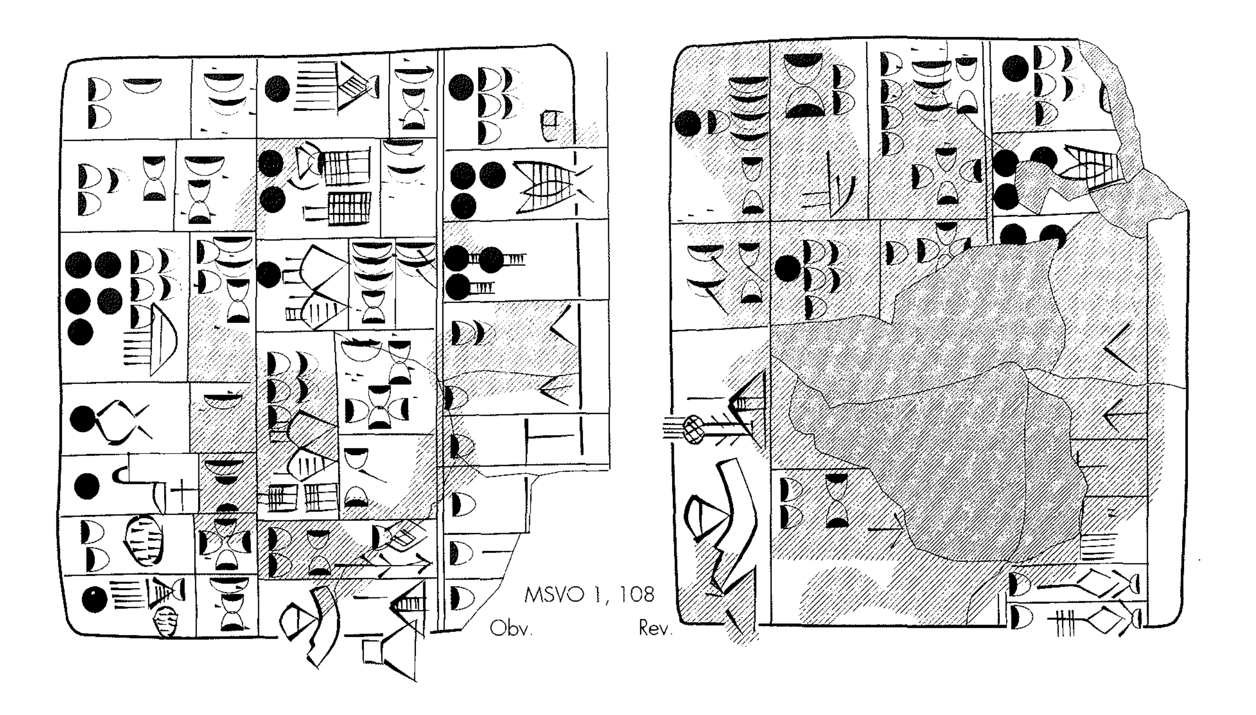


Figure 78: MSVO 1, 93
The account seen here can be reconstructed with a high measure of certainty due to its relatively good state of preservation and to the straightforward numerical notations of its entries. Only the entry rev. i 10 (N_{14} $2N_1$ N_8; MA) is not justified by parallel accounts.



Case identifications in the text transliteration



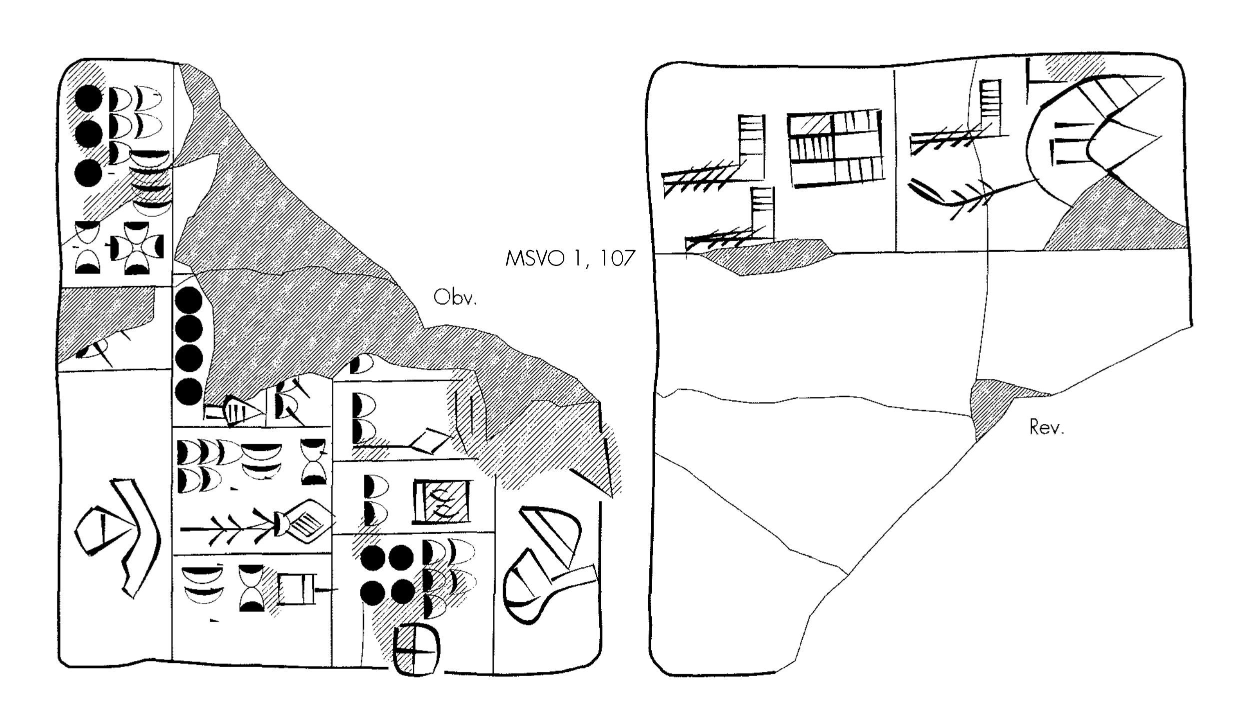
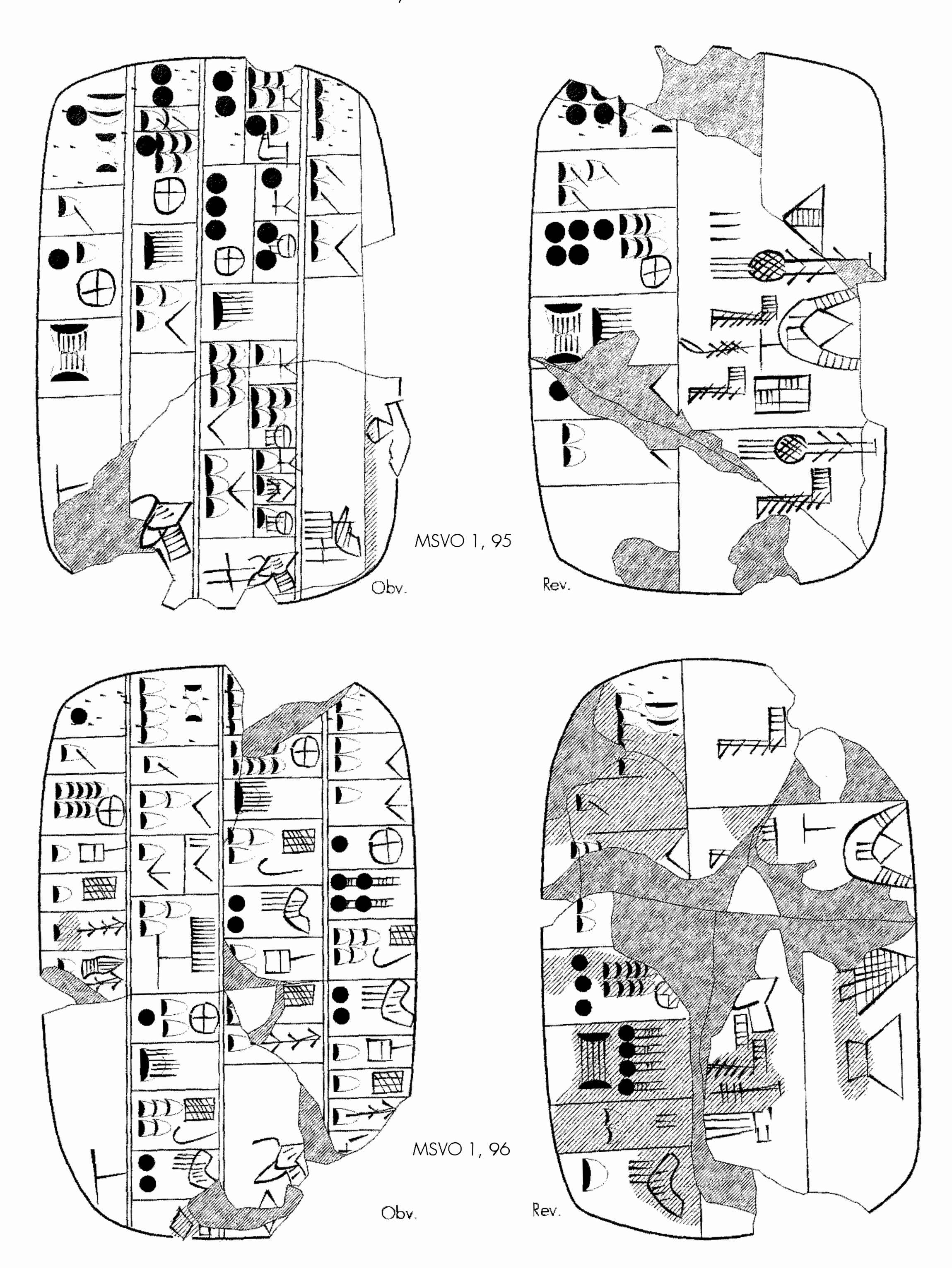


Figure 79: Complex grain accounts from Jemdet Nasr
The two texts MSVO 1, 107 and 108, contain accounts from the same level of bookkeeping as MSVO 1, 93, discussed above. The two accounts on page 201 represent a level of consolidation of such texts as MSVO 1, 93 and 107-108; each column of those accounts consisted of a series of entries drawn from the summations of individual accounts now lost. The goods recorded were presumably delivered to central authorities by the individuals named in the respective columns.


MSVO 1, 95
Obv.
Rev.
MSVO 1, 96
Obv.
Rev.

The grain calculations in MSVO 1, 93:

obv. i	1	[4]	1		= 4		
	2	6	$^1/_2$	( )	= 3		
	3	8	$^1/_5$	(/)	≈ $1^1/_2$		
	4	138	$^1/_6$	( )	= 23	≈ 4	$2^1/_2$
	5	4	$^1/_4$		= 1		
	6	10	$^1/_6$		≈ $1^1/_2$		
	7	40	$^1/_8$		= 5	= 1	

MSVO 1, 93, is one of a number of examples of rationing texts from Jemdet Nasr which exhibit parallel formats and contents. The best currently known parallel text, MSVO 1, 108 (figure 79, page 200 top), records in its first section numbers of dry grain products together with the barley groats necessary for their production, followed by a second recording quantities of beer together with both measures of groats and malt. The third column of the obverse contains a section of non-grain products in the same sequence as that recorded in MSVO 1, 93. The reverse face of MSVO 1, 108, also closely parallels that of no. 93 in both summations and subscript.

The text MSVO 1, 107 (figure 79, page 200 bottom) represents a shortened form of the two accounts MSVO 1, 93 and 108, merely recording the totals of a separate ledger.[453] The text includes all the elements of full accounts, i.e., notations representing barley groats (and malt) used in the production of dry and liquid grain rations (first column), notations representing a total both of numbers of dry grain rations (GAR) and of jars of beer together with their respective grain (and malt) equivalents (second column) and notations representing non-grain products, including both small cattle and dried fruits.

The two Jemdet Nasr accounts MSVO 1, 95-96 (figure 79, page 201), represent the highest level of grain accounting known to us from that site. Each column of the obverse of these texts contains a consolidated account of the type discussed above, cleansed of all details. The first entries in each column represent relatively large measures of milled grain (and malt) used in the production of dry grain products and beer[454] – neither of which is mentioned at this level of accounting – and are followed by entries concerned with the same types of non-grain goods, including sheep and goats, fishery products (?; system B*) and with products from the textile manufactories.[455] The apparent delivering agents (?) of the goods listed are high officials of the central administration of Jemdet Nasr.[456]

These accounts offer a wealth of information concerning the processing of grain and the constitution of beer, bread and other cereal products – as is obvious from a perusal of

[453] Few examples of individual receipts or journals which were copied into larger accounts (see above, fig. 76) have been identified, although the accounts can scarcely be explained otherwise.

[454] We can assume that only those columns which include a notation representing a measure of malt (in MSVO 1, 95, cols. i, ii and iv; in 96, cols. i and ii) derived from accounts including beer processing.

[455] Including, however, a number of undeciphered ideograms, among them in MSVO 1, 96 obv. i 4: MAR, i 5: KID$_b$, i 6: MU and ii 9: KU$_3$*gunû*.

[456] See below, with figs. 83 and 87.

DRY CEREAL PRODUCTS AND RATIONS: GENERAL DESIGNATIONS

GAR GAR$gunû_a$ 3-6N_{57}+GAR

DRY CEREAL PRODUCTS AND RATIONS: NUMERICAL SIGNS IN IDEOGRAPHIC USE

$N_{39a/b}$ N_{24} N_{26} N_{28} N_{29a} N_{29b} N_{30a} N_{30c} N_{30d} N_{31} N_{32} N_{33}

DRY CEREAL PRODUCTS AND RATIONS: COMBINATIONS OF NUMERICAL SIGNS AND IDEOGRAMS

$KUR_{a/b}$ $NINDA_2$ $NINDA_2$ +1N_1 $NINDA_2$ +2N_1 $NINDA_2$ +1N_8 $NINDA_2$ +ZATU659+1N_1 ZATU659 ZATU659 +1N_1 ZATU659 +1N_{14}

DRY CEREAL PRODUCTS AND RATIONS: IDEOGRAMS

GUG_{2a} GUG_{2a} +$SILA_{3a}$ $SILA_{3b}$ +GUG_{2a} SIG_{2a1} SIG_{2a2} SIG_{2a3} SIG_{2a4} DU_{6b} DU_{6c} DU_{8c} DU_{8c} gunû $LAGAB_a$ +$ŠITA_{a1}$ $LAGAB_a$ +ŠA

ŠA ŠA +Ḫl$gunû_a$ ŠA +Ḫl$gunû_b$ ŠAgunû U_4 2N_{58} $ZATU726_c$ $ZATU726_d$ ZATU727 ZATU681 ZATU625

LIQUID PRODUCTS CONTAINING CEREALS: BEERS

Uruk IV: Uruk III: DUG_a Uruk IV: Uruk III: $KAŠ_a$ DUG_a $KAŠ_a$ DUG_a +U_{2a} DUG +$AŠ_a$ GAL_a $ŠEN_b$ $ŠEN_b$ TUR $ŠEN_c$tenû ZATU710

SEMI-LIQUID PRODUCTS CONTAINING CEREALS: DAIRY FATS (?)

Uruk IV: Uruk III: $KAŠ_b$ Uruk IV: Uruk III: $KAŠ_c$

Figure 80: Designations of cereal products and rations in the archaic texts

figure 80 – which fed the archaic communities of Mesopotamia. More importantly, the accounts formed part of a complex system of victualing both at the high, and of course at the lower level of organization. Some, as J. Friberg has suggested, might also reflect a specific aspect of the temple household organization known from the later third millennium in which provisions, known as $sa_2.du_{11}$ rations, for deities or revered elites were registered. These included, in a striking parallel, bread and beer, sheep, fish, dairy products and fruits, often in this order.

6.3.5. Fields

Of course the grain registered in the majority of archaic accounts represented the yield of difficult work in the fields (proto-cuneiform sign GAN_2, [457]) surrounding documented settlements. Few texts combine notations both from the grain capacity and from the area measures systems,[458] thus probably implying that seed or harvest grain from fields was being recorded. One of the best known examples of this combination is found in the Uruk III period account W 19726,a in figure 81. The 'obverse' face of this tablet[459] preserves one numerical notation representing, in later Sumerian tradition, 40 bur_3, or about 640 acres.[460] To the left of this notation are two damaged signs, one of which is certainly the pictogram GAN_2. The 'reverse' contains a grain notation, indeed one which represents far and away the largest capacity measure in the archaic text corpus, corresponding to ca. 550 tons of emmer.[461]

[457] The sign presumably represents irrigated fields defined on a long axis by two parallel canals, with feeder canals running between them; compare the hypothetical plots calculated in the text MSVO 1, 2, presented in fig. 83. An unusually involved numerical sign system was used in the archaic period to qualify the size of fields, for which see the table in fig. 41 above. In no instance has it been possible to isolate an occurrence of an area measurement which could be interpreted to be a qualification of a city lot. We might expect such a notation to consist of a small fraction of an iku, represented in archaic texts with the sign N_1. However, the only likely candidate for such a division is the sign N_8 found in several texts from Jemdet Nasr and probably representing $^1/_{10}$ N_1 (see here fig. 83 and my remarks in N.A.B.U. 1995:38); these all refer to divisions of a field. The ideogram SAR_a as precursor of the later sign šar, representing 1 $ninda^2$ or $^1/_{100}$ iku, seems in all notations of surface measures to qualify, if anything, the type of produce grown on fields concerned, and in no case can discretely counted SAR_a be confidently interpreted to represent surface measures and thus measures of gardens or vacant or developed lots, as was the case in later periods.

[458] See above, fig. 41, for factor diagrams representing these systems.

[459] As is the case with many such text fragments, it is difficult to recognize a difference between obverse and reverse. Assuming that W 19726,a represents a harvest account led necessarily to the recording first of field measures and including on the reverse the grain measures representing the harvest.

[460] The sexagesimal and the field measurement systems were the two most conservative numerical systems in third millennium Mesopotamia, and were presumably linked by a system of lengths which, though not evident, is certainly implicit in the archaic texts, in particular in the calculation of field areas. In order to establish the size of a field surface, two different standards were employed, the linear measure based on a metrological unit approximately equivalent to 6 meters (later Sumerian 'ninda'), and the surface measure 'garden' (plot; Sumerian 'šar'), the equivalent of one square ninda. Although units of length were sexagesimally based, field measurements followed an irregular system probably derived from traditional methods of sowing and harvest.

[461] The notation in fact represents an amount five times as large as the next largest measure, that recorded in W 17729,au (unpubl.). Note that assuming our interpretation of this text is correct (see ATU 2, 140), the

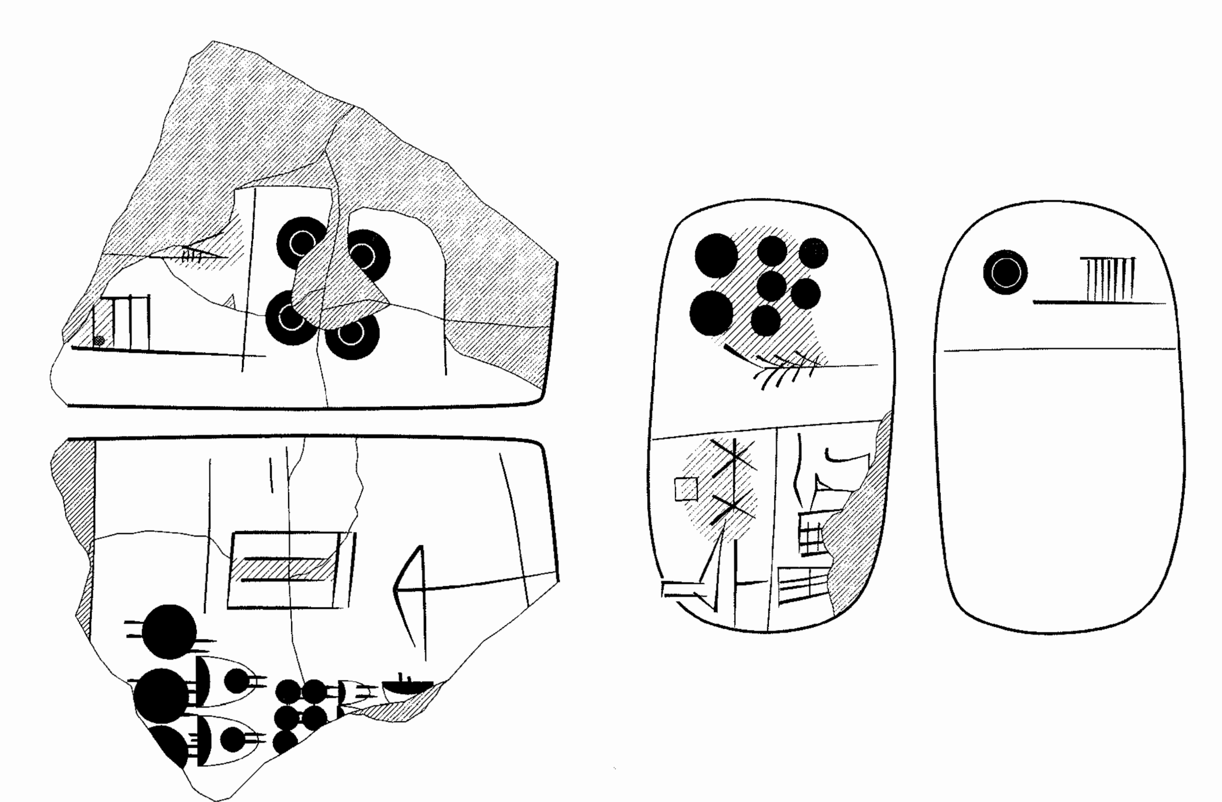


Figure 81: W 19726,a
According to yields known from later texts, the harvest from the field surface recorded in the preserved notation on the obverse of this account (4 bur'u, ca. 640 acres) would be about 220 tons of grain. The preserved part of the notation on the reverse corresponds to an amount of about 550 tons of emmer.

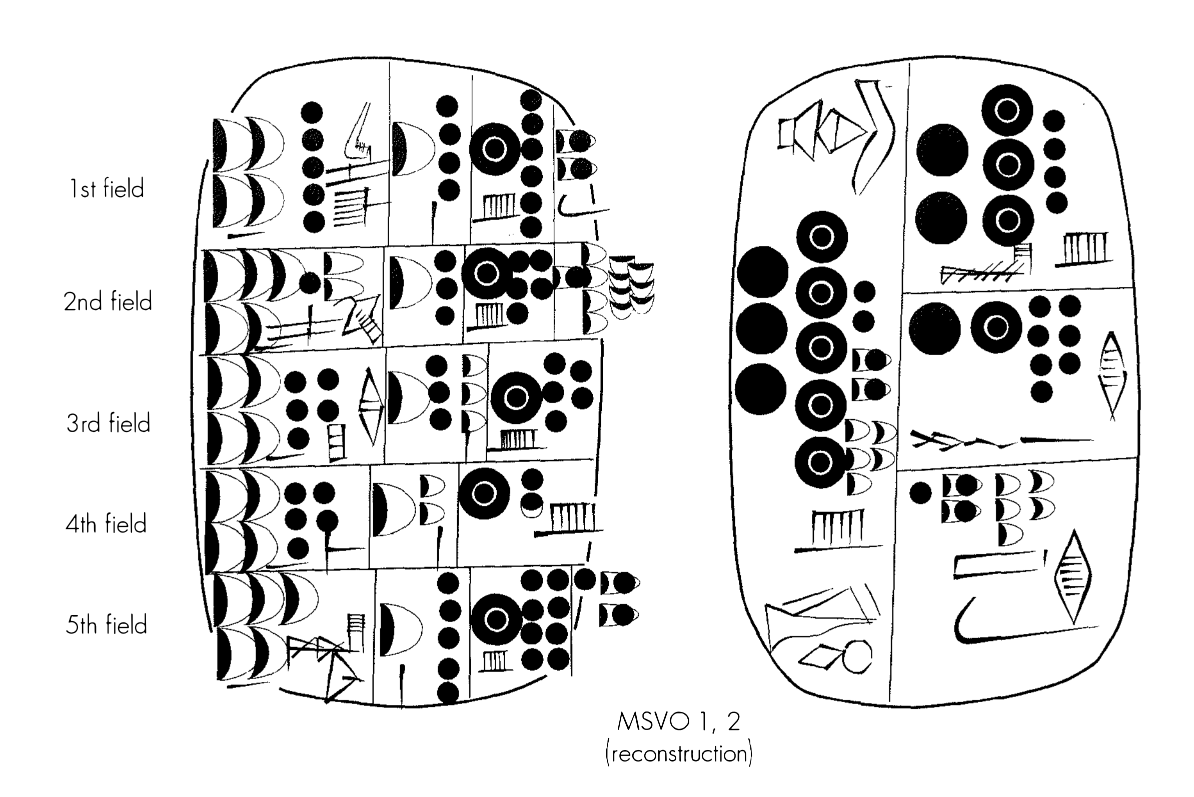
Figure 82: MSVO 1, 10
This is the only archaic text which implies a standard relation between field and grain measures of $15N_1$, or, according to our calculations, ca. 360 l per bùr. This would be in rough accordance with seed and feed rates per bùr known from later 3rd millennium texts.

Based on the Ur III normed yield of 30 gur (9000 liters) per bur$_3$, this amount of grain would correspond to somewhat more than twice as much as would be expected from the field recorded on the obverse of the account, suggesting that that notation was one of two or more which registered grain fields surrounding Uruk.

A second, complete account, presumably but not certainly from Jemdet Nasr (figure 82), seems to bear evidence of an archaic norm for sowing grain. There, the grain notation on one face of the tablet stands in a relation to an area measure on its reverse face of $15N_1$ grain per N_{14} (bur$_3$).[462] Using our hypothetical absolute values of GAR = N_{30a} ≈ $^4/_5$ liter,

sign N_{46} would have served in the derived capacity system S" to represent both a measure 10 as large as that represented by N_{19}, and a measure 1800 as large (see above, fig. 41). Not only would the connection with field measures on the obverse of the account speak for this interpretation, but the use of N_{46} to represent a multiple of N_{49} would find a good analogy in the use of N_{48} to represent a multiple of N_{34} in the basic grain system, both based on the sequence $N_{45} > N_{48} > N_{34}$ in the sexagesimal system (the sexagesimal system served to record larger grain measures in later grain capacity systems as well). It may be noted that this large measure of emmer wheat would provide over a million rations of the size distributed in the archaic period to dependent laborers (ca. $^4/_5$ liter); that would correspond to yearly rations for 3000 workers.

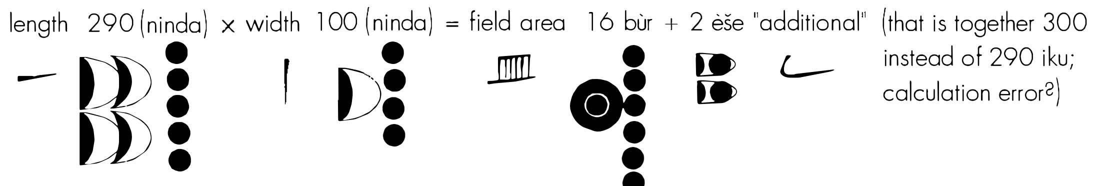
462 The area of 1 'bur'u' (◉ = 10 bur$_3$) on the reverse corresponding to an amount of 25 • of grain on the obverse. Relative to the area, this would equal 25 ▭ (GAR units') per iku.



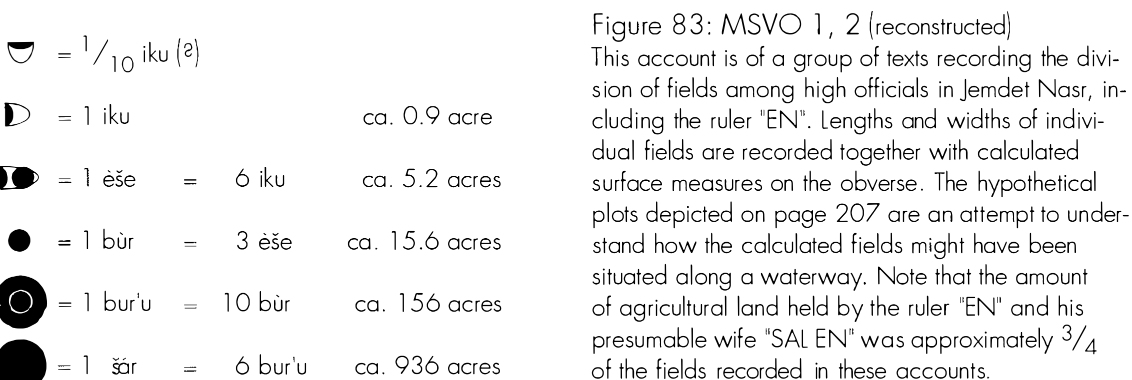
MSVO 1, 2
(reconstruction)

Calculation of the first field:

length 290 (ninda) × width 100 (ninda) = field area 16 bùr + 2 èše "additional" (that is together 300 instead of 290 iku; calculation error?)



length measures:



= 1 ninda (ca. 6 m)

= 60 ninda

= 10 ninda

surface measures:

= $^1/_{10}$ iku (?)

= 1 iku ca. 0.9 acre

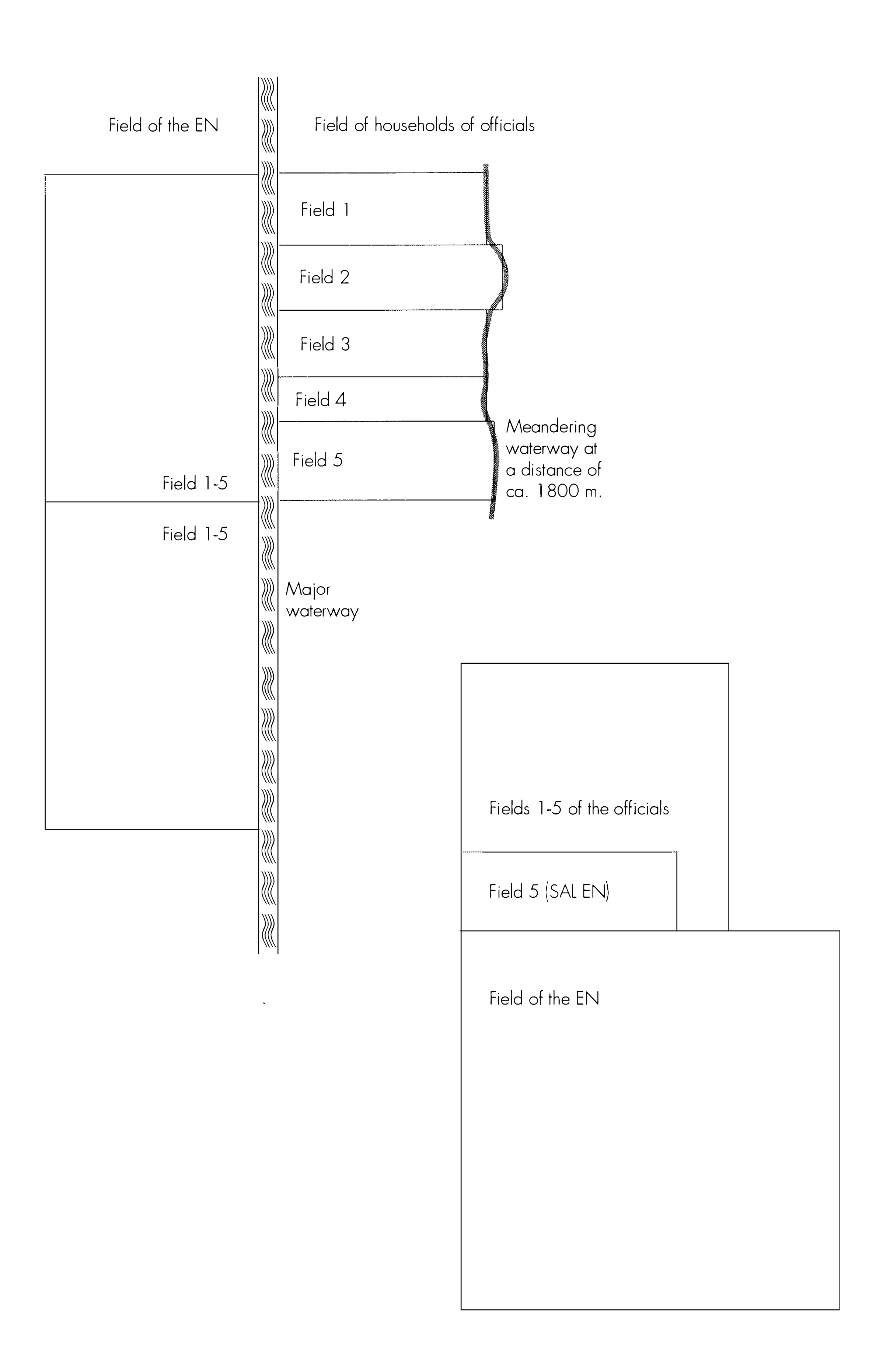
= 1 èše = 6 iku ca. 5.2 acres

= 1 bùr = 3 èše ca. 15.6 acres

= 1 bur'u = 10 bùr ca. 156 acres

= 1 šár = 6 bur'u ca. 936 acres

Figure 83: MSVO 1, 2 (reconstructed)
This account is of a group of texts recording the division of fields among high officials in Jemdet Nasr, including the ruler "EN". Lengths and widths of individual fields are recorded together with calculated surface measures on the obverse. The hypothetical plots depicted on page 207 are an attempt to understand how the calculated fields might have been situated along a waterway. Note that the amount of agricultural land held by the ruler "EN" and his presumable wife "SAL EN" was approximately $^3/_4$ of the fields recorded in these accounts.



Field of the EN
Field of households of officials
Field 1
Field 2
Field 3
Field 4
Field 5
Meandering waterway at a distance of ca. 1800 m.
Field 1-5
Field 1-5
Major waterway
Fields 1-5 of the officials
Field 5 (SAL EN)
Field of the EN

15N_1 would represent 360 liters of grain, an amount which would be fully in line with the amount of grain expended in sowing a plot of 1 bur$_3$ in the Ur III period, reckoning either with 360 sila$_3$ seed + 180 sila$_3$ fodder for the draft oxen for a total of 540, or with 240 + 120 for a total of 360 sila$_3$.[463]

How field areas were calculated in the archaic period is clear, at least on the surface, based on a series of texts from Jemdet Nasr.[464]

The best-preserved of these tablets, MSVO 1,2 (figure 83),[465] contains entries relating to length measurements and the areas of five fields (one in each of the five horizontal columns, or lines, on the obverse of the tablet). The first two sub-cases of each line record the linear measurements of a field assigned a high official in Jemdet Nasr, named in the first sub-case.[466] Qualified by the horizontal stroke N_{57}, the first numerical notation, a sexagesimal notation qualifying units of linear measurement equal to later 'ninda', represents the length of the fields and so corresponds to later Sumerian us$_2$, 'side'. The second sexagesimal notation is qualified by the vertical stroke N_{58}, representing the width of the fields and so corresponding to later Sumerian sag, 'head'.[467] The exact method according to which the ancient surveyors derived the fields' area from these two linear measures is not known; for us the multiplication is straightforward, 290 (ninda) 100 (ninda) = 29,000 (šar) = 290 (iku), and finally 16 bur$_3$ 2 iku. In this and other field texts, a large section of the calculated field was entered in the third sub-case and qualified as GAN$_2$, that is, irrigated and arable land, and often a small remainder appended in a fourth sub-case and qualified with the sign BAR. This small parcel is presumably border land, possibly wooded to protect the fields against wind erosion or simply planted with producing date palms or some other trees or shrubs.[468]

All GAN$_2$ measures are added to a total of arable land denoted KI$_a$ BU$_a$, probably the same as land called ki gid(a)$_2$, 'measured land', in later third millennium texts. The notation representing this total is entered in the second case of the first column on the reverse of the

[463] This would then tend to support those absolute values, with the warning that the grain is not qualified as seed grain and that such 'nice numbers' can derive from artificial calculations.

[464] MSVO 1, 2-6.

[465] The text was first understood and edited by F.-M. Allotte de la Fuÿe, RA 27 (1930) 65-71, and has since been the object of regular interest. See A.A. Vajman, Peredneaziatskij sbornik 1966, 13-15 (German translation in BaM 21 [1990] 101-103); P. Steinkeller, Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte 1987, 13; Archaic Bookkeeping, 55-57; and most recently, J. Friberg, AfO (forthcoming).

[466] The persons designated GAL$_a$ ŠAB$_a$, PA$_a$ GIR$_3$*gunû*$_b$, NAM$_2$ DI, ME$_a$, and EN$_c$ SAL were presumably officials ranking immediately below the city ruler in status. Of these five officials, two – NAM$_2$ DI and GAL$_a$ ŠAB$_a$ – are attested in lines 3 and 25 respectively of the list Lu$_2$ A, and at least three are well attested as persons of high status who delivered grain products, animals and other goods to central authorities in Jemdet Nasr, as was recorded in accounts such as MSVO 1, 95-96, in fig. 79 above.

[467] These were almost certainly averages of opposing sides, since the resulting area measures are in three of the five cases split into apparently arable fields and 'GIŠ KI$_a$ BAR', 'wooded border?', that is, areas outside the measured and exploited surface. This irregularity of the fields was generally the case in field calculations in third millennium Mesopotamia and is clearly attested already in the Uruk IV period; see for one example below, fig. 85.

[468] The small parcels added together on the reverse of the tablet were qualified GIŠ KI$_a$ BAR (see preceding n.). The collated copy of the first BAR area of MSVO 1, 2, shows 2 eše$_3$ ( ) instead of the expected 2 iku ( ).

tablet above the total of BAR land. The first case of this column contains exactly twice the total of the 'measured land' of the five officials calculated on the obverse, and is qualified GAN_2 EN_a , 'arable land of/for the EN'.
The EN is in all likelihood the chief administrator of the large building excavated in the 1920s in Jemdet Nasr (see above, section 2) and represented by the sign AB_a. Indeed, the sign combination AB_a NI_a+RU which qualifies the grand total of land divided among the EN and his high officials – apparently including his own wife (EN_c SAL, who was assigned the largest plot of those recorded on the account's obverse[469]) – can be reasonably interpreted to mean 'household of NIRU', whereby NIRU might represent Jemdet Nasr itself.[470] Based on the hypothetical yield of 30:1 and a seeding rate of $15N_1$ per bur_3 (see above, figure 82), the parcels of the high officials registered in this account would, on average, support a working household of ca. 500[471] dependents, and thus that of the EN a household of 2500. Of course, the variables in such calculations, for example, the likelihood that livestock, trade and elite luxuries will have commanded a large portion of such harvests, warn us to be cautious.
Only one fragment from Uruk offers evidence of the same type of field accounts in the much larger urban center of the Late Uruk period (figure 84). Nonetheless, other texts prove the existence of comparably large agricultural households, and the greater antiquity of field surveying there. The oldest evidence known of the calculation of field areas is found in a group of texts from the Uruk IV period, of which W 19408,76 (figure 85), unearthed by P. Damerow in the Uruk collection of the German Archaeological Institute in Heidelberg, is certainly the most important. The fragmented Uruk IV period tablet contains only numerical signs and the ideograms we have seen above denoting the length and width of measured fields. Both obverse and reverse contain notations representing imaginary fields whose opposing sides averaged 1200 and 900 ninda in length, respectively. The multiplication of these average lengths results in the highly regular and unrealistically large field of 10 $šar_2$, or 600 bur_3 (the largest otherwise attested field notation is of a little more than 334 bur_3; see below, figure 87). Since, moreover, no further ideograms qualify the purpose of this account, it is certain that the text represents another school exercise,[472] the oldest accounting exercise known to us, containing "difficult" exercises on surface calculation.
Another field account from Uruk (figure 86) bears some resemblance to the texts MSVO 1, 2-6 discussed above. Parcels ranging from 45 down to just 8 bur_3 are registered in the middle and right columns of this text, together with ideographic notations which probably represent officials whom the parcels were assigned. These parcels are totaled in the first case of the left column – of the reconstructed total of 150 bur_3, 141 are at least partially

469 Note that taken together the plots of the EN and his wife accounted for approximately $^3/_4$ of all arable land registered in MSVO 1, 2.
470 See above, n. 450. I can offer no explanation for the final sign combination at the bottom of this left column.
471 As a very rough basis for estimation: 15 (bur_3) × $15N_1$ (seed/bur_3) × 30 (:1 yield) × 30(GAR/N_1) ÷ 360(days per year) = 562.5.
472 See above, section 5 to 'Learning bookkeeping', and figs. 75 and 77.

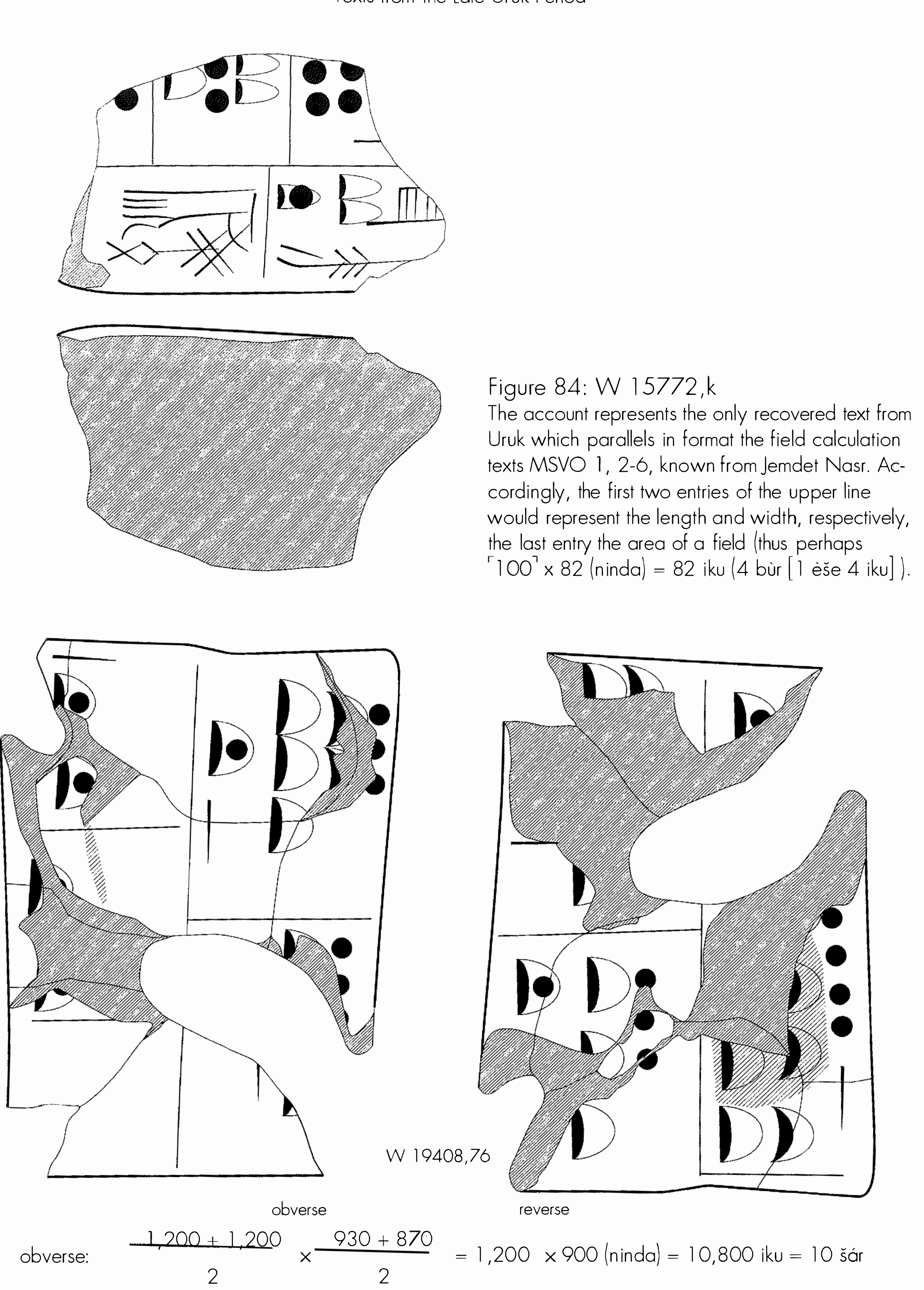


Figure 84: W 15772,k
The account represents the only recovered text from Uruk which parallels in format the field calculation texts MSVO 1, 2-6, known from Jemdet Nasr. Accordingly, the first two entries of the upper line would represent the length and width, respectively, the last entry the area of a field (thus perhaps ⌜100⌝ x 82 (ninda) = 82 iku (4 bùr [1 èše 4 iku]).

obverse: $\frac{1,200 + 1,200}{2} \times \frac{930 + 870}{2}$ = 1,200 x 900 (ninda) = 10,800 iku = 10 šár

reverse: $\frac{990 + 1,410}{2} \times \frac{1,280 + 520}{2}$ = 1,200 x 900 (ninda) = 10,800 iku = 10 šár

Figure 85: W 19408,76
The text depicted above represents the earliest known accounting school text. The unrealistic practice exercises on both faces of the tablet, based on slight variations of a multiplication of 1200 x 900 ninda, result in an implicit field area of approximately 39 km^2, or about 11,500 acres. P. Damerow was the first to recognize the importance of this text.

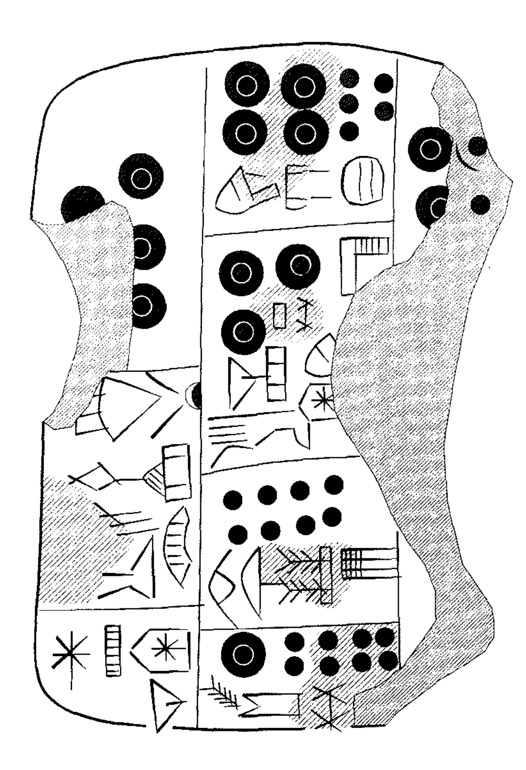


Figure 86: W 20551,1
The 150 bùr, or ca. 2340 acres recorded in this account (its reverse face is uninscribed) represent one of the larger such parcels found in the archaic texts from Uruk. Assuming the text documents agricultural land in production, the fields would produce enough barley to sustain a household of ca. 5000 individuals. The poorly preserved texts W 17729,a+ and ,be (both unpublished) contained notations representing substantially larger fields.

preserved in the individually registered parcels – and qualified in two following cases with ideographic notations. The sign combination SILA$_{3a}$+DUG$_{a}$ in the second case has been cited as evidence that this text belongs to a group of stone documents registering the sale of agricultural land in the archaic period.[473]

The largest account of fields from Jemdet Nasr, depicted in figure 87, exhibits a unique format, but also records the activities of acquaintances met in other texts from that settlement. MSVO 1, 1, records on its reverse face a total of over 334 bur$_{3}$ of land qualified as LAGAB$_{a}$ GAN$_{2}$ BU$_{a}$ KI$_{a}$ NI$_{a}$+RU AB$_{a}$ APIN$_{a}$, 'total of measured arable land, (from) the plowing office of the household of NIRU'. This land is comprised of three types of parcels: those qualified as ŠE$_{a}$+ŠE$_{a}$ BA, as GURUŠ$_{a}$ SAL, and as GAN$_{2}$ KI$_{a}$ A, and in each of the first five cases of the obverse face the parcels so qualified are assigned to the same five officials, including the wife of the EN, as were fields in the account MSVO 1, 2 (figure 83). Unfortunately, all three field qualifications are peculiar to this text, but the other field accounts from Jemdet Nasr, and known farmland utilization practice from later periods, can help to make an informed judgment about the meaning of these notations. In the first place, the accounts MSVO 1, 2-6, register fields ranging from an average of 6 (MSVO 1, 3-4) to an average of 35 (MSVO 1, 5) bur$_{3}$ per official. This would accord rather well with the average of ca. 22 bur$_{3}$ per official of ŠE$_{a}$+ŠE$_{a}$ fields in MSVO 1, 1, and suggest that these parcels were really 'distributed as grain-growing plots' (ŠE$_{a}$+ŠE$_{a}$ BA). We might further imagine that groups of workmen were assigned to each plot and at the same time themselves given subsistence

473 I. J. Gelb, P. Steinkeller and R.M. Whiting, OIP 104 (1991) 28.

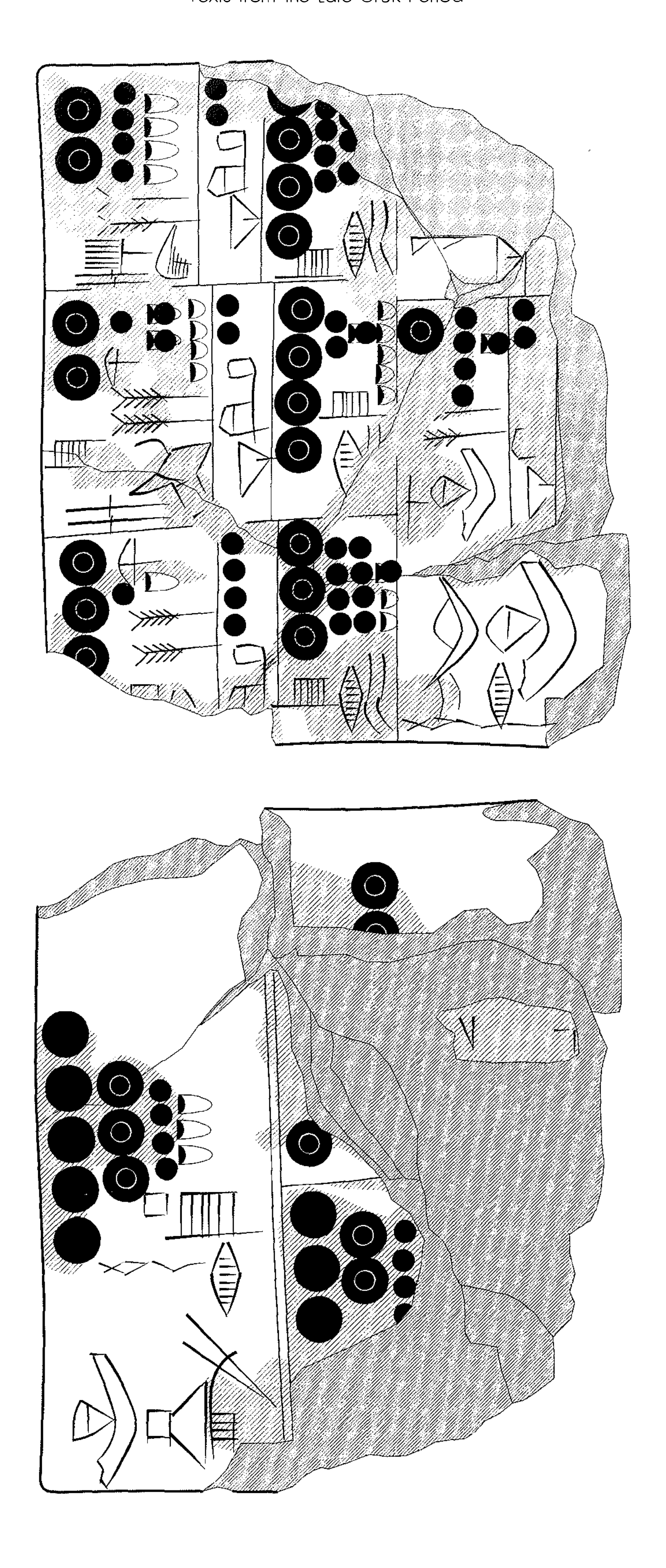


Figure 87: MSVO 1, 1
The total area of 5 $^{1}/_{2}$+ šár recorded on the reverse represents agricultural fields of more than 5200 acres.

fields, ranging from 2 b u r_3 (obv. i 1-2, ii 2) to 4 (obv. i 3) per team. Fields of this size could be expected to support a crew of, roughly estimated, between 20 and 100 persons, male and female (GURUŠ$_a$ SAL), presumably enough to manage the daily tending of the fields in grain. Finally, there is good evidence that farmers understood the need of rotating fallow and producing fields in later third millennium agriculture; this may be the meaning of the qualification GAN$_2$ KI$_a$ A, which literally translated according to later sign meanings would result in 'arable land, wetland'.[474]

7. Conclusions

Of the four best documented early indigenous writing systems, namely Babylonian cuneiform, Egyptian hieroglyphics, pictographic Chinese and Meso-American, cuneiform assumes perforce a dominant role in any discussion of the development of script. From the period of its explosive development toward the end of the 4th millennium B.C., cuneiform texts document a continuous record of transmission through more than three millennia.
A number of historical developments have been posited as causal, or at least in the aggregate extant, in periods immediately preceding the inception of writing. The first seems to be the development of an early state form, so far removed from tribal associations as to support a hierarchical division of labor and the amassing of those surpluses which can result in less dependence on farming for primary livelihood. The administration of the goods and services circulating in this system required involved methods of bookkeeping, including calculation aids and, ultimately, writing. Yet that this development is not a necessary precondition of writing can be demonstrated not only by reference to those cultures which have flourished without the aid of writing, but also with the uneven use of bookkeeping during the archaic period in mind. Whereas the level of communal activity and thus the best indicator of state strength in Uruk during the periods Uruk V-IVa was intensive, monumental building apparently came to an abrupt halt in the succeeding Uruk III / Jemdet Nasr period, precisely when administrative documentation became its most impressive, both in numbers of documents and in the quantities of goods and services recorded in the accounts. Assuming that we do have a roughly representative group of accounts from both periods, the size of economic activity reflected in Uruk III texts, in particular insofar as it concerns agricultural production, must have been on the order of ten times or more as large as that of the earlier period.
Indeed, nearly everything of substance which can be culled from the archaic texts, from canonicity and breadth of lexical compendia, to methods of timekeeping and complexity and fields of application of numerical sign systems, derives ultimately from the Uruk III period; whether these elements of writing were also in use during the Uruk IV period a hundred years earlier but not visible to us is a matter of speculation. At the same time, we can see that the very rapid development of all the basic tools inherent in proto-cuneiform concluded in the

[474] One might speculate that the sign A reflects water being drawn *off* the fields, that is, lands being drained to leach out salts.

Uruk IV period, and a text such as the artificial field calculation found in figure 85 above makes us wonder at the already playful use of the script, and makes us ask ourselves how much we are missing in the texts available to us, and in those that are not.

Available evidence can be interpreted in different ways, as certainly the debate between D. Schmandt-Besserat and her critics has shown. Based on what has been presented in this paper, the development of proto-cuneiform can be sketched in the following manner:

1. *Period of early tokens*
   Prior to ca. 3400 B.C., simply formed geometric clay counters were used in an *ad hoc* fashion to record simple deliveries of goods, primarily grain and animal products of local economies. Distinct transactions represented by an assemblage of counters were presumably contained in bags of leather or some other perishable material. These counters qualifying discrete objects (animals, humans, jars, etc.) probably represented traditional forms of tallying with one-to-one correspondence between counted object and counter; larger counters qualifying measures stood for larger containers and so only apparently represented a metrological structure.
2. *Period of clay envelopes*
   Ca. 3400-3300 B.C., geometric clay counters with some further ideographic differentiations, representing the derived numerical signs of the archaic period, were enclosed in clay envelopes, and these envelopes were covered with impressions from cylinder seals. Each clay envelope and its contents represented a discrete transaction concerning primarily grain and animal products of local economies. The outer surfaces of some envelopes were impressed with counters in a one-to-one correspondence to the enclosed pieces. There is insufficient evidence to determine whether with statistically relevant probability numerical systems with bundling steps had formed.
3. *Period of early numerical tablets*
   Ca. 3300-3250 B.C., flat and rounded clay tablets, sealed and unsealed, were impressed with counters or with styli cut and shaped to imitate counters, thus representing numerical notations. In some cases it is evident that a standardized numero-metrological structure with set bundling steps was not employed. The end of this phase saw the last direct contact between the north (Syria and northern Mesopotamia) and southern Babylonia.
4. *Period of late numerical tablets*
   Ca. 3250-3200 B.C., flat and rectangular-shaped, sealed clay tablets were impressed with styli to record numerical notations. A standardized numero-metrological structure with set bundling steps was employed. Numerical sign sequence and seals of officials attached to specific administrative units such as herding or grain storage signaled the type of numerical system used and thus the object(s) of the transaction.
5. *Period of numero-ideographic tablets*
   Ca. 3200 B.C., flat and rectangular-shaped, sealed clay tablets were impressed with styli to record numerical notations and one or at most two ideograms. All ideograms represented the objects of the transaction, including sheep and goats and products derived from them (textiles, dairy oils). Numerical sign sequence and seals of officials signaled the type of other numerical (metrological) systems used and thus the object(s) of

such transactions, including fields and grain. This phase saw the last direct contact between Persia and southern Babylonia.

6. *Period of early proto-cuneiform*
   Ca. 3200-3100 B.C. (Uruk IVa), flat and rectangular-shaped, as a rule unsealed clay tablets were impressed with styli to record numerical notations and a full array of pictograms. Pictograms represented the objects of the transaction, and pictograms in ideographic use the persons and offices, and the type of transaction involved. A ca. 900 picto-ideogram repertory and a developed means of reckoning employing five basic numerical sign systems were developed in the first years of this period; there was a coterminous development of lexical lists, of which only the professions list was canonized. Multivalency is likely but not demonstrable with available texts and knowledge of third millennium Babylonian languages. The early phase of this ideographic writing system is only attested at southern Babylonian Uruk.
7. *Period of developed proto-cuneiform*
   Ca. 3100-3000 B.C. (Uruk III), this period is characterized by the refinement and abstraction of early proto-cuneiform, with the addition of an involved system of timekeeping and a systematization both of complex accounts and of more than a dozen lexical lists dealing with all facets of archaic administration and including the first use of writing to record literature. Multivalency is likely but not demonstrable. Developed proto-cuneiform, serving the accounting needs of a complex administration including offices of the fisheries, of herded animals and animal products, of field management, grain production and processing, and of labor, is attested throughout Babylonia and is coterminous with a native system of writing in Persia called proto-Elamite.
8. *Period of late proto-cuneiform*
   Ca. 2800-2700 B.C. (Early Dynastic I), this period is characterized by the earliest apparently multivalent use of proto-cuneiform to write Sumerian words in personal names. The archaic numerical systems were used, but in simplified forms, and the lexical lists were copied and transmitted, but no new lists were added. Tablets were as a rule clumsily formed and inscribed.

8. List of figures

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Teil 2

Manfred Krebernik

Die Texte aus Fāra und Tell Abū Ṣalābīḫ

Manfred Krebernik

Die Texte aus Fāra und Tell Abū Ṣalābīḫ*

1. Einleitung

Fāra, das antike Šuruppak, ist aus archäologischer und philologischer Sicht eine der bedeutendsten Grabungsstätten Mesopotamiens. Für die Archäologie sind vor allem die in großer Zahl gefundenen Siegel(abrollungen) wichtig: Stilstufen der Perioden Frühdynastisch II-III[1] wurden nach dem Fundort als "Fāra-Stufe"[2] und "Style de Fara"[3] sowie nach der Legende eines der Siegel als "Imdugud-Sukurru-Stufe" bezeichnet[4]. Die größtenteils in die letztere Periode datierenden Textfunde gaben der "Fāra-Zeit" ihren Namen. Sie gehören zusammen mit den etwa zeitgenössischen aus Tell Abū Ṣalābīḫ (hinfort TAS) zu den wenigen großen Textkorpora aus der Frühzeit der Keilschriftkultur: es sind dies aus älteren Perioden die archaischen Texte aus Uruk, Ǧemdet Naṣr und Ur, aus der sich anschließenden präsargonischen Periode vor allem die Archive von Lagaš/Ĝirsu und Ebla[5]. All diese Textkorpora stellen wertvolle historische – insbesondere schrift-, sprach- und wirtschaftsgeschichtliche – Quellen dar, die Fāra- und TAS-Texte nehmen jedoch insofern einen besonderen Rang ein, als mit ihnen zum ersten Male in größerem Umfang literarische Texte in Erscheinung treten.
Im folgenden soll versucht werden, einen systematischen Überblick über die Grabungs- und Forschungsgeschichte, vor allem aber über die Texte selbst zu geben. Die ausführlichere

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1 Zur Glyptik dieser Zeit und ihrer Einteilung s. vor allem Nagel 1958 und 1964; Boehmer 1969; Karg 1984, 1993 und 1994.

2 Nagel 1958, 143; 159: zwischen "Mesilimzeit" und "Meskalamdug-Stufe".

3 Amiet ^{2}1980, 54-56, gebraucht diese Bezeichnung für den "Mesilim-Stil".

4 Moortgat 1940, 13ff. Abbildung der betreffenden Siegelabrollung z.B. MFara, 268 Nr. 441. Die moderne Lesung anstelle von "Imdugud-Sukurru" ist "Anzu-Sud" oder besser: ^{d}sud$_{3}$-anzu$_{2}$(AN.IM.MI)^{mušen}. Der Name ist in den Fāra-Texten häufig, s. Charvát 1986 und Pomponio 1987, 218f.

5 Kleinere präsargonische Archive wurden auch in Mari und – in jüngster Zeit – in Tell Baydar gefunden.

Behandlung einzelner Aspekte ist teils durch Unausgewogenheiten in der Publikations- und Forschungsgeschichte, teils durch die Interessen des Autors bedingt und soll zu detaillierten weiterführenden Untersuchungen anregen, diese aber nicht vorwegnehmen.

2. Lage

Fāra liegt ca. 45 km südöstlich von Nippur und ca. 50 km nordnordwestlich von Uruk, Tell Abū Ṣalābīḫ ca. 50 km südöstlich von Kiš und ca. 20 km nordwestlich von Nippur (s. Faltkarte 1). Kiš, Tell Abū Ṣalābīḫ, Nippur, Fāra und Uruk waren in frühdynastischer Zeit wahrscheinlich durch den Euphrat ziemlich geradlinig miteinander verbunden[6].

3. Fāra

3.1. Identifikation

Fāra[7] (s. Faltkarte 2) wurde aufgrund der Inschrift eines Ur III-zeitlichen Tonnagels[8], der während der D.O.G.-Grabung von 1902/3 "im westlichen Teil der Ruine" gefunden wurde, mit dem antiken Šuruppak identifiziert[9]:

1 da-da
2 $ensi_2$
3 $šuruppak^{ki}$
4 ḫa-la-ad-da
5 $ens[i]_2$
6 $šuruppak^{ki}$
7 $dumu\text{-}ne_2$
8 $ad\text{-}us_2$ KA_2.GAL
9 $^{d}sud_3\text{-}da\text{-}ke_4$
10 $bi_2\text{-}in\text{-}us_2$

Dada, Stadtfürst von Šuruppak – Ḫala'adda, der Stadtfürst von Šuruppak, sein Sohn, hat am Stadttor der Sud eine Stützmauer[10] angebracht.

F. Delitzsch und W. Andrae hatten Zweifel an der ursprünglichen Herkunft des Stückes aus Fāra geäußert und eine Verschleppung dorthin in Erwägung gezogen[11], da es wesentlich

6 Zusätzlich zu Faltkarte 1 vgl. Gibson 1972, Map 3; Adams 1981, Fig. 27; TAVO B II 7; Frayne 1992, insbesondere Map 1 (S. 5).

7 Der moderne Name ist mit dem arab. Wort für "Maus" identisch (hochsprachlich faʾra). Über seine Herkunft konnte ich nichts Näheres in Erfahrung bringen. Er wird in der Literatur ohne "Tell" gebraucht.

8 F.1035 = VA.6705.

9 Koldewey 1902-03, 13f.; Delitzsch, l.c., Anmerkung zu S. 14. Die dortige Kopie der Inschrift ist nebst Photographien auch in HFara, 4, wiedergegeben. Letzte Bearbeitung der Inschrift: FAOS 9/2, 342.

10 Zu $ad\text{-}us_2$ vgl. MEE 4, VE 1415: $ad\text{-}us_2$ = *a-ma-tum /ʿamādum/* "stützen".

11 Delitzsch apud Koldewey 1902-03, Anm. zu S. 14; HFara, 4f.

jünger als die anderen Textfunde sei. Der Fund weiterer Ur III-Texte während der Kampagne von 1931 zerstreute jedoch diese Bedenken. Für die Identifikation sprechen auch das häufige Vorkommen der Stadtgöttin Sud in den Texten (insbesondere im Onomastikon)[12] und die Existenz von ihr bzw. ihrem Tempel handelnder Dichtungen (s.u. S. 321; 325).

3.2. Schreibung, Name

Die gewöhnliche Schreibung des Ortsnamens Šuruppak ist SU.KUR.RU(^{ki}); die Zeichen werden frühdynastisch gewöhnlich in Ligatur geschrieben. Mit Gottes- statt Ortsdeterminativ steht dieselbe Schreibung für Sud (^{d}sud$_3$), die Stadtgöttin von Šuruppak, worauf wiederum seltenes AN.SU.KUR.RU^{ki} für den Ortsnamen beruht[13]. Ur III-zeitlich begegnet ^{d}SU.KUR.RU^{ki} für den Namen der Göttin[14].
Die Lesung Šuruppak stützt sich auf späte syllabische Schreibungen[15], die allerdings hinsichtlich des zweiten Vokals zwischen i und u schwanken:

šu-ri-ip-pak	Thompson, EG, Tf. 44, 11
šu-ri-[ip]-pak	KAV 183, 25 (geographische Liste)[16]
šu-u$_2$-ri-pak	Thompson, EG, Tf. 44, 11
šu-ru-ub-ba-ak	CT 16, 36, 7 (UDUG.ḪUL.A.MEŠ)[17]
šu-ru-pak	CT 11, 49, 33 (Diri)
šu-ru-up-pak	CT 11, 49, 33; CT 11, 50, Rm.905, 2' (Diri)
šu-ru-up-pa-ku-u$_2$	Thompson, EG, Tf. 44, 23

Der duch die letzte Schreibung bezeugte k-Auslaut beruht vielleicht auf Akkadisierung; in Ur III-zeitlichem Sumerisch wird das Logogramm mit -ga verlängert (Genitiv)[18]. Die Schreibung SU.KUR.RU dürfte sich – analog zu EN.LIL$_2$^{ki} für Nippur, IŠKUR^{ki} für Enegi/Karkara/Mur oder NISABA^{ki} für Ereš – primär auf den Namen der Göttin und erst sekundär auf den Namen "ihrer" Stadt beziehen. Das Zeichen SU ist wohl Lautindikator. Die Kombination KUR+RU kommt in den archaischen Texten aus Uruk vor[19], doch ist die Interpretation als "Šuruppak" unsicher (s.u. S. 241).
Eine ähnliche und deshalb auch mit SU.KUR.RU^{ki} verwechselte Zeichenkombination ist LAM.KUR.RU^{ki} für Aratta[20].

12 Kramer 1932, 116.
13 Š.954, i 3 (Steible – Yıldız 1993, 22).
14 BIN 3, 512: 7; TCL 2, 4682: 11; A.33632 i' 3' (nach Civil 1983a, 44).
15 Kramer 1932, 115f.
16 = MSL 11, 38, 25. Das Logogramm ist LAM KUR.RU^{ki}.
17 Sumerisch entspricht LAM KUR.RU^{ki}.
18 TRU 349: 4: ša$_3$ SU.KUR.RU^{ki}-ga.
19 ZATU 544.
20 Kramer 1932, 117f. Der früheste syllabische Beleg ist nun ARET 5, 20, xi 4 // 21, xii 3: a-ri$_2$-da // IAS 278, v 4: LAM.KUR.RU.

3.3. ŠURUPPAK UND SUD[21]

Unter den literarischen Texten aus Fāra ist eine Dichtung, in deren Mittelpunkt Sud steht, und an deren Schluß sie zusammen mit Enlil genannt wird[22]. Auf Šuruppak und Sud bezieht sich eine der frühdynastischen "za$_3$-me-Hymnen" aus Tell Abū Šalābīḫ[23]. Auch in einem literarischen Fragment aus TAS kommen Sud und Šuruppak zusammen vor[24]. Die sumerische Sintfluterzählung berichtet, wie [Enlil?] die fünf vorsintflutlichen Städte verschiedenen Gottheiten zuteilte: Eridu dem Nudimmud (Enki), Badtibira der Inanna, Larak dem Pabilsaĝ, Sippar dem Utu und Šuruppak der Sud[25]. Eine Beschwörung aus Ebla assoziiert Enlil mit 1.SUD, was syllabisch für ^{d}sud$_3$ stehen könnte[26]. Ein aus altbabylonischer Zeit überlieferter sumerischer Mythos erzählt, wie Sud, die Tochter der Getreidegöttin Nisaba und ihres Gatten Ḫaja, Enlils Gattin wurde[27], was Gleichsetzung mit Ninlil impliziert.
In "Nannas Fahrt nach Nippur" heißt Šuruppaks Göttin nach mehreren Textzeugen ^{d}nin-UNU[28], was wohl auf einem Überlieferungsfehler beruht (Nannas vorhergehende Station war Uruk!). Zu beachten ist allerdings, daß [^{d}n]in-UNU auch in einer fragmentarischen Weihinschrift aus Fāra genannt ist[29].
Sud ist als Glied von Personennamen bis in die Ur III-Zeit gebräuchlich, den jüngsten Beleg bietet vielleicht ein altbabylonisches Rollsiegel[30].
In der Spätzeit scheint man Sud mit Sudaĝ, einem Namen der Gattin des Sonnengottes, verwechselt zu haben[31].
Ein altbabylonisches Klagelied überliefert als Namen von Suds Tempel(n) e$_2$-ki-imin-bi$^{!?}$(GA) und e$_2$-DIM.GAL-an-na[32]. Letzterer ist auch durch eine Weihinschrift Enlilbānis bezeugt, von der zwei Exemplare in Isin, eines angeblich in der Nähe von Fāra gefunden wurden[33]. Die kanonische Tempelliste erwähnt für Sud die zwei Tempelnamen [e$_2$-sig$_2^{?}$-u]z$_3$ und [e$_2$-DIM.GAL-a]n-na[34].

[21] Zur Lesung des Namens und zu den literarischen Belegen s. Civil 1983a, 44, der für die frühdynastische Zeit SF 36 und die za$_3$-me Hymnen nennt.
[22] SF 36; s.u. S. 325. Die letzte Zeile ist vielleicht zu analysieren als: nun-zu$_5$-še$_3$ e$_2$ ^{d}en-lil$_2$-še$_3$ "zu deinem Fürsten, zum Haus Enlils" (elliptisch).
[23] OIP 99, S. 51, Z. 180f.: šuruppak ban ku$_3$ nun ^{d}sud$_3$ nun za$_3$-me.
[24] IAS 356, iii' 3': ^{d}sud$_3$ šuruppak^{ki} KAS.LAGAB nam$_2$-ma-ĝar.
[25] Civil 1969, 141/2 Z. 93-97.
[26] ARET 5, 1 iv 4; v 6; viii 2. 1.SUD selbst ist in dem semitischen Kontext allerdings ein Logogramm, für das eine Parallele (ARET 5, 3 ii 4) die semitische Lesung *kakkabu* "Stern" bietet.
[27] Edition: Civil 1983a.
[28] Ferrara 1973, 62 Z. 233.
[29] F.556 = VA.6755.
[30] Ash.1921,948, falls *nu-ur$_2$*-^{d}sud$_3$$^{!}$(SU.RU.KUR$^{?}$) anstelle von *nu-ur$_2$-^{d}su-ru-tar* (so RIME 4, S. 824, E4.0.15.2001) zu lesen.
[31] Civil 1983a, 44.
[32] TCL 15, 1: 3f.
[33] RIME 4, S. 83f., E4.1.10.7.
[34] George 1993, 12 Z. 63f. Vielleicht ist der erste in [e$_2$-ki-imi]n$^{!}$-bi$^{!}$ zu emendieren.

3.4. Šuruppak im Mythos[35]

Nach der sumerischen Königsliste[36] war Šuruppak Sitz der fünften und letzten Dynastie vor der Flut: Eridu, Badtibira, Larak, Sippar, Šuruppak. Eine Fassung nennt als einzigen König Uburtutu, dessen Name noch bei Berossos in gräzisierter Form (Ωτιαρτης, Αρδατης) überliefert ist[37], ansonsten besteht die Dynastie aus zwei Königen: in einer anderen Fassung der Königsliste sind es Šuruppak, Sohn des Uburtutu, und Ziusudra[38]; eine späte Liste vorsintflutlicher Dynastien[39] nennt – ebenso wie vielleicht eine dritte[40] Fassung der Königsliste – nur Ubartutu und Ziusudra. Ziusudra "dessen Tage lang sind" ist der Held der sumerischen Sintfluterzählung[41]. In ihren akkadischen Versionen – Atraḫasīs[42]- und Gilgameš-Epos[43] – heißt der Sintflutheld Atrāḫasīs bzw. Utnapištim (das Gilgameš-Epos erwähnt auch seinen Vater Ubartutu).

Šuruppak, dem Sohn des Ubartutu, werden die in der sumerischen Dichtung "Rat des Šuruppak"[44] vereinigten Sprüche in den Mund gelegt, die er seinem Sohn Ziusudra als "Ratschläge" erteilt. Die ältesten, frühdynastischen, Versionen aus TAS und Adab erwähnen Ubartutu allerdings nicht, sondern nur Šuruppak und seinen Sohn[45].

3.5. Zur Geschichte von Šuruppak

Nach dem stratigraphischen Befund[46] reicht Fāra (mindestens) bis in die Ǧemdet Naṣr-Zeit zurück. Die Ǧemdet Naṣr-Schicht, "Level 7" der Schmidt'schen Grabung, ist von einer Lehm- und Sandschicht überlagert, die als "Inundation Level" interpretiert und mit dem Flutmythos in Zusammenhang gebracht wurde.

In der archaischen Städteliste aus Uruk[47] kommt Šuruppak noch nicht vor. Einige archaische Wirtschaftstexte aus Uruk enthalten im Subskript die Kombination KUR+RU, bei der es sich um die früheste Schreibung für Šuruppak handeln könnte; einmal steht allerdings an entsprechender Stelle LAM.KUR+RU, weshalb die Bearbeiterin dieser Textgruppe in KUR+RU an allen Stellen Aratta vermutet[48].

35 Vgl. die tabellarische Übersicht MFara, 124.
36 Jacobsen 1939, 75-77, Z. 31-35.
37 OECT 2, Pl. I, W-B. 444, i 31-35. Bei Berossos wird Otiartes allerdings Larak zugeordnet, Šuruppak fehlt.
38 OECT 2, Pl. VI, W-B. 62, 9-11.
39 W.G. Lambert 1973, 275.
40 Finkelstein 1963, 43.
41 Civil 1969.
42 Lambert – Millard 1969.
43 EG XI (Thompson 1930, 60-67).
44 Edition: Alster 1974. S.u. S. 319.
45 Ob UR_2×AŠ bzw. UR_2.AŠ Name des Sohnes (so Civil – Biggs 1966, 2) oder Epitheton Šuruppaks ist (so Alster 1974; 1976, 23 Anm. 47), ist umstritten. Nach einer plausiblen Vermutung Steinkellers (apud Davila 1995, 202 Anm. 2) geht Uba/urtutu auf das als Name mißdeutete Epitheton UR_2.AŠ zurück.
46 MFara, 18-25.
47 ATU 3, 145-150.
48 Green 1980.

Auch auf den "Städtesiegeln"[49] der frühen frühdynastischen Zeit ist Šuruppak nicht identifizierbar[50], obwohl es während der Ǧemdet Nasr-Zeit und der ersten frühdynastischen Periode neben Uruk vielleicht die bedeutendste Stadt in der Region war.
Den frühesten sicheren Beleg dürfte eine Steintafel enthalten, die vielleicht noch in die Ǧemdet Naṣr-Zeit datiert und möglicherweise aus Šuruppak selbst stammt[51].
Für die Zeit der Fāra-Archive sind diese selbst unsere wichtigste Quelle. Ob wir ihnen die Namen von Herrschern über Fāra entnehmen können, ist fraglich: erstens, weil wir deren Titel nicht sicher kennen (Ensi? S.u. S. 312); zweitens, weil das zweite Glied der Folge PN - Berufsbezeichnung nicht Apposition zum vorausgehenden Namen sein muß, sondern im Falle höherer Funktionäre die Zugehörigkeit zu dem – namentlich gar nicht genannten – Funktionär ausdrückt[52]. Die Wirtschaftstexte enthalten Hinweise darauf, daß Šuruppak Mitglied eines Städtebunds war, dem Uruk, Adab, Nippur, Lagaš, Šuruppak und Umma angehörten. Diese Städte werden nicht nur einzeln erwähnt, sondern auch als Gruppe[53], und zwar sowohl in Fāra wie auch in lexikalischen Texten aus Tell Abū Ṣalābīḫ[54] und Ebla[55]. Die beiden Fāra-Belege erwähnen in demselben Zusammenhang ki-en-gi, worunter man später das Land "Sumer" versteht. ki-en-gi kommt mehrmals in Wirtschaftstexten aus Fāra, einmal auch in einem Wirtschaftstext aus TAS vor[56]. Die Interpretation ist umstritten: der Auffassung, daß damit der Städteverband selbst bzw. dessen Gebiet gemeint sei ("Kengir League")[57], steht diejenige Pomponios gegenüber, der ki-en-gi als "kleines Zentrum" innerhalb des Gebietes der "Städteliga" ansieht[58]. Zwei Wirtschaftstexte aus Fāra erwähnen einen ENSI$_2$.ĜAR von ki-en-gi[59], ein literarischer Text aus TAS einen "En" von ki-en-gi[60].
Die Schicht, der die Archive von Fāra entstammen, fiel einer Zerstörung durch Brand zum Opfer, die wohl das Ende der frühdynastischen Blütezeit Šuruppaks markiert. Einige Wirtschaftstexte beziehen sich auf die Mobilisierung von Soldaten[61] und könnten somit auf

49 Postgate 1992, 32f.; Matthews 1993, insbesondere S. 36-43.
50 Daß ein Vogel mit ausgebreiteten Schwingen Šuruppak repräsentiere – so Legrain, UE III, 14, zitiert von Martin (MFara, 119 mit Anm. 7), ist bloße Hypothese.
51 RA 6, 143 = ELTS 13. Für die Datierung ist neben der Paläographie die hierarchisch strukturierte Fächereinteilung (wie in Uruk- und Ǧemdet Naṣr-Texten) von Bedeutung.
52 Vgl. Edzard 1979, 157f.; Pomponio 1987, XVII-XXVII. Die in MFara, 120 Tabelle 2, zusammengestellten, mit dem Titel ENSI$_2$.ĜAR(.GAL) assoziierten Namen sind demnach keine Herrschernamen, s. Pomponio, EDATS 18f.
53 WF 92 i 1 - ii 3; WF 94 i 1 - iii 1.
54 IAS 463; vgl. ibd., S. 23f.
55 MEE 3, Nr. 44 x 5-10.
56 IAS 518, ix 2.
57 Jacobsen 1957, 109; 121f. Ähnlich Steible – Yıldız 1993, die von einer "politisch-wirtschaftlichen Gemeinschaft" oder "Regio" sprechen.
58 EDATS, 10-20. Ihm folgt Visicato, BS, 65f.
59 WF 142, i 2f.; TSŠ 627, v 7f.
60 IAS 247, ii' 3'ff. (UGN-Orthographie, s.u. S. 298-302): [PA.NUN] ⌜kiš⌝ kiš-t[a], PA.NUN (= lugal) adab adab-ta, GAL (= en) aratta aratta<-ta> GAL (= en) ki-en-gi ki-en-gi-ta "[der König] von Kiš aus Kiš, der König von Adab aus Adab, der En von Aratta <aus> Aratta, der En von ki-en-gi aus ki-en-gi ...".
61 WF 92; 94; 95 iv 2: ĝuruš-me$_3$; 101 i 1: ĝuruš-me$_3$.

kriegerische Auseinandersetzungen hinweisen, die der Zerstörung unmittelbar vorausgingen[62].

Zeugnisse aus präsargonischer und sargonischer Zeit sind nicht häufig, die genaue chronologische Einordnung der Belege unsicher. Erwähnt wird Šuruppak in Wirtschaftstexten aus Adab[63], Nippur[64] und Ur[65]. Von besonderem Interesse ist ein Tonetikett aus Nippur mit der Aufschrift: "Tafelbehälter (mit) Schrifttafel(n), die Ebbubu, der Mann des Ursaga aus Šuruppak gebracht hat"[66].

In einem (fiktiven) Brief Sargons, der uns auf einer altbabylonischen Schülertafel aus Ur überliefert ist, heißt einer der Adressaten Nūr-Šuruppak[67]; falls nicht ein Fehler für Nūr-Sud vorliegt (vgl. Anm. 30), könnte man darin den Reflex historischer Nachrichten über Šuruppak bzw. einen dortigen Funktionär zur Zeit Sargons vermuten.

In frühsargonische Zeit datieren vielleicht zwei Wirtschaftstexte aus Fāra selbst[68].

Narām-Sîn berichtet, daß er eine feindliche Koalition unter der Führung des Amargirid von Uruk besiegt habe, an der auch Šuruppak beteiligt gewesen sei[69].

Für die Ur III-Zeit fließen die schriftlichen Quellen wieder reichlicher. Šuruppak war damals Sitz eines Ensi. Aus Fāra selbst kommen (mindestens) zwei Wirtschaftstexte[70] sowie die Bauinschrift des Ḫala'adda. Auswärtige Wirtschaftstexte überliefern die Namen mehrerer Ensis, deren Abfolge sich aus den Daten der einzelnen Dokumente ergibt: lugal-ezen, a-ḫu-a, gu-u$_2$, ur-^{d}nin-kur-ra, lu$_2$-bala-sa$_6$-ga, ur-^{d}nin-kur-ra, ku$_3$-^{d}nanna[71]. Dada und sein Sohn Ḫala'adda sind bisher nur in Fāra selbst bezeugt und chronologisch nicht genau einzuordnen.

Später lebt Šuruppak nur noch in der literarischen und lexikalischen Überlieferung weiter, archäologische Zeugnisse fehlen fast gänzlich[72]. In Uruk wurde zusammen mit literarischen Texten aus altbabylonischer Zeit eine Fāra-zeitliche Tafel gefunden, die vielleicht als (literarische) "Antiquität"(!?) von Šuruppak nach Uruk gelangte[73].

62 MFara, 128; Selz 1992, 191; EDATS, S. 11f. S.u. S. 312 mit Anm. 731.
63 OIP 14, 66; A.1209 (Martin, 1988, 119).
64 TMH 5, 8 iv 1; 35 ii 7; 67 vii 11; 112 i 3; OSP 1, 60 ii 6.
65 UET 2, Suppl., 2; 45.
66 PBS 13, 12 = OSP 1, 14. [pi]san-dub im-sar *ib-bu-bu* lu$_2$ ur-sa$_6$-ga-ke$_4$ SU.KUR.RU^{ki}-ta mu-⌜DU$^?$-a$^?$⌝.
67 UET 7, 73 i 4: ^{m}*nu-ur$_2$*-SU.KUR.RU^{ki}.
68 FP.974 und C.183: Kramer 1932, 110 mit Anm. 5 (S. 124).
69 RIME 2, S. 107f., E2.1.4.6 v 10'-17': Uruk, Ur, Lagaš, Umma, Adab, Šuruppak, Isin, Nippur. Zu diesem Text s. auch Wilcke 1997.
70 FP.750, 973; s.u. S. 253; 258.
71 MFara, 122.
72 MFara, 129, erwähnt zwei möglicherweise Isin-Larsa-zeitliche Funde.
73 UVB 10, S. 19 mit Taf. 26,b. Schrift und Orthographie stimmen weitestgehend mit den Texten aus Fāra überein. Gegen die in ELTS postulierte Herkunft der Tafel aus Fāra wendet sich wohl zu Recht Wilcke 1996, 13 Anm. 38, der auf weitere "Fāra-Tafeln" aus Uruk hinweist (ZA 72, 166/175 und vielleicht SR 6).

3.6. Die Ausgrabungen in Fāra[74] (s. Faltkarte 2)

1850 wurde Fāra von W.K. Loftus, 35 Jahre später von Mitgliedern der "Wolfe Expedition to Babylonia" unter W.H. Ward besucht[75].
Erste Schürfungen unternahm H.V. Hilprecht im Frühjahr 1900 von Nippur aus[76].
Auf Hilprechts begeisterte Empfehlung hin fanden von Mitte Juni 1902 bis Anfang März 1903 Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft in Fāra statt; von Fāra aus wurden auch Ausgrabungen in dem nördlich gelegenen Abū Ḥaṭab (Kisurra) unternommen.
Die Fāra-Expedition wurde von Babylon aus organisiert. Außer R. Koldewey gehörten ihr W. Andrae sowie die zwei eigens aus Deutschland angereisten Architekten Baumgarten und A. Nöldeke an. Die Leitung wurde von Koldewey, der schon bald nach Babylon zurückkehrte, auf Andrae übertragen. Zu Grabungsbeginn war auch F. Delitzsch, der damalige Direktor des Berliner Museums, in Fāra anwesend.
Man legte zunächst einen 870 m langen, aus 99 Sektoren von ca. 3 × 8 m Fläche und 2 m Tiefe bestehenden Suchgraben in ungefähr nordsüdlicher Richtung durch den Tell (Graben I; s. Anm. auf Faltkarte 2). Es folgten 20 analog strukturierte Schnitte in ostwestlicher Richtung. Stieß man auf interessante Objekte oder Strukturen, so wurden größere Flächen eröffnet.
Die rasche und großflächige Vorgehensweise wirkte sich zulasten genauer Fundbeobachtung und Dokumentation aus. Als man – vom 1. Juli an – auf beschriftete Tontafeln in archaischem Duktus stieß, schrieb Koldewey am 14. August nach Berlin: "Wir können nunmehr mit gutem Gewissen die Suchgraben auf eine Tiefe von 2 Metern beschränken und haben, wie mir scheint, die Aufgabe, möglichst viele von derartigen Gräben durch die Ruine zu ziehen, um eventuell auf die guten alten Tabletten zu stoßen"[77]. Diese Hoffnung erfüllte sich reichlich.
Obwohl die Grabungslizenz für 2 Jahre erteilt worden war und man sich anfangs auf eine längere Zeit eingerichtet zu haben scheint, wurde die Grabung nach siebeneinhalb Monaten beendet und nicht wieder aufgenommen. Ein Grund dafür waren vielleicht die unsicheren Verhältnisse[78], ein anderer, daß Koldewey seine Ausgrabungen in Babylon näher am Herzen lagen.
Vorläufige Grabungsberichte erschienen 1902 und 1903 in den MDOG[79] sowie in Delitzschs Reisebeschreibung[80], die abschließende Publikation – verfaßt von E. Heinrich, herausgegeben von Andrae – erst 1931[81].

[74] Eine detaillierte Lagebeschreibung gibt Martin in MFara, 12-14. Zur Grabungsgeschichte vgl. Kramer 1932, 114f., Anm. 1; MFara, 15-17.
[75] Loftus 1857, 104; Karte gegenüber S. 436. Ward 1886, 21.
[76] Hilprecht 1904, 538-540.
[77] Koldewey 1902, 12.
[78] In den Grabungsberichten ist immer wieder von Streitigkeiten und kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen unter und mit den in der Umgebung lebenden Beduinen die Rede, vgl. etwa Andrae 1903, 18: "es verging selten eine Woche ohne 'Zwischenfall', d.h. ohne Schießen, Stechen, Hauen oder mindestens Alarm". Der "Abzug" aus Fāra erfolgte unter militärischem Schutz.
[79] Koldewey 1902; Koldewey 1902-03; Andrae 1902-03; Andrae 1903.
[80] Delitzsch 1903, 41-44.
[81] Andrae – Heinrich 1931. In der Einleitung heißt es zur langen Verzögerung: "Als Entschuldigung kann dienen, daß diese Kampagne ein Einschiebsel in die große Hauptausgrabung der Deutschen Orient-

Kurz nach dem Ende der D.O.G-Grabung besuchte E.J. Banks von Tell Bismaya (Adab) aus Fāra und veröffentlichte darüber einen Bericht[82].
1926 führte R.P. Dougherty einen Survey durch, der ihn auch nach Fāra führte[83].
Von Mitte Februar bis Mitte März 1931 fanden Ausgrabungen der University of Pennsylvania bzw. des University Museums, Philadelphia, unter der Leitung von E. Schmidt statt. Er öffnete 4 Grabungsareale (DE 38/39; HI 47/48; FG 42/43; FI 96) und grub zwei der typischen runden Silos aus (Pit I; Pit II).
Ein vorläufiger Bericht erschien noch im selben Jahr[84]. Die Endpublikation erfolgte jedoch erst 1973 bzw. 1988 durch H.P. Martin. Sie hatte 1972 an der University of Chicago mit einer Arbeit über "Fara: An Archaeological Study of a Third Millenium City" promoviert. Im folgenden Jahr 1973 führte sie in Fāra einen Survey durch. Die Druckfassung ihrer Dissertation erschien 1988[85]. Darin ist die Schmidt'sche Grabung publiziert, darüberhinaus enthält das Buch auch eine neue Auswertung der D.O.G-Grabung sowie die Ergebnisse des Surveys von 1973.

3.7. Die Textfunde aus Fāra

3.7.1. Grabung Hilprecht

Unter den aus Fāra stammenden Objekten, die Hilprecht 1900 selbst ausgrub, befanden sich auch präsargonische Tafeln[86], die sich heute nicht mehr mit Sicherheit identifizieren bzw. lokalisieren lassen[87].

3.7.2. Grabung D.O.G.

Die D.O.G.-Grabung erbrachte zahlreiche und vielfältige Textfunde, die auf die Museen von Berlin und Istanbul verteilt wurden. Die Zahl der einzeln erfaßten und als Gruppen notierten Tafelfunde beläuft sich auf über 900[88] (Sammelfunden teilte man öfters nur eine einzige Fundnummer zu, ohne die Anzahl der Tafeln bzw. Fragmente zu spezifizieren). Zu den Tontafeln kommen noch einige andere beschriftete Objekte (s.u. 336).

Gesellschaft in Babylon war, von Koldewey damals mehr oder weniger unliebsam empfunden und nachher derartig von den Ereignissen in Babylon überdeckt wurde, daß an eine Ausarbeitung der Ergebnisse nicht gedacht werden konnte. [...] Nachher kamen die bekannten Hemmungen durch Weltkrieg und die Notzeit nach dem Krieg und endlich Koldeweys Tod [1925]".

82 Banks 1904.
83 Dougherty 1926; 1927, 33f. mit Fig. 19 und 25.
84 Schmidt 1931.
85 Martin 1988 = MFara.
86 Hilprecht 1904, 540.
87 Kramer 1932, 115 Anm. 1, vermutet eine davon in PBS 9, 3.
88 MFara, 82: "at least 840 tablets and groups of tablet fragments". S.u. S. 378-407.

Die Texte wurden erst spät – und bislang nicht vollständig – publiziert: die Berliner Texte 1922 (SF) und 1924 (WF) durch A. Deimel, der damals auch mit der Publikation der präsargonischen Texte aus Ĝirsu befaßt war; die Istanbuler Texte 1937 (TSŠ) und 1957 (NTSŠ) durch R. Jestin. Während Deimels Publikationen den allergrößten Teil der Berliner Fāra-Tafeln erfassen, harren in Istanbul noch zahlreiche – insbesondere fragmentarische – Texte der Veröffentlichung[89]. Die Publikationen von Deimel und Jestin umfassen 544 Nummern:

Deimel, LAK (1922), S. 73. Nr. 1-2:	2
Deimel, SF (1923):	86
Deimel, WF (1924):	155
Jestin, TSŠ (1937):	248
Jestin, NTSŠ (1957):	53
	544

Die Identifikation der während der D.O.G.-Kampagne gefundenen Texte und die Zuordnung der Fundstellen sind problematisch. Die Fundnummern der in Istanbul aufbewahrten Texte sind wohl nicht mehr zu ermitteln, auf den Tafeln selbst fehlen sie. In den Berliner Inventarbüchern sind meist Fundnummern angegeben, auf den Tafeln selbst allerdings oft schwer oder gar nicht verifizierbar. Zu einigen der in WF publizierten Texte vermerkt das Inventar "in Fara gekauft"[90] bzw. "gekauft"[91]. Aufgrund der zur Verfügung stehenden Daten hat Martin die einzelnen Fundkomplexe zu rekonstruieren versucht. Auf einen ersten knappen Überblick, der durch eine sehr nützliche Tabelle illustriert wurde[92], folgte eine ausführlichere Darstellung[93], die jedoch nicht mehr ganz mit der früheren Tabelle kongruiert. Die folgende Zusammenstellung übernimmt die Reihenfolge der Fundstellen aus der Tabelle (sie sind nach Quadranten geordnet) und arbeitet die Ergebnisse der jüngeren Darstellung nebst eigenen Ergänzungen und Korrekturen ein.

1 **CD**: Haus XVIIc-d[94]. Aus diesem Gebäude stammt die zweitgrößte Textgruppe. Sie enthält u.a. Verzeichnisse einheimischer und auswärtiger Personen, darunter auch Soldaten. Martin vermutete hier "archives of palace or other large political body". Weiter noch geht G. Visicatos Annahme, es handle sich um "the headquarters of the logistical organization of the army which, as we can gather from the texts, was mobilized for war"[95].

[89] Ein von Förtsch verfaßter Katalog der Tafeln aus Fāra und Abū Hatab zählt 972 Nummern, von denen 925 sicher aus Fāra stammen: s. Kramer 1932, 118f. Anm. 2 und 3. Sie sind bisher etwa zu einem Drittel publiziert.

[90] WF 135 = VAT.9113; WF 151 = VAT.9114; WF 151* = VAT.9115.

[91] WF 33 = VAT.9122; WF 81 = VAT.9120; WF 89 = VAT.9118; WF 138 = VAT.9121.

[92] Martin 1975, 176f.

[93] MFara, 82-88. Die Tabelle ist dort auf S. 88 wiederholt.

[94] MFara, 88, Tabelle Z. 1; 97-99.

[95] BS, 88.

F.1555; 1557[96]; 1614; 1615 (WF 152); 1661 (WF 100); 1662 (WF 95/104?); 1663 (WF 94?); 1664 (WF 118?); 1665; 1666; 1667; 1668; 1669 (WF 99); 1670 (WF 147); 1671; 1672; 1673 (WF 129); 1674; 1675; 1676; 1677; 1678; 1679 (WF 103); 1680; 1681; 1682; 1683; 1684; 1685; 1686 (WF 132); 1687; 1688 (WF 102); 1689; 1690; 1691; 1692; 1693; 1694; 1695 (WF 150); 1696; 1697; 1698; 1699; 1700; 1701; 1702 (WF 98); 1703 (WF 93); 1704; 1705; 1706; 1707; 1708; 1709; 1710; 1711 (WF 85); 1712; 1713; 1714; 1715; 1716; 1717; 1718; 1719; 1720; 1721; 1722; 1723 (WF 144); 1724; 1725 (WF 101); 1726; 1727; 1728; 1729; 1730 (WF 134); 1731; 1732; 1733; 1734; 1735; 1736; 1737 (WF 84); 1738; 1739; 1740; 1741; 1757; 1758; 1759; 1760[97]; 1786; 1855; 1856; 1857.

Aus inhaltlichen Gründen nimmt Visicato an, daß folgende Texte von dieser Fundstelle kommen[98]: CT 50, 1; 3; 16-17; 19-22; 25; DP 34; NTSŠ 114; RTC 9-11; Š 768; 935; TSŠ 45; 49; 212; 245; 249; 292; 369; 385; 415; 420; 424; 430; 442; 467; 499; 501; 525; 536; 548; 554; 574; 613; 627; 664; 736; 748; 752; 765; 780; 782; 783; 894; 927; 931; 969; 993; WF 84; 85; 86; 92; 93; 94; 95; 96; 97; 98; 99; 99*; 100; 101; 102; 103; 104; 118; 129; 132; 134; 142; 144; 147; 150; 152.

2 CD: Vo. F.784.
3 CD: Vs[99]. F.787 (WF 40 ?).
4 CD: XVIIIa. F.1853; 1854.
5 **CE**: Vd. F.763.
6 **CE-CF**: Va. F.744 (Oberfläche).
7 **CF** ?: Silo am Anfang von Graben I[100].
F.456 (HFara, S. 75, Abb. 46; Tf. 13).
8 CF: Id-e[101]. F.67; 132; 133; 143; 195 (WF 136); 816; 825; 831; 835; 838; 858; 864; 869 (SF 25); 871; 884; 886; 920.
9 CF: Vae. F.817 (HFara, S. 75, Abb. 46; Tf. 24,b); 809; 812.
10 **DE**: XIXs[102]. F.1893; 1894 (WF 146).
11 **DF**: Ii. F.120.
12 **EE**: VIak. F.1897.
13 EE: VIam. F.859.
14 EE: Haus IXf-g[103]. Die meisten Tafeln kommen laut Fundjournal aus einer "Blechkiste".

[96] Fehlt MFara, 97.
[97] MFara, 98: 1763 ist Druckfehler für 1760. 1761-1763 gehören zu Haus XVId-e.
[98] BS, 87.
[99] MFara, 88, Tabelle Z. 2.
[100] MFara, 110.
[101] MFara, 88, Tabelle Z. 3.
[102] MFara, 88, Tabelle Z. 4; 102. XIXs gibt es auf dem Plan nicht!
[103] MFara, 88, Tabelle Z. 5 (IXe) und Z. 6 (IXg); 101.

F.923; 924 (SF 21); 925; 926; 927; 928 (SF 24); 929; 930; 931; 932 (SF 37); 933; 934 (SF 76); 939; 953; 970; 976 (WF 153); 983 (WF 117); 1007.

15 **EF**: VIIo. F.2335.

16 EF: VIIIaf. F.975.

17 EG: Xh. F.987 (HFara, S. 75, Abb. 46; T. 35,i).

18 **EG-EH**: Haus IXac mit Fundstelle IXaa[104]. Bei den identifizierbaren Fundnummern handelt es sich fast ausschließlich um lexikalische und literarische Texte, weshalb Martin (s. Anm. 104) hier ein "scribal center" vermutet.

F.956; 957 (SF 49*); 958; 959; 960 (SF 50*); 961 (SF 30); 962 (SF 45); 963 (SF 2); 964 (SF 31); 965; 966; 967 (SF 50); 968 (WF 63); 969 (SF 47); 972 (SF 48); 973 (SF 51); 978; 984; 989; 992; 993; 994; 995; 1003.

19 **EH**: VIg. F.829.

20 EH: VIIIo. F.949.

21 EH: IXad. F.944.

22 EH: Xa.Gehört vielleicht zu IXaa-ac (18).

F.977; 997.

23 **EH-EI**: VIIIh[105]. F.998 (SF 8?); 1010 (WF 115).

24 **EI**: VIIav. F.893.

25 **FD**: IIIai. F.526.

26 FD: Iai. F.194; 197.

27 FE: Ial. F.806.

28 **FE**: IIIaa. F.521; 522.

29 FE: IIIac. F.506 (HFara, S. 69, Tf. 26,m).

30 FE: IIIad-ae[106]. F.508; 509; 516; 519; 520 (HFara, S. 74; Tf. 35,f); 528; 538 (WF 38); 542 (WF 39); 543; 547 (WF 30).

31 **FF**: VIIq. F.881.

32 FF: Haus VIIu[107]. F.1063; 1096; 1106; 1107; 1108; 1109; 1110; 1111; 1112; 1113; 1114; 1115; 1124; 1282.

33 **FG**: IIIf. F.441 (LAK, Tf. 73 Nr. 2?).

34 **FH**: Silo nördlich des Hauses IIIb-c[108].

F.484; 485; 496; 504; 567; 584; 597; 598; 607; 610; 615; 616; 617.

35 FH: IIId. F.421; 425; 450.

36 **FI**: IIIaq. F.556 (HFara, S. 75, Abb. 46; Tf. 13,n).

[104] MFara, 88, Tabelle Z. 7; 96f. Aus dem Haus stammen nach MFara, 97, zwei unidentifizierte Tafeln, die ich im Fundjournal jedoch nicht nachweisen kann.

[105] MFara, 88, Tabelle Z. 8; 102.

[106] MFara, 88, Tabelle Z. 9 (IIIad, ae); 102. Die Tafeln von IIIad-ae sind irrtümlich unter IIi aufgelistet!

[107] MFara, 95f.

[108] MFara, 112.

37 FI: IIIat[109]. F.2443; 2444; 2445; 2446; 2447 (WF 116); 2448; 2456; 2457; 2458; 2459; 2460; 2461; 2469.
38 FI: VIIav. F.893.
39 **GD**: XIcg. F.1035 (Tonnagel des Ḫala'adda).
40 **GE**: XIIb. F.1043.
41 **GI**: XIIap. F.1051.
42 **GL-GM**: XIs. F.1009.
43 **HE**: Ibf. F.208.
44 **HE-HF**. IVcc. F.734; 748.
45 **HG**?: Grundriß bei II West (zu IIcn?).
F.1283.
46 HG: IIcm. F.2395; 2396; 2397 (WF 133); 2398; 2399; 2400; 2401; 2402; 2403; 2404; 2410; 2411; 2412; 2413; 2414; 2415; 2416[110] (SF 35); 2417[111].
47 HG: IIcn[112]. F.386; 394; 402; 409; 410; 419; 428 (WF 88); 429; 430; 432; 437.
48 HG: IIco. F.408; 2370; 2371; 2372; 2373; 2374; 2375.
49 HG: IVf. F.579.
50 HG: XVIv. F.1823; 1824.
51 HG: XVIy. F.1792.
52 HG: XVIz. F.1789; 1790; 1791; 1794; 1795; 1796; 1797; 1798; 1799; 1800; 1801; 1802; 1803; 1804; 1805; 1793.
53 **HH**: IVl. F.573.
54 HH: IVr. F.603; 604; 608.
55 HH: IVs. F.618; 626.
56 HH: Haus XVIi-l[113].
F.1616; 1617; 1618; 1619[114]; 1620; 1621; 1622; 1623; 1624; 1625; 1626; 1627; 1628; 1629; 1630 (WF 130); 1631; 1632; 1633; 1634; 1635[115]; 1647; 1648; 1650; 1651; 1652; 1653; 1654; 1655; 1656; 1657; 1658 (WF 141); 1659; 1660; 1746; 1747; 1776; 1777; 2441[116].
57 **HI**: IIbh[117]. F.366; 369; 374; 375 (WF 36).
58 HI: IIbn. F.358.
59 HI: IVv. F.623 (über Grab).
60 HI: IVy[118]. F.627; 628; 653 (SF 1*).

[109] MFara, 103.
[110] Fundjournal hat "bei XIIIcm": Fehler für IIcm?
[111] Fundjournal hat "bei XIIIcm": Fehler für IIcm?
[112] MFara, 88, Tabelle Z. 10; 101.
[113] MFara, 88, Tabelle Z. 11; 100.
[114] MFara, 100: 1619 ist Druckfehler für 1629.
[115] Fehlt MFara, 100.
[116] Fehlt MFara, 100.
[117] MFara, 88, Tab. Z. 12; 101.
[118] MFara, 88, Tab. Z. 13; 101.

61 HI: Haus XVId-e[119].
F.1552 (WF 80); 1595 (Grundriß südlich)[120]; 1761; 1762; 1763; 1774; 1775 (SF 68); 1787; 1788.

62 HJ-HK: IVai. F.654.

63 HK: IVap. F.664.

64 HK: IVas. F.663; 683.

65 HK: IVau. F.667.

66 HL: IVbe. F.699.

67 HM: IVbg. F.709; 710; 711.

68 IE: Ibn. F.225.

69 IF?: XIIIal[121] F.1495 (Grundriß nördlich).

70 IG: XIVb. F.1134; 1136.

71 IG: XVy. F.2454 (südlich).

72 IG: XVaa. F.2369.

73 IH: XVp. F.2386; 2387; 2388; 2389.

74 II: IIa. F.309.

75 II: XIIIa. F.1125 (nördlich).

76 II: XIIIb. F.1139 (Grundriß nördlich).

77 II: XIIIc. F.1140.

78 II: XIIId. Diese Fundstelle wird von Martin zu Haus XIIIf-i (79) gerechnet.
F.1116 (WF 82?); 1117; 1118; 1119; 1120; 1182.

79 II: Haus XIIIf-i[122]. Dies ist das am besten erhaltene und dokumentierte Gebäude. Von hier stammt die drittgrößte Textmenge, doch lassen sich nur zwei Tafeln identifizieren.
F.1061; 1062; 1070; 1073; 1077[123]; 1082; 1084; 1086; 1091; 1097; 1098; {F.1116-1120}[124]; 1122 (SF 80); 1135[125]; 1137; 1141; 1142; 1143; 1144; 1145; 1146; 1147; 1148; 1149; 1150; 1151; 1152; 1153; 1154; 1155; 1156; 1157; 1158; 1159; 1160; 1161; 1162; 1163; 1164; 1165; 1166; 1167; 1168; 1169; 1170; 1171; 1172; 1173; 1174; 1175 (WF 145); 1176; 1177; 1178; 1180; {F.1182}[126]; 1192; 1193; 1194; 1195; 1196; 1197; 1198; 1199; 1200; 1201; 1213; 1214; 1215; 1216; 1217; 1219; 1220.

80 II: XIVs-u[127]. F.2381; 2418 (WF 128).

[119] MFara, 88, Tab. Z. 14; 100.
[120] F.1552 und 1595 fehlen MFara, 100.
[121] XIIal gibt es auf dem Plan nicht!
[122] MFara, 88, Tabelle Z. 16; 92-95.
[123] Fehlt MFara, 92.
[124] Diese MFara, 93, hierhergerechneten Textfunde stammen von XIIId.
[125] Fehlt in MFara, 93.
[126] Der MFara, 93, hierhergerechnete Textfund stammt von XIIId.
[127] MFara, 88, Tabelle Z. 17; 103.

81 II: XIVv[128]. F.2480; 2452; 2453; 2450; 2451; 2463; 2464; 2465; 2473; 2475.

82 II: Haus XVa-d[129].
F.1184[130]; 1186[131]; 1191[132]; 1229; 1230; 1326; 1327[133]; 1328; 1386; 1387; 1392; 1393; 1494 (WF 47); 1497; 1499; 1531; 1532; 2382[134].

83 II: XVf, südlich. Gehört vielleicht zum "Tafelhaus" (84).
F.2377 ; 2379; 2380.

84 II: "Tafelhaus"[135]. Dieser bei Grabungsabschnitt XVh gelegene Gebäudekomplex erbrachte die reichsten Textfunde. Sie umfassen die Eseltexte sowie fast alle Felder- und Getreidetexte und nicht zuletzt den Großteil der lexikalischen Texte. Möglicherweise beherbergte das "Tafelhaus" die Archive einer zentralen Verwaltungseinheit.
F.1901; 1977; 1978; 1979; 1980 (WF 25); 1981 (WF 22); 1982; 1983; 1984 (WF 45); 1985 (WF 58); 1986 (WF 26); 1987 (WF 56); 1988 (WF 28); 1989 (WF 24); 1990 (WF 57); 1991; 1992; 1993; 1994; 1995; 1996 (WF 60); 1997;
2008[136] (WF 51); 2009; 2010; 2011 (WF 44); 2012; 2013 (WF 55); 2014; 2015 (WF 143); 2016; 2017 (WF 124); 2018 (WF 6; 2019; 2020 (WF 5; 2021; 2022; 2023; 2024; 2025; 2026; 2027 (WF 148); 2028 (WF 43); 2029 (WF 119); 2030 (WF 3; 2031 (WF 121); 2032 (WF 14); 2033; 2034; 2035; 2036; 2037; 2038 (WF 60); 2039; 2040 (WF 59); 2041 (SF 63); 2042; 2043 (WF 109); 2044 (WF 50); 2045; 2046; 2047 (WF 120); 2048 (WF 16); 2049; 2050; 2051 (WF 11); 2052; 2053; 2054 (WF 49); 2055; 2056 (WF 140); 2057; 2058; 2059; 2060; 2061; 2062; 2063 (WF 52); 2064 (WF 48); 2065 (WF 12); 2066; 2067; 2068; 2069; 2070; 2071; 2072; 2073; 2074 (SF 6); 2075; 2076; 2077; 2078 (WF 71); 2082 (WF 78); 2083 (WF 18); 2084 (WF 91); 2085 (WF 107); 2086 (WF 69); 2087 (WF 72); 2088; 2089 (WF 75); 2090; 2091; 2092 (WF 74); 2093; 2094 (WF 7; 2095 (WF 106); 2096; 2097; 2098; 2099;
2100; 2101 (SF 72); 2102; 2103; 2104; 2105; 2103 (WF 23); 2114 (WF 9; 2115 (WF 77) ; 2116 (WF 68); 2117 (WF 67); 2118 (WF 70); 2119 (WF 66); 2120 (SF 20); 2121; 2122; 2123; 2124 (WF 61); 2125; 2126; 2127; 2128 (SF 60); 2129 (WF 87); 2130; 2131 (WF 19); 2132;

128 XIVv gibt es auf dem Plan nicht!
129 MFara, 88, Tabelle Z. 18 (XVb); 91f.
130 Fehlt MFara, 91.
131 Fehlt MFara, 91.
132 Fehlt MFara, 91.
133 Fehlt MFara, 91.
134 Fehlt MFara, 91.
135 MFara, 88, Tabelle Z. 19 (XVh) und Z. 20 (XVh e.rm); 86-91. Im Fundjournal und im Tagebuch als "Tablettenhaus" bezeichnet.
136 MFara, 86: 2018 ist Druckfehler für 2008.

2133 (WF 42); 2134 (WF 20); 2135; 2136; 2137; 2139 (SF 64); 2140 (SF 69); 2141 (SF 18); 2142 (SF 55); 2143 (WF 15); 2144; 2145; 2146; 2147; 2148; 2149; 2150 (WF 64); 2151 (WF 46); 2152; 2153; 2154 (SF 23); 2155; 2156; 2157 (SF 10); 2158; 2159 (WF 27); 2160 (SF 19); 2161 (SF 58); 2162 (SF 33); 2163 (SF 56); 2164 (SF 43); 2165 (SF 27); 2166[137] (SF 75); 2167 (SF 13); 2168 (SF 57); 2169; 2170; 2171; 2172; 2173; 2174; 2175; 2176; 2177; 2178; 2179 (SF 16); 2180 (SF 81); 2181 (SF 42); 2182 (SF 15); 2183 (SF 12); 2184; 2185; 2186; 2187; 2188; 2189; 2196; 2197 (SF 9); 2198; 2199 (SF 7);

2200 (SF 29?); 2201; 2202; 2203; 2204; 2205 (SF 9); 2206; 2207; 2208; 2209; 2210; 2211; 2212 (SF 1/23?); 2213; 2214; 2215; 2216; 2217; 2218; 2219 (WF 126); 2220; 2223; 2224 (SF 1); 2225; 2226; 2227; 2228; 2229; 2230; 2231; 2232; 2233; 2234; 2235; 2236 (WF 137); 2237; 2238; 2239; 2240; 2241; 2242; 2243; 2244; 2245; 2246; 2247; 2248; 2249; 2250; 2251; 2252; 2253; 2254; 2255; 2256 (SF 36); 2257 (WF 4); 2258; 2259; 2260; 2261; 2262; 2263; 2264; 2265; 2279; 2280; 2281; 2282; 2283; 2284 (WF 1); 2285; 2286; 2287; 2288; 2289; 2290; 2291; 2292; 2293; 2294; 2295; 2296; 2297; 2298; 2299;

2300; 2301; 2302; 2303; 2304; 2305; 2306 (SF 54); 2307 (SF 5); 2308; 2311; 2312; 2313; 2314 (WF 108); 2315; 2316; 2317; 2318; 2319; 2320; 2322 (SF 41); 2323; 2324; 2325; 2328; 2329; 2330; 2331; {F.2335}[138]; 2336; 2337; 2338 (WF 76); 2347; 2348; 2349; 2350 (WF 8); 2351; 2352; 2353; 2354; 2355; 2356; 2357; 2358; 2359; 2360; 2361; 2362; 2363; 2385[139];

2405; 2406; 2407; 2409; 2434[140] (WF 131); 2435; 2436.

85 **IJ**: Ili[141]. F.291 (SF 66); 292; 293 (SF 44); 294; 295; 300 (SF 28); 301 (SF 61); 302 (SF 65); 303 (SF 62); 304 (SF 46); 305 (SF 46); 306 (SF 49); 307; 308; 310 (SF 46).

86 **IL**: Ilah[142]. F.341; 342 (WF 122); 349.

87 **IM**: Ilat. F.351; 352.

88 **JE**: Ibu[143]. F.233 (WF 35).

89 **KD**: Ick[144]. F.254.

[137] Fehlt MFara, 86.

[138] Der MFara, 86, hierhergerechnete Textfund stammt von VIIo.

[139] Fehlt MFara, 86.

[140] MFara, 86: 2432 ist Druckfehler für 2434. 2434-2436 werden MF 88, Tabelle Z. 21, gesondert aufgeführt; ibd., 86, jedoch dem Tafelhaus zugerechnet. Fundstelle unsicher: nördl. von XVf/t?

[141] MFara, 88, Tabelle Z. 15; 102 [die dort aufgezählten Tafeln gehören allerdings zu Illad-ae!].

[142] MFara, 88, Tabelle Z. 22; 101. Statt Ilak ist jeweils Ilah zu lesen.

[143] MFara, 88, Tabelle Z. 23; 101.

[144] MFara, 88, Tab. Z. 24; 101.

3.7.3. Grabung University Museum

Die Grabung des University Museums von 1931 erbrachte laut S. N. Kramers Bericht 87 Textfunde[145]. Bis auf 3 Texte gehören alle in frühdynastische Zeit ("archaic"). Die frühdynastischen Texte bilden äußerlich eine ziemlich homogene Gruppe (bikonvex, abgerundet-rechteckig bis rund, relativ klein)[146]. Bis auf ein frühdynastisches Fragment[147] handelt es sich um Wirtschaftstexte.
Die Funde verteilen sich auf folgende Stellen:

1 Entwässerungsschacht ("drainpipe") in DE 38/39:
FP.13-20; 25-30; 41; 89-91; 98; 99; 285; 359; 515; 963; 966-972; 976.
2 FG 43: FP.128.
3 Haus in HI 47/46/58:
jüngerer Horizont:
FP.375-392; 400; 480-490; 500-509; 600-603; 1171;
älterer Horizont:
FP 510-514; 697; 698; 731; 964.
4 Silo ("pit") I (bei FG 43):
FP.750; 973 (beide Ur III).
5 Silo II (bei HI 47)[148]:
FP.974 (frühsargonisch); 975.

Kramer hat seinem Bericht die Umschriften von 5 Texten beigegeben[149]. Von den restlichen ist bislang einer publiziert[150].

3.7.4. Kunsthandel

Auch auf irregulären Wegen gelangten Texte aus Fāra in private Hände und Museen. Aufgrund paläographischer und prosopographischer Indizien ist für eine Reihe von Texten die Herkunft aus Fāra möglich bis wahrscheinlich[151].

[145] Kramer 1932, 110. Der Katalog (s.u. S. 408f) umfaßt jedoch 91 Nummern mit 131 einzelnen Tafeln und Fragmenten.
[146] Kramer 1932, 110. Vgl. die Maßangaben im Fundkatalog (s.u. S. 408f).
[147] FP.512 = OSP 1, 2.
[148] Pit II ist auf dem Plan nicht eingezeichnet.
[149] Kramer 1932, 112-114: FP.13; FP.483; FP.602; FP.974; FP.973.
[150] FP.512 = OSP 1, 2.
[151] Kramer 1932, 119 Anm. 3; Lambert 1953; Westenholz, OSP, S. 1f; Westenholz, ECTJ, S.6; Pomponio 1987, XIII-XV. S.u. s.u. S. 372-377.

4.1. Identifikation

Bislang konnte nicht sicher geklärt werden, welche antike Stadt sich in (Tell) Abū Ṣalābīḫ[152] verbirgt. Vorgeschlagen wurden die Identifikation mit Keš[153], Ereš[154] und Gišgi[155]. Zugunsten von Keš könnte zwar die Existenz der Keš-Hymne in TAS sprechen, doch ist diese Kultstätte der Muttergöttin wohl in der Nähe von Adab zu suchen[156]. Ein "König von Ereš" wird am Ende eines fragmentarischen Wirtschaftstextes, der von Versorgungsfeldern handelt, erwähnt[157]. Auf Gišgi und die Göttin Lisin bezieht sich die ungewöhnlich ausführlich gestaltete Schlußstrophe der – nur in TAS dokumentierten – "za$_3$-me-Hymnen" (s.u. S. 319f).

4.2. Die Ausgrabungen in TAS

Abū Ṣalābīḫ besteht aus mehreren Erhebungen (Abb. 1-2). Die südwestlich von den beiden Zentralhügeln gelegene ist Uruk-zeitlich, die andern in der Hauptsache frühdynastisch. 1963 und 1965 wurde unter der Leitung von D.P. Hansen und V.E. Crawford an zwei Stellen ("Area A" und "Area E") auf dem nördlichen Zentralhügel gegraben. Die Kampagnen währten nur sechs bzw. zwei Wochen, erbrachten jedoch reichliche Textfunde.
Zehn Jahre später (1975) wurde die Grabung unter der Leitung von J.N. Postgate wiederaufgenommen. Berichte erschienen jeweils unmittelbar nach den einzelnen Kampagnen in der Zeitschrift "Iraq"[158]. Die Endpublikation erfolgt in der Reihe "Abu Salabikh Excavations" (ASE), von der bislang 4 Bände vorliegen[159].

4.3. Die Textfunde aus TAS

1963 und 1965 wurden in "Area E" etwa 40 Räumlichkeiten eines Gebäudekomplexes freigelegt, in denen über 500 Tafeln und Fragmente geborgen werden konnten. 1966 berichtete R.D. Biggs über die Textfunde, 1974 legte er die Gesamtpublikation vor[160]. Die

[152] Zum modernen Namen s. Postgate 1976, 133 Anm. 1: *ṣalābīḫ* ist Plural zu dialektalem *ṣalbūḫ* "Stein", "Scherbe"; der Name Abū Ṣalābīḫ wird gewöhnlich ohne "Tell" gebraucht. Adams 1958, 103, spricht von "Ishan Abu Salabikh"; *išān*, das auch im modernen Namen von Isin, Išān al-baḥrīyāt, vorkommt, bedeutet etwa "Landmarke".

[153] Jacobsen 1960, 176, aufgegriffen bei Adams 1958, 103.

[154] Biggs, OIP 99, S. 24; Postgate 1976, 160f.

[155] Cohen 1976.

[156] S. Edzard 1976-80, mit Lit.

[157] IAS 505.

[158] 1975/76: Postgate 1976; 1977: Postgate 1978; 1978/79: Postgate 1980; 1981: Postgate – Moon 1982; 1983: Postgate 1984; 1985/86: Matthews – Postgate 1987; 1988/89: Postgate 1990.

[159] Postgate 1983; Martin et alii 1985; Moon 1987; A. Green 1993.

[160] Aufsätze mit Zitaten und vorläufigen Textpublikationen: Biggs 1966a; 1966b. Gesamtpublikation: Biggs 1974 = OIP 99.

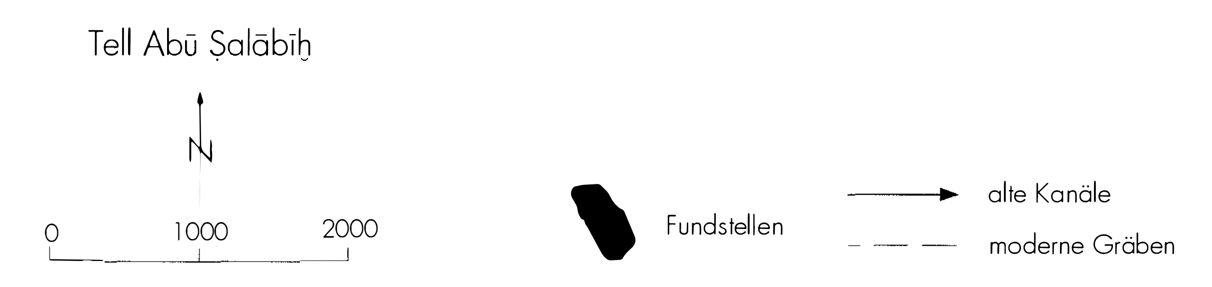


Abb. 1: Übersichtsplan des Gebietes von Tell Abū Ṣalābīḫ

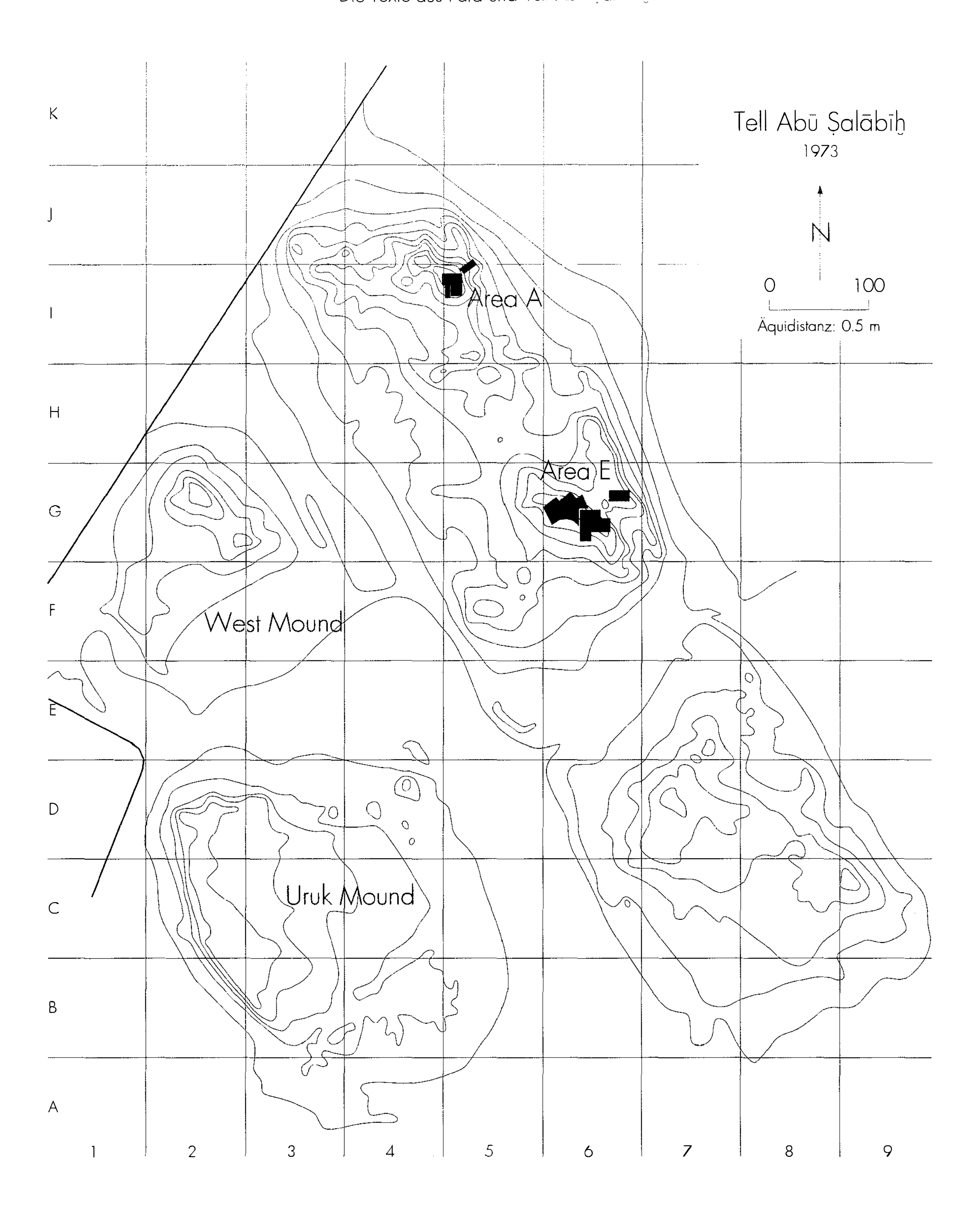


Abb. 2: Konturenplan von Tell Abū Ṣalābīḫ

Funde und Fundstellen sind so gut dokumentiert, daß sich eine ausführliche Darstellung an dieser Stelle erübrigt[161]. Nur wenige Tafeln stammen aus stratifiziertem Kontext: sie kommen aus Raum 44[162] und Raum 39[163] und sind etwas älter ("Level 1C") als die restlichen, die aus dem Füllschutt jüngerer Bauphasen stammen ("Level IA").
Die Kampagne von 1975 erbrachte weitere Textfunde, und zwar aus "Area A"[164] und "Area E"[165]. Sie wurden von Biggs und Postgate veröffentlicht[166] und tragen im Anschluß an den zuvor erschienenen Textband (OIP 99) die Nummern "IAS 516-532"[167].
Die Berichte über die Kampagnen von 1978/79, 1985-86 und 1988-89 erwähnen einige neuerliche Textfunde: 3 aus dem "Ash-Tip" 6G76[168] und 6 aus dem im nördlichen Bereich von "Area E" gelegenen Haus 6H82[169].

5. Die Datierung der Texte aus Fāra und TAS

Die Fāra-Texte enthalten weder Jahres- noch Monatsangaben. Am Ende von Kaufurkunden findet sich allerdings eine Formel ba la PN, die man als Datierung "(im) Wechselamt von PN" aufgefaßt hat. Dagegen vermutete J. Krecher allerdings mit überzeugenden Argumenten, daß sich die Formel auf einen juristischen Akt beziehe[170]. Ein Wirtschaftstext trägt am Ende die Angabe UD 7[171].
Ein (akkadischer!) Wirtschaftstext aus TAS ist offenbar nach Jahr und Monat datiert: [...], 2 MU, ⌜ITU⌝ *i-si* [172]. Außer *i-si* kommt in TAS noch der Monatsname *za-'a₃-tum* vor[173]; beide sind in präsargonischen Texten aus Mari und Ebla belegt[174].
Kramer hatte für die Fāra-Texte eine sehr differenzierte interne Chronologie entworfen und sie vier chronologischen Ebenen zugewiesen, die sich von der späten Ǧemdet Naṣr-Periode bis zu UruKAgina erstreckten[175]. Aufgrund des archäologischen wie auch des philologischen Befundes dürfte allerdings die Hauptmasse der Texte aus derselben früh-

[161] Fundkontexte und Stratigraphie beschreibt Hansen in OIP 99, Kap. I (S. 4-18). Eine nach Fundnummern geordnete Konkordanz mit genauen Fundangaben findet sich ibd., S. 98-109.
[162] IAS 1; 3; 4; 5; 18; 19; 391.
[163] IAS 507.
[164] IAS 516.
[165] IAS 517-532.
[166] Biggs – Postgate 1978.
[167] Die auch für OIP 99 verwendete Abkürzung IAS ("Inscriptions from Tell Abū Ṣalābīḫ") wurde damit doppeldeutig. Es empfiehlt sich, "IAS" nur mit Bezug auf die einzelnen Texte zu verwenden.
[168] Postgate, ASE 4, 135 mit Fig. 7.722: AbS.1739 (Wirtschaftstext; s. schon Postgate 1980, 93 und 104 mit Tf. XIa); AbS.1740; AbS.1885 (Fragmente).
[169] Matthews – Postgate 1987, 100f. mit Pl. XXIVc: AbS.2488; 2513 (Wirtschaftstexte); Postgate 1990, 101 mit Tf. XVc/d: 4 Texte, darunter ein lexikalischer (AbS.2545) und eine Beschwörung (AbS.2714).
[170] Krecher 1973, 181f.; ihm folgt Edzard 1979, 155 Anm. 9.
[171] TSŠ 150. Nach Visicato, EDATS, S. 31, wäre hier ITU! statt UD zu lesen.
[172] IAS 508.
[173] IAS 513, Ende.
[174] Steinkeller 1984b.
[175] Kramer 1932, 123.

dynastischen Periode (IIIa, "Fāra-Zeit") stammen und sich sogar innerhalb derselben nur auf eine kurze Zeitspanne konzentrieren (s.u. S. 312). Kramers Annahme, daß die frühdynastischen Texte der Pennsylvania-Grabung etwas jünger seien als die der D.O.G.-Grabung, ist wohl unbegründet[176].

Älter einzustufen[177] sind LAK, S. 73 Nr. 1 (VAT.9091) und Nr. 2 (VAT. 13600)[178] sowie WF 146 (VAT.12624) und vielleicht die beiden nur mit zwei bzw. einem Zeichen beschrifteten Täfelchen F.520 (VA.10005) und F.521[179].

Jüngere Texte sind: aus "frühsargonischer" Zeit FP.974 und C.183[180]; aus der Ur III-Zeit der Tonnagel des Ḫala'adda (s.o. S. 238) und vielleicht noch andere Texte der D.O.G.-Grabung[181] sowie zwei Texte der Pennsylvania-Grabung: FP.750, FP.973[182].

Die Texte aus TAS werden nach dem paläographischen Befund als etwa zeitgenössisch mit den frühdynastischen Fāra-Texten eingestuft[183]. Das Schriftsystem erscheint jedoch in einigen Details etwas fortgeschrittener als das der Fāra-Texte[184], so daß wohl auch ein geringfügig späterer Ansatz in Frage kommt. Dafür könnte auch die oben erwähnte Datierung nach Jahr und Monat sprechen.

Aus den Fāra- und TAS-Texten haben sich bisher keine brauchbaren Synchronismen historischer Persönlichkeiten gewinnen lassen. Die Identifikation eines in den Fāra-Texten vorkommenden Lumma mit Eannatum von Lagaš ist schon wegen der Häufigkeit des betreffenden Namens unwahrscheinlich[185]. Etwas größere Chancen hat die Identifikation eines in Fāra ohne Namensangabe erwähnten ENSI$_2$.ĜAR von Adab mit einem dort inschriftlich bezeugten Ensi namens Lumma[186].

Die chronologische Einordnung der Fāra- und TAS-Texe ist somit hauptsächlich auf paläographische und stilistische Vergleiche von Fundmaterial aus verschiedenen Orten angewiesen. Aufgrund solcher Indizien werden einige inschriftlich bezeugte Herrscher in die Fāra-Zeit datiert[187]: als wichtigster von ihnen ist Mesilim von Kiš zu nennen, unter dessen

176 Vgl. MFara, 83: "As noted above [o.c. 74f.], one would expect Schmidt's tablets to be, if anything, earlier than the D.O.G. tablets as Schmidt's were found with Crossed Style seal impressions and the D.O.G.'s were found with Anzud Sud style seal impressions".

177 Vgl. MFara, 82.

178 Herkunft aus Fāra unsicher.

179 HFara, 74 mit Taf. 35.

180 Kramer 1932, 110 mit Anm. 5 (S. 124); 113.

181 Kramer 1932, 119 Anm. 3.

182 Kramer 1932, 110 mit Anm. 6 (S. 124).

183 Biggs 1966, 75f.; OIP 99, S. 24.

184 Kv-vK-Schreibung geschlossener Silben (s.u. S. 271); umfangreicheres Syllabogramminventar (s.u. S. 286-298); ^{d}AŠNAN statt ^{d}TIR (s.u. S. 284); im Vergleich zu Fāra einfachere Zeichenformen bei A, KI, ŠU, UD (s.u. S. 280-282).

185 Vgl. Edzard 1978, 155, zu Curchin 1977.

186 Pomponio, EDATS, S. 14, zu TSŠ 430 iii' 2'f.

187 Vgl. die Tabelle bei Braun-Holzinger 1977, 94. Die Verfasserin zieht für die chronologische Einordnung der frühdynastischen Beterstatuetten archäologische und paläographische Kriterien heran. Der Zeit der Fāra-Tafeln entspricht ihre "Schriftstufe II".

Herrschaft Lugalšagengur als Ensi von Lagaš[188] und Ninkisalsi als Ensi von Adab[189] bezeugt sind. Fāra-zeitliche "Ensis" von Nippur könnten Abzukidug und Nammaḫ sein[190].
Schriftgeschichtlich liegen die Fāra- und TAS-Texte zwischen den archaischen Texten aus Ur und den präsargonischen Archiven aus Lagaš, welche wiederum über mehrere Generationen hinweg den Anschluß an die sargonische Zeit vermitteln. Der zeitliche Abstand nach oben wie nach unten läßt sich aber nur schätzen. Nach oben, also zu den archaischen Texten aus Ur, ist er wohl kürzer als ehedem angenommen, da der zur Datierung der archaischen Texte aus Ur herangezogene Siegelstil nicht in die frühdynastische Periode I, sondern – als lokale Variante des "Mesilim-Stils" – in die Periode FD II gehören dürfte[191]. Für eine engere zeitliche Nachbarschaft der beiden Textkorpora spricht auch der philologische Befund[192]. Was den Abstand zwischen den Fāra-Texten und Urnanše von Lagaš betrifft[193], so sind seit Deimels Einschätzung von 1922, daß die Fāra-Texte "nicht viel älter" seien als Urnanše[194], keine wesentlichen Fortschritte erzielt worden[195]. Nur mehr von wissenschaftsgeschichtlichem Interesse ist V. Christians Ansatz, der die Tafeln hauptsächlich mit archäologischen Argumenten "etwa der Zeit Urukaginas" zuwies[196]. Der sich auf onomastische Vergleiche stützende Vorschlag W. Hallos[197], die Fāra-Texte in das Zeitalter Urnanšes und seiner ersten Nachfolger zu rücken, ist kaum hinreichend begründet, da sein Vergleichsmaterial unausgewogen ist, wie F. Pomponio[198] zu Recht betont: 5 Namen von der "Enḫeĝal-Tafel" und 14 weitere aus Lagaš gegenüber ungefähr 1700 aus Fāra; andererseits würden die Texte RTC 1-8, für die ein Datum vor Urnanše stratigraphisch gesichert sei, gute Übereinstimmungen mit den Fāra-Texten aufweisen[199].

[188] FAOS 5/2, 215f.
[189] FAOS 5/2, 216f.
[190] Goetze 1970, 43 (7N-128); 46 (8N-4).
[191] Zu diesem Ergebnis kommt Karg 1984.
[192] Steinkeller 1987, 19f., mit Hinweis auf Karg 1984.
[193] Die ältere chronologische Diskussion (Thureau-Dangin, RTC, S. II Anm. 1; Deimel, LAK, S.4f.; Unger 1922; Deimel 1923c; Christian 1928; Deimel 1928) referieren und diskutieren Kramer 1932, 120-122, und Falkenstein, ATU 1, 16-22.
[194] LAK, S. 5.
[195] Vgl. etwa Falkenstein 1936, 22: "Die Fara-Tafeln sind älter als Urnanše, sie können vorläufig als die Vertreter der unmittelbar vor diesem Herrscher liegenden Stufe der Schriftentwicklung gelten. Von den von A. Deimel vorgeschlagenen Daten – 100 bis 200 Jahre vor Urnanše – möchte ich mich zum mindesten für das niedrigere entscheiden"; Biggs, OIP 99, S. 26: "I would suggest – and it is no more than a suggestion – that the Fara-Abū Ṣalābīkh texts probably antedate the reign of Ur-Nanshe by one or two generations".
[196] Christian 1928-29, 10.
[197] Hallo 1973.
[198] Pomponio 1987, XVI.
[199] Die "Enḫeĝal-Tafel" (PBS 9, 2 = ELTS 20) hatte bereits Deimel, WF, S. 2*, zum Vergleich mit den Fāra-Texten herangezogen. Er nahm an, daß der darin erwähnte en-ḫe$_2$-ĝal$_2$ in Lagaš vor Urnanše als König regiert habe, da Urnanšes Nachfolger lückenlos bekannt seien. en-ḫe$_2$-ĝal$_2$ ist jedoch nach Wilcke 1996, 26-30, nicht als Name eines Königs zu verstehen.

6.1. Sumerisch und Akkadisch

Die Sprache der Fāra-zeitlichen Texte ist auf der Schriftebene ganz überwiegend das Sumerische, doch läßt das weitgehend "sumerographische" Schriftsystem eine andere zugrundeliegende Sprache nicht ohne weiteres erkennen.
Im Sumerischen ist mit sprachgeschichtlich und dialektal bedingten Besonderheiten gegenüber späteren Texten zu rechnen, deren Erkennen die Defektivität des Schriftsystems freilich erschwert. Eine umfassende Untersuchung zu diesem Thema steht allerdings noch aus. Lohnend wären beispielsweise die Sammlung und Analyse der zahlreichen unorthographischen bzw. syllabischen Schreibungen (insbesondere in Duplikaten aus Ebla), die für viele Wörter und Formen eine ältere Lautgestalt zeigen, sowie die Sammlung und Analyse der Verbalformen. Besonderheiten im nominalen Bereich sind z.B. die terminativ-finale Verwendung von -da[200] oder die Doppelsetzung von -gin$_7$ im Vergleich A-gin$_7$ B-gin$_7$ "A ist wie B"[201].
Trotz des weitgehend "sumerographischen" Schriftsystems gibt es genügend klare Belege für semitisches – oder, wie man wohl präzisieren darf – (früh)akkadisches Wort- und Namengut[202]. Abgesehen von syllabisch geschriebenen Wörtern kann auch die logographische Ebene zugrundeliegendes Akkadisch reflektieren. Als Indizien hierfür wurden geltend gemacht[203]:

1. die unterschiedliche Stellung von Maß und Gemessenem: sumerisch n ku$_3$ gin$_2$ versus akkadisch n gin$_2$ ku$_3$.babbar "n Sekel Silber";
2. die Verwendung besonderer Logogramme wie z.B. AB×AŠ$_2$ statt lu$_2$-ki-inim "Zeuge", DUL$_3$ statt alam "Statue", DUMU.NITA/MUNUS "Sohn/Tochter" statt dumu "Kind", NI$_3$.KI.ĜAR statt ni$_3$-diri (eine Leistung in Kaufverträgen), SA$_{12}$-RIG$_7$ "weihen" statt a-ru.

I. J. Gelb sah in diesen Schreibungen Merkmale eines sehr frühen eigenständigen Zweiges der Keilschriftkultur mit semitischem Hintergrund, den er nach ihrem vermutlichen Zentrum "Kish tradition" bzw. "Kish civilization" nannte[204]. Einige der spezifisch "nördlichen" Logogramme sind auf semitischer bzw. akkadischer Basis zu erklären: so ist hinter NI$_3$.KI.ĜAR akk. *iškinū* (zu *šakānum* = ĝar) zu erkennen; DUL$_3$ für *ṣalmum* "Statue" beruht wohl auf der Homophonie mit *ṣalmum* "dunkel", das man durch (AN.)DUL$_3$ (später mit *ṣulūlum* "Schatten"

[200] Vgl. Krebernik 1984, 43 mit Verweis auf Goetze 1970, 40.
[201] Frühdynastische Sprichwortsammlung, 3 (Alster 1991-92, 10): ka-zu$_5$-gin$_7$ gala$_4$-zu$_5$-gin$_7$ "wie dein Mund, so deine Vulva". In späteren Textzeugen fällt das zweite -gin$_7$ weg – analog zu und wohl beeinflußt von – der akkadischen Ausdrucksweise *kīma pī-ki biṣṣūr-ki*.
[202] Auf semitische Personennamen der Fāra-Zeit hat zuerst Biggs 1967 hingewiesen.
[203] ELTS, S. 11f. Skeptisch insbesondere zum ersten Kriterium äußert sich Wilcke 1996, 8f. Bei der Plazierung von Zahlzeichen und Maßen sind jedoch tatsächlich Regelmäßigkeiten zu beobachten, die sich von der sonstigen, freien Zeichenanordnung abheben.
[204] Gelb 1977, 13f.; 1981, 52-56; 1992, 147-150.

geglichen) ausdrückte; SA_{12} RIG_7 schließlich dürfte letzlich ein "Pseudosumerogramm" bzw. "Akkadogramm" für /*šarik*/ "ist/hat geweiht" sein, woraus sum. sa_{12}(-$še_3$) rig_7 entlehnt ist.

Eine wichtige Rolle für die Beurteilung der sprachlichen Situation zur Zeit der Fāra- und TAS-Texte spielen die Personennamen. Deimel und Jestin hatten bereits ihren Textpublikationen Namensindizes beigegeben[205], eine Prosopographie aller publizierten Fāra-Texte veröffentlichte Pomponio[206].

Die Namen in den Fāra-Texten sind zum allergrößten Teil sumerisch. Neben Typen, die auch aus späterer Zeit vertraut sind, wie z.B. ur-GN, gibt es solche, die später verschwinden wie etwa AK/GAN-GN/Kulttoponym oder mit MUNUS- gebildete. Eine typologische Studie wäre wünschenswert.

Der Großteil der Personennamen aus TAS ist – entsprechend dem geringen Anteil der Wirtschaftstexte am Gesamtkorpus – in den Kolophonen lexikalischer und literarischer Texte enthalten[207].

Unter den etwa 1700 Personennamen der Fāra-Texte finden sich auch ein Reihe semitischer. Eine von A. Westenholz erstellte Liste umfaßte 29[208], Pomponio kennzeichnete in seiner Prosopographie durch Unterstreichung 53 als ganz oder teilweise semitisch. Die Namen sind[209]:

> *a-ḫa-lum*[210] (P); *a-ḫar-ši*[211] (W; P); AK-*aš-dar*[212] (W; P: AK-*aš-tar*$_2$); *aš-dar-gara*$_3$[213] (P); *aš-dar*-UN^{mušen}[214] (P); *aš*$^{!?}$-*ma*$_2$$^{!?}$[215] (P); *aš*$^{!?}$-*ma*$_2$$^{!?}$-*sar*[216] (P); *aš*$_2$-*da-il*[217] (W; P:

[205] WF, S. 18*-48*; TSŠ, S. 50-71; NTSŠ, S. 9-15.

[206] Pomponio 1987. Berücksichtigt sind auch außerhalb von SF, WF und (N)TSŠ publizierte mutmaßliche Fāra-Texte, doch werden nur die in Wirtschaftstexten und in den Kolophonen lexikalischer und literarischer Texte vorkommenden Namen erfaßt, nicht jedoch die in lexikalischen – und u.U. in literarischen – Texten enthaltenen.

[207] Eine Liste dieser Namen hat Biggs in OIP 99, S. 34f., zusammengestellt. Die Personennamen der Wirtschaftstexte findet man bei Pomponio 1991b.

[208] Westenholz 1988, 111f.

[209] W: bei Westenholz 1988, 111f., angeführte Namen. P: bei Pomponio 1988 ganz oder teilweise als semitisch gekennzeichnete Namen. Belegstellen und deren Aufteilung auf einzelne Individuen sind von Pomponio übernommen, seine Umschrift ist angegeben, wenn von obiger abweichend.

[210] WF 22, Rs. v. Aus /*ʾaḫa-ʾilum*/?

[211] WF 32, iv 2; MVN 10, 84 Rs. I 1; BAOM 5, 28, Rs. i. (2) Gs.Unger, Nr.1, ii 6. (3) Orient 19, 2, v 8. Aus /*ʾaḫa-ʾarši*/?

[212] WF 76, Rs. i. (2) TSŠ 158, v 15. Lesung und Stellung von AK unsicher.

[213] TSŠ 230 i 2'. /*ʿaṯtar-qarrād*/? . Das Element *gara*$_3$ kommt auch in Ebla und aAK vor. Explizite Schreibungen für *qarrād*(*um*) liegen nach-Fāra-zeitlich in AN-*gara*$_3$-*ad* (YOS 4, 156, 1) und EZEN-*gar*$_3$-*ra-ad* (OIP 14, 74, ii 6) vor; vgl. auch *i*$_3$-*lum-gur-ad* /*ʾilum-qurād*/ (mehrmals in UET 2, Suppl., 19). In IAS 112, Rs. iii' 3' (Photo) ist *gara*$_3$-*du*/*ad*? neben ^{d}za-ba$_4$-ba$_4$ vielleicht als ein im Sum. beibehaltenes akk. Epitheton zu verstehen. In der Götterliste aus TAS ist ^{d}*gara*$_3$ nach ^{d}girid$_2$ eingeordnet, was auf lautlicher Assoziation beruhen und somit die Lesung /*qarrād*/ stützen könnte. Der vorgeschlagenen Interpretation würde der Name UR.SAĜ-gara$_3$ widersprechen, falls er zweigliedrig ist, doch könnte hier gara$_3$ phonetisches Komplement zu UR.SAĜ = *qarrād*(*um*) sein. Eine Kurzform /*qar*/ von /*waqar*/ (abstrahiert aus Fällen wie /*ʾabu-waqar*/ > /*ʾabûqar*/) oder evt. ein eigenständiges Lemma sind jedoch nicht auszuschließen (so z.B. fragend di Vito 1993, 220).

[214] WF 7, Rs. vii.

[215] WF 67, Rs. ii. Unsicher, Deimels Umschrift hat bar-si.

[216] WF 68, vii; 69 vii. Unsicher, Deimel hat in WF 68 BAR.SI-, in WF 69 AŠ.SI.

[217] WF 76, Rs. i. /*ʾašta-ʾil*/. /*ʾašta*/ ist vielleicht Präposition (=*itti*).

aš$_2$-ta$_2$-il); *aš$_2$-dam-il*[218] (W; P: *aš$_2$-tam$_2$-il*);

bi-li-li[219] (P: *be$_2$-li-li*);

da-du-LUL[220] (P); *da-tum*[221] (W; P: *da-dum*);

e-du-ia$_2$[222] (P); *eš*[?]*-še-šu*[223] (P: PN?);

ga-ri[224] (P); *ga-ri*-NI[225] (P); GAG-*zi-um*[226] (W; P: KAK-);

ḫa-NI-*lum*[227] (W; P);

i-BU-NI[228] (P); *i-bu$_3$*-LUL-*il*[229] (W; P); *i*-[Ḫ]I[?]-E$_2$[230] (P); *i-ku-gi*[231] (W; P); *i-na-il*[232] (W;P); *i-*⌜*ri$_2$*[?]⌝*-gi*[233] (P); *i-sar-bu$_3$*[234] (W; P: *i-sar-pum$_3$*); *i$_3$-lum-gara$_3$*[237] (W; P); *i$_3$-lum-su$_x$*(MUŠ)[236] (W; P); *ib-gi*-NE[237] (P: *ip-gi*-NE); *il*-LAGAB-LUM$_x$(ZU.ZU.SAR)[238] (W; P); *il-lu-sar*[239] (W; P); *il*-NI.NI[240] (P); *il*-NI.[?][241] (P); *il-su$_x$*(MUŠ)*-nu-me-*<*ru*?>[242] (W;P); *il-su$_x$*(MUŠ)-<*nu*?>*-me-ru*[243] (W; P: *il-su$_x$*[?]*-me-ru*); *il-su$_x$*(MUŠ)*-nu-me-ru*[244] (W;P); *il-su$_3$*-

[218] WF 106, ii; 107, vi; auch lexikalisch: SF 63, i 6 (in SF nicht richtig wiedergegeben). /*'ašta-m(a)-'il*/; Westenholz vergleicht den ON E$_2$*-aš$_2$* /*iš-da-ma-il* aus Nippur. Vgl. vorige Anm.

[219] NTSŠ 569, Rs. ii' 6'. /*be'lī-'ilī*/? Unsicher, der Name kann auch zum "banana"-Typ unbestimmter Herkunft gehören. Vgl. *pi-li-li*.

[220] WF 77, viii. (2) WF 32, v 6. (3) WF 149, iii. Zeichenfolge und Interpretation unsicher, könnte /*dādu*/ enthalten.

[221] WF 135, Rs. i. /*dādum*/.

[222] TSŠ 881, Rs. v 5. Lesung (*ia$_2$* : syllabische Verwendung des Zahlzeichens "5"!) und semitische Deutung sehr unsicher.

[223] TSŠ 302, Rs. ii 1. Sehr unsicher.

[224] TSŠ 222, i 7; WF 1, iv 3; 45, iv 1; 51, iv; 53, vii. (2) TSŠ 46 (K); SF 13 (K). (3) TSŠ 401, Rs. i 2; WF 74, Rs. ii. Falls die Lesung zutrifft, würden *ga-ri$_2$-u$_3$* /*u$_9$* aus Ebla und dem präsargonischen Mari sowie aAK *ga-ri$_2$* (zu akk. *gerûm*) entsprechen, s. MAD 3, 119; Steinkeller 1993, 240. Vielleicht ist aber ri-ga zu lesen.

[225] WF 124, iii. Lesung unsicher, vgl. vorige Anm.

[226] WF 110, i. Bei Pomponio wohl nur versehentlich nicht unterstrichen.

[227] WF 22, ix. Mehrdeutig, Interpretation unsicher.

[228] WF 18, Rs. vii. (2) TSŠ 453b ii' 4'. Lesung und Interpretation unsicher; *i*- dürfte jedenfalls Konjugationspräfix sein.

[229] TSŠ 479, 2. /*yiplus-'il*/ oder /*yi'pul-'il*/, s.u. S. 271 mit Anm. 430.

[230] TSŠ 453a, ii' 3'. Zu dem Element E$_2$ s.u. Anm. 324.

[231] TSŠ 732, i 6. /*yikūn-kīn*/.

[232] WF 107, iv. /*ḫinna-'il*/.

[233] TSŠ 881, v 1'. Lesung sehr unsicher, *ri$_2$* ist auf der Kopie nicht zu sehen. Name wohl analog zu *i-ku-gi*.

[234] TSŠ 750, 2. /*yišar-pū(m)*/.

[235] TSŠ 135, i 4; NTSŠ 140, i 2. /*'ilum-qarrād*/.

[236] WF 144, i. Vielleicht *su$_x$*(MUŠ)*-i$_3$-lum* /*šū-'ilum*/ zu lesen.

[237] TSŠ 881, viii 9'. Vielleicht mit späterem *ipqu* zu verbinden, vgl. MAD 3, 56f.

[238] WF 41, vii.

[239] WF 122, i. /*il-lū-šar*/?

[240] CT 50, 22, Rs. ii' 5'. *i$_3$-li$_2$-il* oder *il-i$_3$-bu$_x$* zu lesen?

[241] TSŠ 782, Rs. i 4.

[242] TSŠ 536, i 4. Diese und die folgenden Schreibungen könnten, mit den von Pomponio vorgeschlagenen Konjekturen, denselben Namen /*'ilšunu*/-Meru repräsentieren (was auch Westenholz annimmt). Doch wären auch /*'ilšu-mīnu*/ und /*'ilšu-nūru*/ als eigenständige Namen möglich.

[243] TSŠ 181, ii 10'. (2) WF 124, iv. (3) CT 50, 5, i 2.

[244] TSŠ 115, ii 5.

nu-<me ?>*-ru*[245] (W; P); *il-tu-tu*[246] (W; P); *iš-dub-il*[247] (W; P: *iš-ṭup-il*); *iš-*LUL*-il*[248] (W; P); *iš-pi-lum*[249] (W; P);

la-la[250] (P); *la-la-lum*[251] (P); *la-*LUM*-ma*[252] (P);

ME-ḪAR*-ši*[253] (P: *me-ar*$_3$*-ši*); MES.LAM*-il* s. *iš-dub-il*; *mi-su*$_4$*-ad*[254] (W);

pi-li-li[255] (P: *be*$_6$*-li-li*);

su-mu-⌜*aš* ?*-dar*?⌝[256] (W; P); *su*$_4$*-a-bi*[257] (P); *šu-a-ba*$_4$[258] (P); *šu-a-na-ti*[259] (P);

u$_3$*-*RI*-ti-*LUM$_x$(ZU.ZU.SAR)[260] (P); *u*$_5$*-aš-dar* (W; P: *aš-tar*$_2$*-u*$_5$)[261]; ur-^{d}*aš-dar*[262] (W;P); ur-^{d}*e-lum*[263] (P);

zu$_2$*-la*$_2$*-lum*[264] (W;. P: KA*-la*$_2$*-lum*).

Pomponios Prosopographie enthält noch einige weitere Namen, für die man semitische Interpretationen in Erwägung ziehen kann[265]:

AN*-mu-da*[266]; *aš-maḫ/maḫ*$_2$;

'a$_3$*-la-*LUM$_x$(ZU.ZU.SAR); *'a*$_3$-LUM; *'a*$_3$-LUM$_x$; *'a*$_3$*-na*; *'a*$_3$*-na-lu*; *'a*$_3$*-na-lu-lu*; *'a*$_3$*-nam*; *en-gi*;

ḪAR.TU[267] (nebst ḪAR.TU-^{d}sud$_3$, ḪAR.TU-TUR);

245 WF 22, viii.

246 TSŠ 119, ii' 2. (2) WF 70, Rs. i. */ʾil-dūdu/*?

247 NTSŠ 229, Rs. 1'(?). (2) WF 40, i. Westenholz liest in NTSŠ 229 MES.[LAM]*-il*. */yišṭup-ʾil/*.

248 WF 72, vi. Die Lesung *lul* in diesem Namen ist nicht gesichert, ebensowenig die Interpretation "Il drew (the child) out" (Westenholz 1988, 93).

249 WF 61, iii 10. Interpretation unsicher. Westenholz fragend *"yiśp(i)-ilum"*.

250 WF 110, i; 111, 4. Semitische Deutung unsicher; zu *lalûm* "Fülle"? *la-la* kommt u.a. im präsargonischen Mari vor, vgl. Steinkeller 1993, 241.

251 NTSŠ 296, ii 1. Aus */lala-ʾilum/*?

252 WF 107, Rs. i. Unsicher, vielleicht analog zu *a-lum-*LA (TAS) gebildet, s.u. Anm. 289.

253 TSŠ 230, iii 8'. Vgl. *a-ḫar-ši*; kollationsbedürftig!

254 WF 7, Rs. ii; 9, viii 12; 25, i 19. Bei Pomponio unter MI-si$_4$-ad gebucht, nicht unterstrichen. Steinkeller 1993, 241 mit Anm. 16 führt Parallelen aus Mari und Ebla an und interpretiert den Namen als */mīn-šu(w)āt/* "warum ihn?" (mit Bezug auf den Tod eines älteren Geschwisters).

255 RTC 12, iii 2. Vgl. *bi-li-li*.

256 WF 136, i. */šumu-ʿaṯtar/*.

257 Orient 19, 2, iv 6; MVN 10, 86, iv 5. */šū-ʾabī/*.

258 TSŠ 732, ii 3. */ṯū-ʾaba/*?

259 RTC 14, iv 4.. Ob der Name semitisch als */ṯū-ʿanati/* oder */ḏū-ʿanati/* "der der ʿAnat" zu analysieren ist, scheint fraglich. Sollte der Namensträger ein früher "Amurriter" sein?

260 TSŠ 732, ii 2. */ʾurrī-tīrum/*?

261 WF 31, Rs. ii 2. Vgl. *u*$_3$*-aš-dar* in TAS. *u*$_3$ */u*$_5$ ist vielleicht als Interjektion aufzufassen ("Oh ʿAṯtar!").

262 WF 110, i.

263 SR, S. 31, iii 3. (2) TMH 5, 78, iii 3; Gs.Unger, Nr.3, iii2. (3) WF 35, vi.

264 TSŠ 70, ii 1; 89, iii 6; WF 6, Rs. iv 10; 24, ii. */ṣulālum/*.

265 e$_2$- in Pomponios Umschrift ist jeweils durch *'a*$_3$- ersetzt.

266 Akkadisch interpretiert bei di Vito 1993, 129. */ʾil-mūdaʿ/*.

267 ḪAR.TU, meist als "Hausgesinde" o.ä. übersetzt, ist vielleicht *war*$_x$*-tu* zu lesen und als Lehnwort aus akk. *wardum* zu erklären, was zum Typus der damit gebildeten PN stimmen würde. Zur Rolle der ḪAR.TU s. zuletzt Selz 1993, 209-211. Zu ḪAR für */war/* in Ebla vgl. Krebernik 1982, 190.

LUM-*ma*[268];

MI-*la*; MI-*la*-UN; *mi-mud*;

na-DI-*nu*; NE-LUM$_x$(ZU.ZU.SAR); NI-*ba-ḫi-li*;

UN^mušen^-sar.

In der "Frühdynastischen Sprichwortsammlung" findet sich die Zeile *il-me-sar*[269], was wie ein akk. PN aussieht[270].

Semitische Götternamen enthalten noch die PN ^{d}*zu-en*-MUD[271], ur-^{dše_3}NIR[272] sowie einige in lexikalischen Texten vorkommende, die bei Pomponio nicht berücksichtigt sind: ^{d}*e-lum*-[AN].DUL$_3$[273], ^{d}*e-lum*-AGA$_3$.ZI[274], ^{d}*e-lum-da*-⌜KA/*bu$_3$* ?⌝[275].

Die Anzahl der semitischen Namen läßt sich nicht genau beziffern: Lesung und Interpretation vieler Namen sind unsicher, zuweilen könnte sich hinter unterschiedlichen, z.T. fehlerhaften Schreibungen derselbe Name verbergen (s.o. S. 262 mit Anm. 242). Veranschlagt man die zur Gänze semitischen auf 40-50, so würden sie zwischen 2 und 3 Prozent der insgesamt etwa 1700 Personennamen ausmachen.

Einige der in den Personennamen auftretenden Götternamen sind auch lexikalisch bezeugt: ^{d}*e-lum*[276], ^{d}*zu-en*[277], ^{dše_3}NIR[278]. Außerdem finden sich in der großen Götterliste aus Fāra an semitischen Namen noch AN-*ma-tum*[279] und evt. *ku$_3$-rib-ba*[280].

[268] LUM-ma (möglicherweise verbergen sich hinter dieser Schreibung mehrere Namen) ist – nicht nur in Fāra – überaus häufig und kommt später auch als Göttername vor. Eanatum von Lagaš erklärt seinen zweiten Namen LUM-ma als mu-tidnu (s. Bauer 1987-90, § 2, mit Lit.). Falls sich dies auf einen "amurritischen" Nomadenstamm *tidnu/ditānum* bezieht, wäre zu erwägen, ob LUM-ma (auch) einen semitischen Namen darstellt.

[269] Alster, 1991-92, 19, Z. 201; nicht übersetzt oder kommentiert.

[270] In dem gegebenen Kontext (unklar) könnte man eine Anspielung auf eine historische Persönlichkeit vermuten, vgl. z.B. das bei Edzard 1993 zitierte Sprichwort zu Mesilim von Kiš. Tatsächlich ist der Name auf einem zeitgenössischen Dokument überliefert, nämlich einem Rollsiegel der Periode FD II aus Mari (Parrot 1956, 190, M.1388 = AO.19811; vgl. Strommenger 1960, 25; Braun-Holzinger 1977, 26; Karg 1984, 57f.); die Zeichenfolge ist dort SAR.ME.IL, der Name wurde seit der Originalpublikation meist Šar-il gelesen, das ME ist jedoch auf Photo und Kopie deutlich zu sehen, korrekte Lesung bei Karg 1984, 57.

[271] Pomponio: ^{d}zuen-mud. Wegen der in Fāra und TAS noch freien Zeichenfolge transliteriere ich hier *zu-en*, vgl. die bislang früheste syllabische Schreibung ^{d}EN.ZI/ZU = *zu-i-nu* in Ebla (MEE 4, VE 799). Zeichenfolge und Analyse des PN – MUD Logogramm oder Syllabogramm? – unsicher.

[272] Der GN Šerda ist mit akk. *šertum* "Morgen(röte)" zu identifizieren, vgl. Powell 1989, 447f.

[273] SF 2, i 2. Es liegt nahe, ^{d}*e-lum* als */ʾilum/* zu deuten. Allerdings ist das Nebeneinander von *e-lum* und *i$_3$-lum* (*i$_3$-lum-gara$_3$*, -MUŠ) auffällig. Später wird ^{d}*e-lum* mit Enlil identifiziert (An = Anum I 155).

[274] SF 2, ii 1.

[275] SF 2, ii 3.

[276] SF 5 A v 6; B v 2.

[277] SF 5 A; B; SF 6 jeweils i 5.

[278] SF 1 x 3.

[279] SF 1, viii 1. Vielleicht als */ʾil-mātim/* zu interpretieren, vgl. AN-*ma$_2$-ti* in TAS.

[280] SF 1, x 22. Von W.G. Lambert 1980-83 mit einem später ^{d}kur-ra-ib$_2$-ba u.ä. geschriebenen Namen der Ninisina identifiziert. Der Name könnte zu akk. *karābu* gehören und letzlich mit *kurību* "ein Genius" identisch sein.

In den Fāra-Texte begegnen schließlich auch akkadische Lehnwörter. Abgesehen von logographisch geschriebenen wie SAGI "Mundschenk", SAM_x($NINDA_2$×ŠE) "Kauf" oder UGULA "Aufseher" (deren Fāra-zeitliche Lesung wir nur vermuten können), sind zu nennen:

bur-šu-ma[281]	"Greis(in)" (auch Titel oder Berufsbezeichnung);
li_2-ga[282]	(Maßeinheit);
ma-na[283]	"Mine" (Maßeinheit);
dam-$gara_3$[284]	"Kaufmann";
na-gada[285]	"Hirt";
pa_4-šeš[286]	(ein Priester).

Ein Lehnwort ist vielleicht auch das einmal in Zusammenhang mit e_2-kur und e_2-zi bezeugte a_2-ki-ti "*akītu*-Fest" (TSŠ 881, ii' 1').

In TAS ist das semitische Element wesentlich stärker vertreten als in Fāra. Von den etwa 150 Personennamen der Kolophone und Wirtschaftstexte sind über 60, also mindestens 40 Prozent, semitisch[287]:

a-a-um(-KU.LI)[288]; ⌜*a*⌝-*la*-LUM[289]; *a*-LAK350(vertikal)-BAD_3[290]; *a-lum*-BAD_3[291]; *a-lum-i*$_3$-*lum*[292]; *a-ḫa-ar-*<*si* ?>[293]; *a*-[*ḫa-a*]*r-si*[294]; AMAR-^{d}*zu-en*[295]; AN.R[U?.X?]-*ḫa*-LA[M][296]; *aš-da-da*[297]; *aš*$_2$-*mud*[298];

[281] Von Pomponio auch fragend als PN angeführt. In Ebla ist das Femininum *parṯumtum* zusammen mit *šarratum* und *mar'atum* Äquivalent von SAĜ+KID_2 (MEE 4, VE 260; emendiert nach Photo), das in einer Berufsliste aus Fāra vor AMA.^{d}INANNA erscheint (SF 70, viii 6f.).

[282] Nach Powell 1987-90, 495-497, ist NI-ga so zu lesen und geht auf akk. *litka* in der Bedeutung "true/standard measure" zurück, vgl. die akk. Gefäßbezeichnung *litiktum*.

[283] Z.B. SF 30ff. und passim in den Wirtschaftstexten. Zu akk. *manûm* "zählen, rechnen", ursprünglich vielleicht "abteilen".

[284] Belege: Biga 1978; Pomponio 1987, 292. Entlehnung wohl aus akk. *tamkārum* und nicht umgekehrt, obwohl das Verbum *makāru* im Akk. erst spät belegt ist.

[285] Belege: Pomponio 1987, 305f. Wohl besser na-$gida_x$, von akk. *nāqidum*; vgl auch GADA = *kitûm*.

[286] SF 70, ii 9 (MSL 12, 13). Von akk. *pašīšum*.

[287] Die semitischen Namen aus TAS sind bei Westenholz 1988, 110f., und Biggs 1988, 92-96, zusammengestellt, die Namen der Wirtschaftstexte bei Pomponio 1991B. In den folgenden Belegangaben steht "K" für "Kolophon" (lexikalische und literarische Texte, ansonsten handelt es sich um Wirtschaftstexte).

[288] IAS 18 K. Mander 1984, 346, dem Biggs 1988, 95, folgt, deutet KU.LI als Titel.

[289] IAS 531 iv 1,. Westenholz 1988, 111, liest *a-lum*-LA / *'ālum-lala*/. LA dann aber eher zu *le'ûm*.

[290] IAS 495 v 6; 511 iv 2. Pomponio 1991B, 142, liest *a*-LAK350-⌜*um*?⌝ bzw. *a*-LAK350-u_9, doch ist das letzte Zeichen in IAS 511 deutlich BAD_3. Biggs 1988, 94f. Anm. 28, und Pomponio, l.c., weisen auf eine mögliche Lesung bu_x für das zweite Zeichen hin, die sich aus der Variante *a-bu*$_3$-KA_2 (Ebla) für *a*-LAK350-KA_2/KALAM (TAS) in der "Names and Professions List" (Z. 287; Berufsbezeichnung) ergibt.

[291] IAS 113 K; 254 K. / *'ālum-dūr*/.

[292] IAS 475 K. / *'ālum-'ilum*/.

[293] IAS 18 K. Falls Ergänzung zutreffend, / *'aḫa-'arši*/. Allerdings ist ein Element ar auch in PN aus Ebla und in aAK PN anzutreffen, vgl. auch *ar-rum*$_2$.

[294] IAS 60 K. / *'aḫa-'arši*/.

[295] IAS 518 iii 1.

[296] IAS 518 viii 1. Pomponio 1991B, 142, vergleicht *ḫa*-LAM, das in Ebla als Ortsname und theophores Element vorkommt (und für Ḫalab "Aleppo" steht).

[297] IAS 515 ii 2.

[298] IAS 518, i 4. Semitische Deutung unsicher. Pomponio 1991B, 142, versteht MUD hier als "è creatore".

ba-lum-i$_3$*-l*[*um*][299]; *bi*$_2$*-bi*$_2$*-um*[300];

da-da[301];

en-na-il[302]; *en-na-na*[303];

GIBIL-*i*[*l*][304]; ⌜GIŠ.BAN?⌝-*il*[305]; *gu*-NI-*sum*[306];

ḪAR-KA[307]; ḪAR.TU[308]; ḪAR.TU-ᵈn i s a b a[309]; ḪI-*la-i*$_3$*-lum*[310]; *ḫu-ti-um*[311];

i-bi$_2$*-um*[312]; *i-dur*$_2$-[?]-*a*-NAM[313]; *i-gi*$_{(4)}$*-i*$_3$*-lum*[314]; *i*-IM.NI-RUM$_2$[315]; *i*-⌜KA?⌝-LUM[316]; *i-ku-a-ḫa*[317]; *i-ku-gu-il*[318]; *i-ku-i-sar*[319]; *i-ku-il*[320]; *i-kun*$_3$*-ma-ri*$_2$[321]; *i-me* !(BAR)-EREN$_2$+X[322]; *i-ši*-⌜*x*?⌝-*gu*-NI-⌜*x*⌝[323]; *i-ti*-E$_2$[324]; *i-ti*-ᵈID$_2$[325]; *i-ti*-ᵈš a - ᵍᵃg a n[326]; *i-ti*-ᵈUD.GAM+GAM[327]; *i*$_3$-

299 IAS 518 ii 5. Westenholz 1988, 110, setzt fragend */baʿlum-ʾilum/* an. Wohl eher */balum-ʾilim/* als Entsprechung von sum. d i ĝ i r - n u - m e.

300 IAS 531. Wohl zu späterem *bibbum* "Wildschaf", vgl. Biggs 1988, 95, und Pomponio 1991B, 342, mit Verweis auf MAD 3, 93.

301 AbS 1739 (Iraq 42, Pl. 11a; ASE 4, Fig. 7:1) ii' 1'.

302 IAS 113 K; 117 K; 124 K; 128 K; 268 K; 388 K; 473 K; 479 K; 487 K; 503 iv 4. */ḥinna-ʾil/*.

303 IAS 124 K; 163 K. Analyse unsicher; Westenholz 1988, 111: */hinna-na/*.

304 IAS 479 K.

305 IAS 142 K. Lesung nach Mander 1984, 360; übernommen von Biggs 1988, 93: "Il is a bow"(?).

306 IAS 126 K; 498, 1'. Westenholz 1988, 111, vergleicht fragend akk. *kullizum* "Hirt" und verweist auf *gul-li-sum* in Mari. Auch Krebernik 1988, 6, stellt *gul-li-sum* und *gu*$_2$*-li-iš* in Ebla zu akk. *kullizum*.

307 IAS 518, iv 2.

308 IAS 116 K.

309 IAS 34 K.

310 IAS 298 K. Das Element *ḫi-la-* begegnet auch in PN aus Ebla.

311 IAS 39 K; 91 K; 126 K; 181 K(?); 268 K; 283 K; 472 K. Nach Biggs 1988, 95, und Westenholz zu akk. *ḫadûm* "sich freuen", das allerdings III *w* ist.

312 IAS 116 K. */yibbium/*.

313 IAS 518, viii 3. Zur Unterscheidung von KU und DUR$_2$ s.u. 6.3.6. Das theophore Element könnte *a-bir*$_5$ (*/ʾabir/* oder */ʾabbīr/* "Mächtiger") zu lesen sein.

314 IAS 18 K; 20 K; 126 K; 163 K; 254 K; 283 K; 489 K; 503, viii 6. */yiqqi-ʾilum/* zu *naqûm*?

315 IAS 141? K; 518, viii 5. Zeichenfolge und Interpretation unsicher.

316 AbS 1739 iv' 2'.

317 IAS 283 K. */yikūn-ʾaḫa/*.

318 IAS 113 K; 268 K; 479 K. Westenholz, 1988B, 113, führt auch einen späteren Beleg aus Dilbat an (CT 32, 8 iiA). Vielleicht ein analog zu *ikūn-pī*-GN gebildeter Name */yikūn-gū-ʾil/*, worin *gū* ein ugar. *g* "Stimme" entsprechendes Nomen wäre.

319 IAS 505, i' 1'. */yikūn-yišar/*.

320 IAS 61 K; 481 K; 503 vii 4. */yikūn-ʾil/*.

321 IAS 518, vi 4. */yikūn/*-Mari. Scheint den Ortsnamen Mari zu enthalten, wonach jedoch kein KI zu ergänzen ist, wie ein weiterer Beleg in einem noch unveröffentlichten TAS-Text zeigt.

322 IAS 518 vi 2. Biggs 1988, 96, verweist auf die in MAD 3, 44, gebuchten mit *i-me/mi-* gebildeten Namen.

323 IAS 116 K.

324 IAS 122 K. Biggs und Westenholz verstehten E$_2$ hier ebenso wie in *im-lik*-E$_2$ und PUZUR$_4$-E$_2$ als Logogramm für *bītum* "Tempel". Vielleicht liegt jedoch eine defektiv-syllabische Schreibung für */hayy(a)/* (Ea) vor: */yiddin-hayy(a)/*. Vgl. ᵈ⌜E$_2$⌝ in der Götterliste aus TAS (s.u. S. 269).

325 IAS 94 K; 489 K. */yiddin-nah(a)rum/*.

326 IAS 34 K; 268 K. */yiddin-šakkan/*.

327 IAS 33 K; 146? K. */yiddin-.../*.

lum-⌜*a-ḫa*⌝[328]; *i*$_3$-*lum-gara*$_3$[329]; *i*$_3$-*lum-ma-lik*[330]; *ib*-AN-*mud*[331]; *il*-$^{(tur)}$BAD$_3$[332]; *il*-LAK647[333]; *il-su/su*$_3$-*a-ḫa*[334]; *il-su-gara*$_3$[335]; *il-su*$_3$-EREN$_2$+X[336]; *il-su*$_3$-*ma-lik*[337]; *il*-⌜ZU⌝.ZU[338]; *im-lik*-E$_2$[339]; *im-ri*$_2$-*iš*-E$_2$[340]; *ir*$_3$(UŠ)-*bi*$_2$-*a-ḫa*[341]; *ir*$_3$(UŠ)-*mi-il*[342]; *iš-dub-il*[343]; *iš-dub*-^{d}KA.DI[344]; *iš-ga*-BE[345]; *iš*-LUL-*il*[346]; *iš-ma*$_2$-*i*$_3$-*lum*[347];

la-mu-tum[348];

MES.LAM-*il*[349]; *mi-en-nu*[350]; *mi-mud*[351];

PUZUR$_4$-E$_2$[352]; PUZUR$_4$-*il*[353];

su-ma-a-ba$_4$[354]; *su/su*$_{13}$-*ma-a-ḫa*[355]; *u*$_3$-*aš-dar*[356]; *u*$_3$-NE-NE[357].

ša-LUM[358].

[328] AbS 1739 (Iraq 42, pl. 11a; ASE 4, Fig. 7:1) iv' 3'.
[329] IAS 254 K. /*ʾilum-qarrād*/?
[330] IAS 298 K. /*ʾilum-mālik*/.
[331] IAS 254 K; 485 K. Krebernik 1988, 216 vergleicht *ib*-U$_9$-*mu-ud/du* in Ebla. Steinkeller 1993, 240, möchte darin verschiedene Formen von *bâʾum* (/*ibāʾ*/ versus /*ibūʾ*/) sehen.
[332] IAS 141 K; 142 K. /*ʾil-dūr*/. TUR ist mit Mander 1984, 348, wohl eher ein logographischer Zusatz zum PN als eine Glosse zu BAD$_3$.
[333] IAS 116 K; 283 K; 515 i' 1'. Fehlt bei Westenholz; bei Biggs 1988, 91, wären die beiden ersten Belege nachzutragen. Pomponio 1991B, 144, liest irrtümlich *il-at*.
[334] IAS 298 K (*su*); 132 K (*su*$_3$). /*ʾilšu-ʾaḫa*/.
[335] IAS 113 K; 122 K; 298 K; 476 K. /*ʾilšu-qarrād*/.
[336] IAS 33 K; 39 K; 59 K; 113 K; 132 K; 234 K; 269 K; 488 K. /*ʾilšu-...*/.
[337] IAS 513, Rs. ii 2'. /*ʾilšu-mālik*/.
[338] IAS 42 K.
[339] IAS 20 K; 126 K; 266 K. /*yimlik-ḫayy(a)*/? Vgl. Anm. 324.
[340] IAS 494 ii 8. Fehlt bei Biggs und Westenholz.
[341] IAS 142? K; 283 K. /*yirbi*$_2$-*ʾaḫa*/.
[342] IAS 23 K; 34 K. /*yirmi-ʾil*/.
[343] IAS 116 K; 513 Rs. iii 1'; AbS 1739 (Iraq 42, Fig 11a; ASE 4, Fig. 7:1) iii' 1'. /*yišṭup-ʾil*/.
[344] IAS 116 K; 477 K; 480 K. /*yištup*/-Ištaran.
[345] IAS 122 K; 298 K. Biggs 1988, 95, und Westenholz 1988, 111, lesen BE-*iš-ga*. Der Name enthält wohl die in Ebla und im präsargonischen Mari häufige Schreibung BE für *baʿl(um)* "Herr".
[346] IAS 116 K; 510, i 3; 513, iii 2; AbS 1739 (ASE 4, Fig. 7:1) Rs. i' 3' (in der Kopie ist IL wohl nicht richtig wiedergegeben).
[347] IAS 479 K. /*yišmaʿ-ʾilum*/.
[348] IAS 502, iii 4. Westenholz 1988, 111, interpretiert den Namen /*lā-mūtum*/. *la*- könnte jedoch auch eine Form von *l-ʾ-y* "stark sein" reflektieren (vgl. Pomponio 1991B, 144, mit Verweis auf Krebernik 1988, 94), und das zweite Glied könnte auch /*mutum*/ "Mann" sein.
[349] IAS 116 K; 117 K; 132 K; 477 K; 479 K.
[350] IAS 516, i 1.
[351] IAS 142 K.
[352] IAS 487 K. /*puzur-ḫayy(a)*/? Vgl. Anm. 324.
[353] IAS 13 K; 142 K; 268 K; 503, vii 6. /*puzur-ʾil*/.
[354] IAS 34 K. /*šū-ma-ʾaba*/.
[355] IAS 91 K; 142 K (*su*$_{13}$); 268 K; 269 K; 472 K. /*šū-ma-ʾaḫa*/.
[356] IAS 298 K; 506, ii' 3'. Vgl. Anm. 261.
[357] IAS 254 K; 480 K; 484 K.
[358] IAS 503, iii 5.

Man kann dieser Liste noch einige Namen aus der "Names and Professions List"[359] hinzufügen:

[*ʾa₃-nu*]-NI[360];

a-ḫu-ne[361]; *a*-LUM[362]; *a₂-na*[363]; *ar*-NI-*ba*[364]; *ar-rum₂*[365]; *aš-dar*-BALA[366]; *az-bu₃*[367]; *az-za-bu₃*[368];

ba-lu₅-lu₅[369];

da-tum[370];

ga-ri[371];

i-bi₂-la[372]; *i-su/su₁₃*(BU)*-bala*[373]; *i-ti-i₃-lum*[374]; *ib-li*[375]; *il*-SIG₅(IGI+LAK527)[376]; *im-lik-il*[377]; *im-mar*[378]; ᵈIM.MIᵐᵘšᵉⁿ-*me-ru*[379]; *im-tum*[380]; *iš₁₁-gi₄-me-ru*[381];

ki-num₂[382];

LU₂×ŠE₃-*il*[383];

MES-*sar*[384]; *mi-na*-LUM[385];

na-sum[386];

359 Zeilenzählung nach OIP 99, 62-71 und (in Klammern) nach Archi 1981.
360 NPL 48, ergänzt nach Ebla-Version.
361 NPL 239 (252); Ebla: *a-ḫu-ni*.
362 NPL 115 (120).
363 NPL 89 (87); Ebla: *ʾa₃-na*.
364 NPL 71.
365 NPL 4. Vgl. *a-ḫa-ar*?
366 NPL 146 (155) und wohl auch 96 (99). /*ʿaṯtar-pala*/.
367 NPL 182 (193); Ebla: *a-za-bu₃*. NPL 233 (246).
368 NPL 36 (35); Ebla: *a-za-bu₃*. Vielleicht nur eine Schreibvariante des vorigen Namens: KIŠ+ZA.ZA = *az*ₓ?
369 NPL 127 (134); Ebla: *ba-lu-lu*.
370 NPL 123 (130). /*dādum*/.
371 NPL 49. Vgl. Anm. 262.
372 NPL 139 (147); Ebla: *ib-la*. Variante in TAS (IAS 61, vi' 11): ⌜*x*⌝-*li*.
373 NPL 59; Ebla: *i-su-bala*.
374 NPL 118 (124); Ebla: *i-ti-lum*. /*yiddin-ʾilum*/.
375 NPL 211 (222). Vgl. *i-bi₂-la*.
376 NPL 97 (101); Ebla: *il*-LAK647. NPL 190 (201). /*ʾil-damiq*/.
377 NPL 231 (244); Ebla: *im₄-lik-il*. /*yimlik-ʾil*/.
378 NPL 178 (189). /*ʾimmar*/.
379 NPL 133 (140). NPL 219 (231); Ebla: *an-zu-me-ru*.
380 NPL 103 (107). NPL 207 (218). /*ʿimdum*/.
381 NPL 72 (73). Westenholz 1988, 111, hat fälschlich *iš*- statt *iš₁₁*-. Wegen *iš₁₁* ist der 1. Radikal wohl als *ṯ* oder *ḏ* anzusetzen (vgl. Krebernik 1988, 29) und somit nicht zu akk. *šaqûm* "tränken".
382 NPL 237 (250). /*kīnum*/. Ebla abweichend *i-t*[*i*].
383 NPL 171 (181).
384 NPL 131 (138).
385 NPL 144 (153). Biggs, 1988, 96, liest *mi-na-num₂* und verweist auf einen in MAD 3, 178, zitierten Beleg.
386 NPL 192 (203). /*nayṯum*/ (> *nēšum*) "Löwe"?

SIG[?]-*na-sar*[387]; ^{da}SIG$_5$[388]; *su$_3$-ma-me-ru*[389];

UR.SAG^{gara_3}[390].

Die Götterliste aus TAS[391] enthält an (wahrscheinlich) semitischen Namen:

AN-*ma$_2$-ti*[392]; ^{d}*me-ru*[393]; AN-*tum*[394];

^{d}*ba$_4$-al*[395]; ^{d}*ba$_4$-li-ḫa*[396]; ^{d}BE-ŠINIG[397];

^{d}*da-bar*[398]; ^{d}*da-ri$_2$*(-⌜*x*⌝[?])[399]; ^{d}*du-du*[400];

^{d}⌜E$_2$⌝[401]; ^{d}*zu-en*[402];

^{d}*ga-ga*[403]; ^{d}*gara$_3$*[404];

^{d}*i-ku-pi*[405];

^{d}*ku$_3$-rib-ba*[406];

^{d}*ma-l*[*ik* [?]][407]; ^{d}*ma-ni*[408];

^{d}*sar-gi-me-ru*[409]; $^{d\check{s}e_3}$NIR[410].

Die nur in TAS und Ebla dokumentierte Liste ED Lu$_2$ E enthält an akk. (Lehn-)Wörtern:

m a š - g a g - e n[411] "Muškēnum";

[387] NPL 157 (167); Ebla: *a-na-sar*; Ur III: *i-na-sar*.
[388] NPL 79. NPL 217 (229); Ebla: ^{da}LAK647. /*damiq*/ oder /*damqum*/.
[389] NPL 243 (256); Ebla: *su-ma-me-ru*. /*šū-ma*/-Meru.
[390] NPL 176 (187). /*qarrād(um)*/, mit *gara$_3$* als phonetischem Komplement?
[391] Eigene Zeilenzählung; A: Alberti 1985; M: Mander 1986, 24-32.
[392] 280 (A: 279; M: 297). Vgl. AN-*ma-tum* in Fāra.
[393] 363 (A: 360; M: -). Wohl so und nicht DIĜIR(*ilu*)-*me-ru* zu lesen, vgl. *me-ru* als Element der PN *il-su*(-*nu*)-, ^{d}IM.MI^{mušen}-, *iš$_{11}$-gi-*, *su-ma-me-ru*.
[394] 50. Antum oder Iltum?
[395] 229 (A: 229; M: 237). /*baʿal*/.
[396] 349 (A: 345; M: 371). /*balīḫa*/, identisch mit dem Namen eines frühdynastischen Königs von Kiš? Oder Flußname /*baliḫā*/ (zum Dual vgl. Krebernik 1984, 133f.)?
[397] 392 (A: 388; M: 420). /*baʿal-ṣarb(at)i*/.
[398] 228 (A: 228; M: 236).
[399] 320 (A: 345; M: 340).
[400] 349 (A: 356; M: -). /*dūdu*/.
[401] 321 (A: 318; M: 341). Vielleicht Ea, vgl. Anm. 324.
[402] 16.
[403] 388 (A: 384; M: 416). /*kakka*/.
[404] 177 (A: 176; M: 177). Vielleicht /*qarrād*/, vgl. ^{d}g i r i d$_2$ in der vorausgehenden Zeile. S. a. Anm. 213.
[405] 393 (A: 389 M: 421). /*yikūn-pī*/?
[406] 25 (A: 25; M: 25). Vgl. Anm. 280.
[407] 307 (A: 306; M: -). /*malik*/ oder /*mālik*/?
[408] 385 (A: 381; M: -). Auch aAK PN, s. MAD 3, 179: zu m-n-y "lieben".
[409] 325 (A: 322; M: 345). /*šar(ru)-kī*/-Meru oder /*šar-gimri*/?
[410] 103 (A: 103; M: 103). Vgl. Anm. 272 und 278.
[411] ED Lu$_2$ E, 172 (MSL 12, 19). Zugrunde liegt /*muška''inum*/ (> *muškênum*). Vgl. MEE 4, VE 1306': MAŠ.GAG.EN = *mu-sa-ga-i-num$_2$*.

pa$_4$-šeš[412] (ein Priester);
sa-gaz$_2$(GUM)[413] "Flüchtling", "Nicht-Seßhafter".

Wahrscheinlich sind auch ein oder zwei Lemmata einer lexikalischen Übungstafel aus TAS akkadisch: *zi-ri$_2$*-LUM; *i*-NI-⌜*x*⌝[414].
In Wirtschaftstexten aus TAS finden sich die akkadische Präposition *in*[415], die Konjunktion *u$_3$*[416], die Zahlwörter *mi-ad* "100" und *li-im* "1000"[417] und die (semitischen) Monatsnamen ITU *i-si* und ITU *za-ʾa$_3$-tum* (s.o. S. 257 mit Anm. 172ff.). Hinter der Schreibung LU$_2$ PN[418] steht wohl das akkadische Pronomen *ṯū* (>*šū*).
Einer der literarischen Texte aus TAS ist akkadisch[419], was allerdings nur an wenigen syllabischen Schreibungen sichtbar wird: Präpositionen *in*[420] und *a*[*l*][421]; Konjunktion *u$_3$*[422]; Pronomen *su$_3$*[423]; Verbalformen *i$_3$-ku-*[*u*]*l*?[424] und *i-ma*[425]; Nomen *gu$_2$-luḫ-*⌜*ḫa*?⌝[426].
Es deutet also vieles darauf hin, daß das Akkadische in TAS vorherrschte oder zumindest eine wichtige Rolle neben dem Sumerischen spielte. In die Fāra-Zeit datierende akkadische Texte gibt es – abgesehen von noch weiter nördlich gelegenenen Gebieten (Diyala, Mari) – auch aus Nippur und Kiš[427]. Der Fāra-zeitliche "Städtebund" umfaßte demnach vorwiegend sumerisches Gebiet im Süden und vorwiegend akkadisches Gebiet im Norden.

412 ED Lu$_2$ E, 78 (MSL 12, 18; MEE 3, S. 39).
413 ED Lu$_2$ E, 153 (MSL 12, 19; MEE 3, S. 40). Zu *šaggāšum*. Vgl. MEE 4, VE 309: SA.GAZ$_2$(GUM) = *na-ti-tum* /*nādidum*/, zu *n-d-d* "fliehen".
414 IAS 321, iii 2'; vi 3.
415 IAS 508, i 2'; iii 3'; vgl. Biggs, OIP 99, S. 44; 98 (von Edzard 1976, 162, abgelehnt); Biggs-Postagte 1978, 116.
416 IAS 508, "i" 1'.
417 IAS 519, vgl. Biggs-Postgate 1978, 105.
418 IAS 503, iii 4-5: SI.DU.DU (wohl MA$_2$!.LAḪ) LU$_2$ *ša-lum*. Mehrmals in AbS.1739 (Iraq 42, Tf. Xi,a; ASE 4).
419 IAS 326(+)342 mit Duplikat ARET 5, 6; zitiert nach vgl. Krebernik 1992, 72-81.
420 IAS 326, i 13.
421 IAS 326, iv 2?; 11.
422 IAS 326, ii 12.
423 IAS 326, iii 5: AD-*su$_3$* (Ebla: MA$_2$.GUR$_8$-NA); 8: PA.E$_3$.AK-*su$_3$*; iv 12: UR.SAĜ *su$_3$* (Ebla: *kur-da su-a-de$_3$*); IAS 342, ii 7: URU-*s*[*u$_3$*] (Ebla: *a-li-zu*).
424 IAS 326, iv 12. Ebla: *i-gu$_2$-ul*.
425 IAS 342, ii' 4. In Ebla scheint I$_3$.DU zu entsprechen.
426 IAS 342, ii' 6. Ebla: *u$_3$-lu$_2$-ḫa-am$_6$*.
427 In ELTS, S. 13 werden als die vier ältesten akkadischen Texte aufgezählt: OIP 97, S. 78 Nr. 1 = ELTS 25, JCS 15, S. 107f. = ELTS 26 und ELTS 30b aus Nippur; ELTS 16 aus Kiš; sogar der ältere Text OECT 7, 149 = ELTS 17 soll vielleicht akkadisch sein. Explizite Kriterien für die Bestimmung der Sprache in Gestalt der syllabisch geschriebener akk. Wörter finden sich allerdings nur in ELTS 26: Präpositionen *in* (i 3') und *aš$_2$-de$_3$* (i 11'). Einige frühdynastische Weihinschriften in akk. Sprache werden ebenfalls als Fāra-zeitlich oder sogar etwas älter eingestuft (z.B. die "Tagge"-Inschrift aus Mari, vgl. Braun-Holzinger 1977, 27 und 94).

6.2. Das Schriftsystem

Das Fāra-zeitliche Schriftsystem repräsentiert eine schon weit gediehene Übergangsphase zwischen einem rein logographischen und einem gemischten, logographisch-phonographischem System mit vollständig ausgeprägter phonographischer Komponente. Die Grenze zwischen "Rebus"-Schreibungen einerseits und "syllabischen" Schreibungen andererseits hängt von der Zugehörigkeit der verwendeten Zeichen zu einem festen Syllabogramminventar ab und ist daher noch fließend. Es ist aber nicht zu übersehen, daß sich bereits ein fester Kernbestand an Syllabogrammen herausgebildet hat (s.u. S. 284-298).

Entscheidend für die Vervollkommnung der phonographischen Komponente dürften die schriftliche Wiedergabe nicht-sumerischer Wörter und Namen sowie die Aufzeichnung literarische Texte gewesen sein. Während das Formular von Wirtschaftstexten selbst schon ihre "Syntax" darstellt, war zu einer befriedigenden Wiedergabe sumerischer literarischer Texte die Schreibung grammatischer Morpheme notwendig. Eine Sprache mit interner Flexion wie das Akkadische ist zur genauen Wiedergabe vollends auf die lautliche Schriftkomponente angewiesen. Das Ende der Entwicklung wurde zu Beginn der sargonischen Zeit erreicht, als ein vollständiges System von Syllabogrammen der Typen (K)v und vK eine adäquate Wiedergabe des Akkadischen ermöglichte.

In Fāra-zeitlichen Texten ist die Schreibweise Kv-vK für geschlossene Silben des Typs KvK (K = Konsonant, v = Vokal) noch nicht üblich. Wenn ein entsprechendes Syllabogramm fehlt, wird /KvK/ defektiv mittels Kv ausgedrückt: so stehen beispielsweise in Fāra ga-sa$_2$ für /ga-n-sag/[428], li$_2$-ga für /lidga/ (s.o. Anm. 282); *gara$_3$* (in Personennamen) vielleicht für */qarrād/* (s.o. Anm. 213); in TAS *ma$_2$-ga*^{ki} für Madga[429], *i-ku-* für */yikūn-/*, *i-ti-* für */yiddin/*[430]; nach dem selben Prinzip stellt *a* in *a-lu* (TAS) neben NI(*'a$_x$*)*-i-lu* (Ebla)[431] möglicherweise eine auf Diphthong auslautende Silbe */ ˀay/* dar. Erste Ansätze zur Kv-vK-Schreibung sind aber schon in TAS vorhanden, wenn etwa *li-im* "1000" bereits für */līm/* (< */liˀim/*, Status absolutus zu */liˀm-/*) steht. Ziemlich sichere Fälle sind ferner der PN *im-ri$_2$-iš*-E$_2$ und die Verbalform *i$_3$-ku-*[*u*]*l*$^{?}$[432]. Die in Ebla sehr häufig angewandte Methode, /KvK/ mittels Kv-Kv auszudrücken, ist, wenn überhaupt, nur selten bezeugt; ein mögliches Beispiel ist *i-bu$_3$*-LUL-*il* aus Fāra[433], falls darin *i-bu$_3$* für */yip/* oder *bu$_3$-lu$_5$* für */pul/* stehen sollte: */yiplul/* bzw. */yiˀpul/* ? In TAS findet sich nu-te-me-mud für nu-dim$_2$-mud[434].

[428] SF 26, i 4; spätere syllabische Entsprechung: [ga-a]n-sa-ag (Alster 1991-92, 10 Z. 2).

[429] MEE 3, S. 230 Z. 37; Ebla: *ma-da-ga*^{ki}. Zur Identifikation des ON vgl. Frayne 1992, 57.

[430] Für Belege s.o. S. 264. Vgl. auch Steinkeller 1984c, 11; 17 mit Anm. 30 zu *ib-lu$_5$-* für */yiplus-/*.

[431] Atlante Geografico 268 (MEE 3, S. 239).

[432] Im allgemeinen ist bei der Interpretation scheinbarer Kv-vK-Schreibungen jedoch Vorsicht geboten: so könnte etwa *lal$_3$-la-ad*^{ki} (IAS 511, v 2) */lallayāt/* o.ä. lauten, und UR$_4$ in *ḫi-mu*-UR$_4$^{ki} und anderen Ortsnamen ist *ru$_x$* zu lesen, s.u. S. 297f.

[433] TSŠ 479: 2.

[434] IAS 116, x 21 (UD.GAL.NUN, s.u. 6.5): GAL(=en) nu-te-me-mud parallel zu ^{UD}GAL.NUN (= ^{d}en-ki).

Die Schreibweise des Sumerischen ist auch hinsichtlich des Ausdrucks von Morphemen und Morphemketten mehr oder weniger defektiv. Davon sind besonders suffigierte Morpheme betroffen. Konsonantisch anlautende Postpositionen, die eine Silbe für sich bilden (-bi, -da, -ra, -še$_3$, -ta, können zwar geschrieben werden, fehlen jedoch oft; dasselbe gilt für Possessivsuffixe. So kann etwa bloßes dumu für dumu-ni-ra "seinem Sohn" stehen[435]. Lautketten, in denen Morphem- und Silbengrenzen nicht zusammenfallen, wie etwa /laka/ in /ha(y) lugal=ak=a/ "im Hause des Königs" fehlen regelmäßig, so daß dieses Beispiel nur e$_2$ lugal geschrieben würde. Das später in solchen Fällen überaus häufige Syllabogramm ka ist noch nicht gebräuchlich, aber auch das schon existierende Syllabogramm ga wird zu diesem Zweck nicht verwendet. Dagegen finden sich öfters ausführliche Verbalpräfixketten wie ḫa-mu-ta-ni-DU.DU[436] oder nu-mu-GAL-sa$_2$[437], wobei freilich silbenschließende Konsonanten unausgedrückt bleiben: erstere Schreibung könnte also z.B. für /ḫamubtanin-/ stehen[438]. Diese Defektivität blieb bis in die Ur III-Zeit die Regel und wurde auch später nie gänzlich beseitigt.

6.3. Paläographie

Eine erste paläographische Auswertung der Fāra-Texte legte Deimel 1922 mit seiner "Liste der Archaischen Keilschriftzeichen" (LAK) vor, die bis heute ein unentbehrliches Hilfsmittel geblieben ist, wenngleich sie vom heutigen Standpunkt aus einige Mängel aufweist: so sind manche zusammengehörigen Formen (Zeichenvarianten) getrennt gebucht[439], manche Zeichendifferenzierungen aber noch nicht erkannt[440]. LAK basiert zwar auf den Texten aus Fāra, bezieht aber selektiv auch andere (meist spätere) ein. Für die Texte aus TAS existiert bislang keine eigene Zeichenliste. Die Fāra- und die TAS-Texte unterscheiden sich paläographisch in einigen Details, doch sind Zeichenvarianten auch innerhalb der Fāra- bzw. TAS-Texte zu beobachten. Besonders seit Bekanntwerden der TAS- und Ebla-Texte wurden zahlreiche Erkenntnisse zu Paläographie und Lesung einzelner Zeichen gewonnen[441]; unerwartete Hilfe bot u.a. eine Zeichenliste aus Ebla, deren einer Textzeuge den

435 Vgl. Krecher 1992, 288f., zu IAS 256 i 6 u.ö. (Rat des Šuruppak).
436 SF 46, iv' 4.
437 IAS 344, 3'; GAL ist UD.GAL.NUN-Orthographie für da (s.u. S. 298-302).
438 Ein scheinbares Gegenbeispiel wie IAS 329, v 5, wo man zunächst ḫe$_2$-em-ĝal$_2$ zu lesen versucht sein könnte, erklärt sich unter Berücksichtigung des Kontextes anders: a gal-gal A.SI-gin$_7$ IM ḫe$_2$-ĝal$_2$ an-ta šu-ra-gin$_7$ "wie große, übergroße? Wasser, wie reichlicher Regen, der vom Himmel fällt". Ähnlich wird man wohl auch in IAS 335, ii' 5', wo man ba$_4$-an-da-kar lesen könnte, besser an ba$_4$-da-kar lesen.
439 Z.B. sind LAK240 und LAK253 variierende Formen von ĜIRI$_3$.
440 Z.B. sind unter LAK 791 die Zeichen KU und DUR$_2$ zusammengefaßt, unter LAK792 die Zeichen NAM$_2$ und TUG$_2$.
441 Die einschlägige Literatur ist zum Großteil in Publikationen zu anderen Themen verstreut. Beiträge ausschließlich oder vorwiegend paläographischen Inhalts sind: Biggs 1971-72; Biggs 1973; Biggs, IAS 110-112; Civil 1983c; 1984b; Krecher 1987a; 1987b; Pomponio 1980; Pomponio 1984b; Steinkeller 1981; 1981-82; 1981-84; 1984c; 1989.

meisten Zeichen einen auf einem Lautwert beruhenden, akkadisierten Namen beifügt[442]. Eine umfassende und detaillierte Paläographie der Fāra-zeitlichen Texte ist ein Desiderat. Im folgenden sollen lediglich verschiedene schriftgeschichtliche Aspekte der Fāra- und TAS-Texte vorgestellt und durch Beispiele illustriert werden.

6.3.1. Tafelformate, Textgestaltung

Das Medium der allermeisten Schriftzeugnisse aus Fāra und TAS sind Tontafeln. Beobachtungen zu ihrer materiellen Struktur bzw. zu ihrer Herstellung und Beschriftung hat Biggs an den TAS-Texten gemacht und photographisch dokumentiert[443].

Die Fāra- und TAS-Tafeln weisen vielfältige Formen auf[444]. Bei kleineren ist der Übergang zwischen rechteckigen (mit stark abgerundeten Ecken) und runden fließend. Für die großen rechteckigen Tafeln ist charakteristisch, daß sie annähernd quadratisch oder länger als breit sind. Bei den Wirtschaftstexten gehören Format und Formular zusammen, doch wird sich Genaueres erst feststellen lassen, wenn alle Wirtschaftstexte in Kopien veröffentlicht sein werden. Runde, kleinformatige Tafeln, wie sie auch unter den Wirtschaftstexten häufig sind, gelten, wenn es sich um lexikalische oder literarische Texte handelt, gewöhnlich als "Übungstafeln", was aber vielleicht nicht immer zutrifft[445]. Deutlich wird der "Schul"-Charakter, wenn beide Seiten einer runden Tafel, zu der es auch noch ein (rundes) Duplikat gibt, denselben Text enthalten[446].

Unterschiedliche Typen zeigt auch die Kolumnen- und Fächereinteilung. In TAS fällt auf, daß viele der lexikalischen und literarischen TAS-Tafeln in ein regelmäßiges Raster von gleicher Kolumnenbreite bzw. Zeilenhöhe eingeteilt sind. Diese Einteilung erfolgte offensichtlich vor der Beschriftung. Auf einer literarischen Tafel aus Fāra[447] sind alle Textkolumnen (nicht aber der Kolophon) durch eine feine senkrechte Linie halbiert.

Auf der Tafelrückseite folgen die Kolumnen gewöhnlich von rechts nach links aufeinander (zur Schriftrichtung s.u. 3.3.2), doch sind Ausnahmen möglich[448]. Oft bleibt die Rückseite ganz oder teilweise frei. Die letzte Kolumne steht häufig – insbesondere, wenn sie einen Kolophon enthält – ganz links auf der Rückseite. Manche Tafeln tragen Zeichnungen auf der Rückseite (s.u. S. 336).

Zur Begrenzung von Text- und Tafelabschnitten (auch zwischen Vorder- und Rückseite) wird gerne eine Doppellinie verwendet, deren Zwischenraum mit gekreuzten oder einfachen Strichen ausgefüllt ist. Beide Arten kommen auch nebeneinander vor[449].

[442] Letzte Edition: Archi 1987; im folgenden als ZLE zitiert.
[443] OIP 99, S. 19-27.
[444] Vgl. schon Deimel, LAK, S. 13.
[445] Beispielsweise sind die meisten Beschwörungstafeln rund (auch in TAS und Ebla), doch ist fraglich, ob sie als "Übungstafeln" zu gelten haben.
[446] SF 5 mit Duplikat SF 6.
[447] SF 39.
[448] IAS 142; 268.
[449] SF 7 hat eine mit Grätenmuster gefüllte Doppellinie auf dem oberen Rand (unterer fehlt), eine mit schrägen Strichen gefüllte fungiert in dem lexikalischen Text als Trenner zwischen den einzelnen Abschnitten.

6.3.2. Zeichenorientierung und Schriftrichtung

Bekanntlich sind die Keilschriftzeichen in ihrer uns vertrauten Form gegenüber der ursprünglichen, an den Bildinhalten erkennbaren Stellung um 90 Grad nach links gekippt, und aus ursprünglich waagrecht nach links verlaufenden Fächern sind Zeilen senkrechter Kolumnen geworden. Die ambivalente Schräglage der Tafel in der Hand des Schreibers dürfte diese Umorientierung bewirkt haben. Deimel nahm die horizontale Schreib- und Leserichtung bereits für die Fāra-Texte an [450]. Die bildhafte Zeichnung auf der Rückseite einer Fāra-Tafel [451] verhält sich allerdings zur Schrift so, daß die Zeichen bei richtiger Betrachtung des Bildes noch "senkrecht" stehen, was zumindest der Lesehaltung entsprochen haben wird – dasselbe Verhältnis von Bild zu Schrift hielt sich noch weit ins 2. Jahrtausend hinein (Ḫammurapi-Stele, Siegellegenden).

6.3.3. Zeichenanordnung

Die Anordnung der Zeichen innerhalb eines Faches ist frei, d.h. unabhängig von der Lesefolge; dies läßt sich auch in schmalen Fächern (bzw. Zeilen) feststellen, die nur zwei oder drei Zeichen unter- bzw. nebeneinander enthalten. Nichtsdestoweniger lassen sich aber auch Regelmäßigkeiten bemerken, insbesondere bei der Plazierung von Zahlen und Maßen (vgl. Anm. 203).

6.3.4. Gekrümmte und runde Zeichen(elemente)

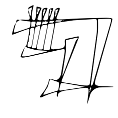
Manche Zeichen haben noch gekrümmte Linien, daneben sind aber meist Übergänge zu geradliniger Gestaltung zu beobachten [452].
Als Zeichenelemente und als selbständige Zeichen (hauptsächlich Zahlen) kommen auch runde oder halbrunde Eindrücke des Griffelendes vor, die in vielen Fällen mit keilförmigen Eindrücken wechseln [453]. Die runden Eindrücke für u = "10" (○) und šar$_2$ = "3600" (◯) bleiben allerdings noch bis in die Akkadzeit erhalten und werden dann zu ∢ bzw. ◇.

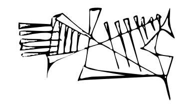
[450] LAK, S. 11f.
[451] SF 77.
[452] Vgl. z.B. die verschiedenen Formen von LU$_2$ in WF 25 (Photo: Tafel 3) iv 11 (gekrümmt) und v 10 (linear).
[453] Vgl. z.B. die unter LAK461 = KUR; LAK46 = GADA; LAK654 = TA*gunû* abgebildeten Varianten.

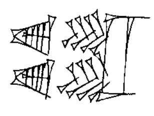
6.3.5. Später nicht mehr gebräuchliche Zeichen

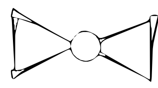
Das Zeicheninventar der Fāra-zeitlichen Texte enthält viele einfache und zusammengesetzte Zeichen, die später aufgegeben wurden bzw. in anderen Zeichen aufgingen. Dazu gehören:


(LAK20)[454]

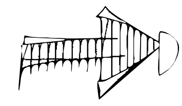

(LAK̥85) = $GIRI_x$[455]

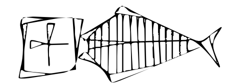

(LAK173) = KAD_5 / $ESIR_x$[456]


(ZU+ZU+SAR = LAK218) = LUM_x[457]


(LAK490) = GA'AR?[458]


(LAK647) = SIG_x[459]


(TA*gunû*, LAK654)


(LAK777) = UD/TUA?[460]

[454] Nach den Kontexten eher eine Art Schaf oder Ziege als, wie von Bauer vorgeschlagen, mit späterem m e g i d(d) a "Mutterschwein" zu identifizieren, s. zuletzt Steinkeller 1992a, 85f.

[455] In $g i r i_x$-z a l (z.B. SF 7, v 29; IAS 321, iii 4), später durch KA = $g i r i_{17}$ ersetzt. Die Zeichenform in TAS (Biggs, 1971, 206) weicht etwas ab. Zugrunde liegt $SI{\times}KID_2$.

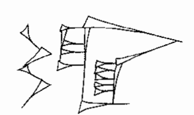
[456] Steinkeller 1981-82; 1992, 75. Vgl. ZLE 96: $GI_4 \times GI_4$ = u_3*-su-ru*$_{12}$*-um*. Später e-s i r_2 geschrieben.

[457] Pomponio 1984b, 10-18.

[458] Stol 1994 mit Lit. Zum möglichen Urbild des Zeichens s. Teuber 1995, 26-30.

[459] Krecher 1987a. Später durch SIG_5 ersetzt.

[460] Green 1980, 4; Archi 1994. ZLE 146: LA[K777] = u_3-[*x*]-LU[M].

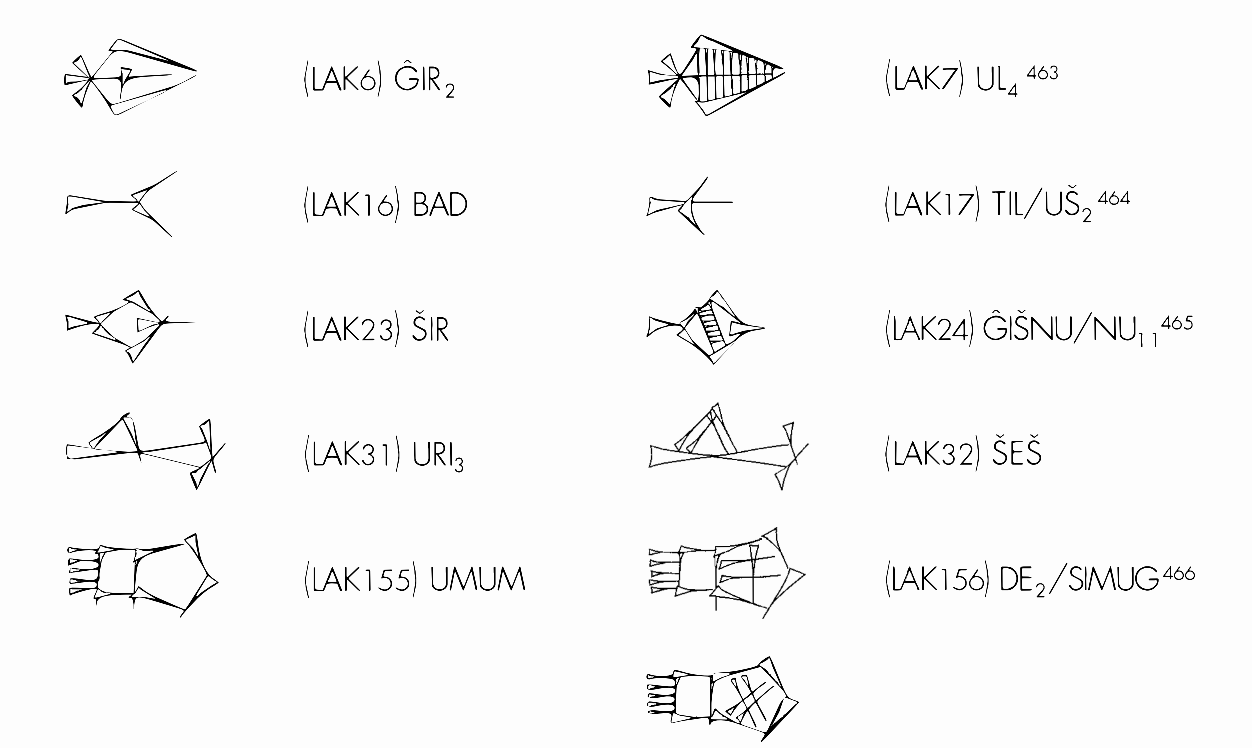


EREN_2+X[461]



ŠE+NAM_2 = ŠUŠ_x[462]

Besonders zu beachten sind Paare ähnlicher Zeichen, die später zusammenfielen:



461 Die von Pomponio 1980 vorgeschlagene Lesung lu_x bezweifelt mit guten Gründen Steinkeller 1986, 28f., der seinerseits $zu(m)_x$ in Erwägung zieht; s. zuletzt Archi 1988; W.G. Lambert 1989, 11-14; Pomponio 1989, 299-303; Krebernik 1992, 112f.; Steinkeller 1992b, 259-266.

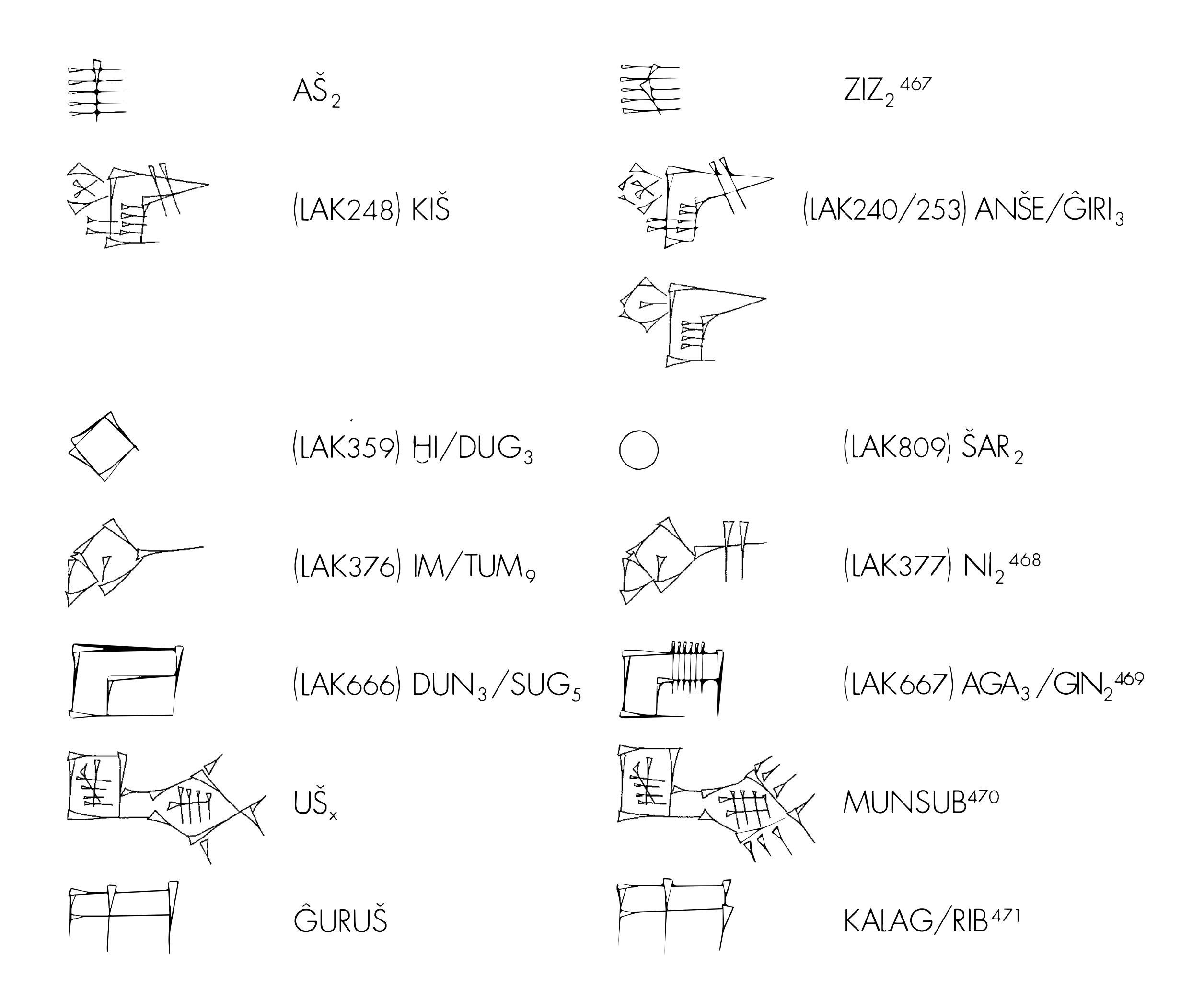
462 MSL 12, 12 Anm. zu Z.9; Steinkeller 1984a.

463 Biggs, IAS 69f.

464 Steinkeller 1981; die Identifikation von TIL in Fāra beruht auf dem zusammengesetzten Zeichen GIGIR = LAGAB×"TIL" und ist daher nicht ganz sicher. Unter LAK17 ist kein Beleg aus Fāra verbucht. In TAS ist UŠ_2 in LU_2×UŠ_2 = ad_6 belegt (IAS 105, ii' 2'). Der Wert IDIM geht möglicherweise auf ein drittes Zeichen, LAK4, zurück, vgl. Civil apud Steinkeller 1981, 21.

465 Biggs 1971-72; Civil 1987c, 148 Anm. 21. Vgl. ZLE 79: LAK24 = *mu*($ĝu_{10}$)*-ša-na-um*.

466 Biggs, MSL 12, 12 Anm. zu Z. 29. Vgl. auch ZLE 12: LAK155 = *nu-*u_9*-*⌜*mu*⌝*-um* und dazu Civil 1984d, 95.



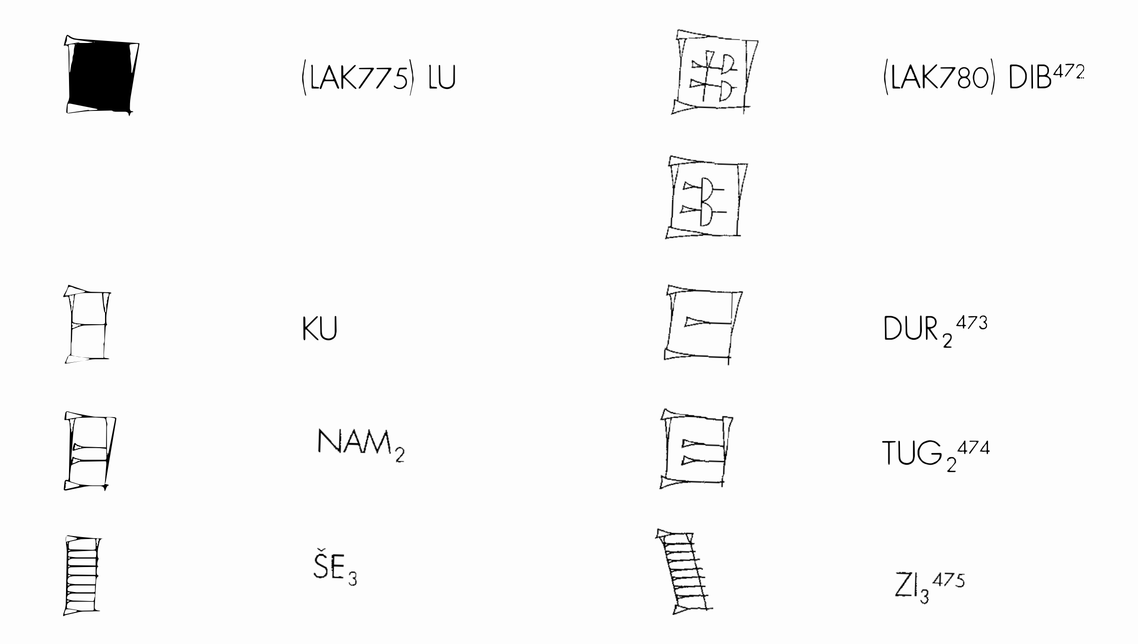
[467] Unter LAK162 nicht differenziert. Gegen Biggs 1966a, 87 Anm. 102, ist die Differenzierung nur in TAS durchgeführt. In Fāra hat das Zeichen die Form , wobei der halbrunde Griffeleindruck fast in einen senkrechten Keil übergehen kann. Vgl. *aš$_2$-dam-il* in SF 63, i 6 und ziz$_2$ in SF 20, iv 23ff., woher das bei Biggs 1966a, 77, abgebildete Muster stammt, dessen Wiedergabe jedoch ungenau ist: tatsächlich weist ZIZ$_2$ in dem ganzen Passus einen halbrunden bis sichelförmigen Griffeleindruck als zentrales Element auf.

[468] Cavigneaux 1978, 184f.; Krebernik1984, 27f.; 1986, 162 mit Anm. 3; Cavigneaux – Al-Rawi 1995, 190 Anm. 11. Beide Formen stehen nebeneinander in SF 36, vi 14 - vii 1 und IAS 322, ii' 2': LAK377-ḫul LAK376-ḫul(-še$_3$). In TAS ist die Differenzierung aber schon weitestgehend zugunsten der späteren Normalform LAK377 aufgegeben.

[469] Die einfache Form wird z.B. regelmäßig in sa$_{12}$-sug$_5$ "Vermesser" und in PA.DUN$_3$ = ḪUR.SAĜ verwendet, die *gunû*-Form für die Gewichtseinheit gin$_2$. Vgl. auch ZLE 22: ⌜DUN$_3$⌝ = [*du*]-*wu-tum* und ZLE 41: GIN$_2$ = *a-ga-um*.

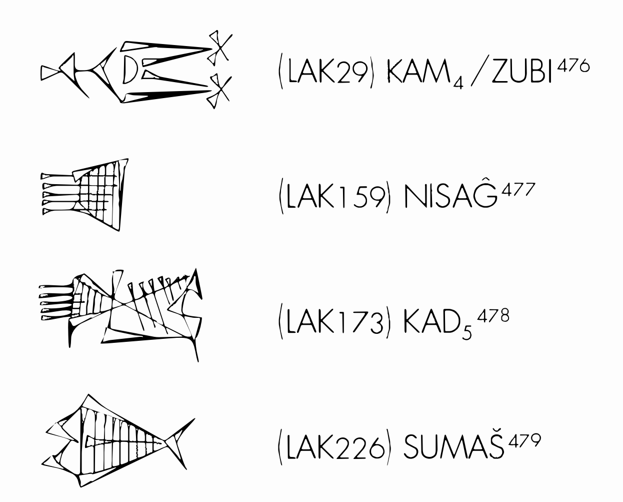
[470] Unter LAK672 nicht differenziert. Civil 1960, 71 mit Anm. 4; Krispijn 1981-82, 51 (lies 672 statt 692!); Krecher 1983, 186; Civil 1984d, 96. Ansatz der Werte oben nach ZLE 60 (einfache Form): *su-du-u$_9$-um*; ZLE 61 (*šessig*-Form): *u$_3$-sum*. Die lokale und chronologische Verteilung der einfachen und der *šessig*-Form sind noch genauer zu untersuchen.

[471] Unter LAK709 nicht differenziert. Biggs 1971, 205; Krebernik 1986, 162 mit Anm. 4; Selz 1990, 305. Zu KALAG vgl. IAS 329, iv 5: men$_x$ a kalag-ga tum$_2$ me.

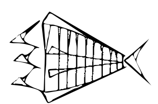


6.3.6. In LAK noch nicht identifizierte Zeichen

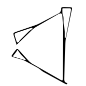
Manche Zeichenformen unterscheiden sich von den späteren so sehr, daß sie nicht ohne weiteres identifiziert werden konnten (oder können). In LAK noch nicht identifizierte Zeichen, deren Identität bzw. Lesung in neuerer Zeit bestimmt werden konnten, sind z.B.:



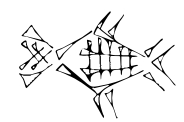
[472] Die Wiedergabe unter LAK780 ist ungenau. In Ebla entspricht [Zeichen], vgl. Krebernik 1984, 306 Anm. 20.
[473] Unter LAK791 nicht differenziert. Biggs 1966a, 76f; Biga - Pomponio 1993, 115 Anm. 19.
[474] Unter LAK792 nicht differenziert. Biggs 1966a, 76f.
[475] Unter LAK794 nicht differenziert. Die Differenzierung wird nicht streng eingehalten, vgl. Edzard 1976, 171, zu TSŠ 81.
[476] ZLE 18: *ga-mu-um*.
[477] ZLE 10: *li-sa-gum$_2$*.
[478] Steinkeller 1981-82.
[479] Civil 1961, 169.



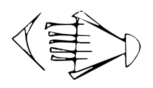
(LAK227) SUḪUR[480]



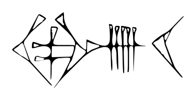
(LAK296/7) ARKAB[481]



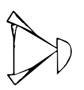
(LAK350) UZU[482]



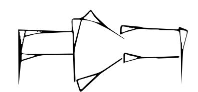
(LAK384) ZA_x[483]



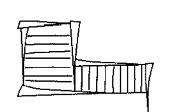
(LAK442) LAḪŠU[484]



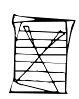
(LAK503) ŠITA[485]



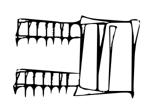
(LAK589) ĜISAL[486]



(LAK668) $ŠEŠ_2$/ADKIN[487]



(LAK670) $DARA_4$[488]



(LAK713) ŠEN[489]

480 Civil 1961, 169. ZLE 31: *šu-ḫu-ru$_{12}$-um*.
481 Civil 1984a; ZLE 25: LAK296 = *ar$_3$-ga-bu$_3$-um*.
482 Civil 1984c, 161f.
483 Civil 1983c. Hierher gehören auch die meisten unter LAK382 gebuchten Belege! Mehrere syllabische Wiedergaben in der "Wortliste D" aus Ebla, s. dazu auch Civil 1984c.
484 ZLE 50: *la-ḫa-šu-um*.
485 ZLE 1: *ti-iš-da*-LUM; vgl. Civil 1984d, 94.
486 Pomponio 1984b, 7-10 (Lesung $addir_x$). Vgl. ZLE 142: *mu(ĝu$_{10}$)-ša-lum*.
487 ZLE 13: *a-ti-gi-num$_2$*; vgl. Ea I 217 (MSL 14, 187): ad-kin. Davon durch zwei eingeschriebene gekreuzte Keile unterschieden ist EREN.
488 Steinkeller 1989. ZLE 58: NE(*de$_3$* ?)-*ri$_2$*-LUM.
489 Steinkeller 1981-84.

6.3.7. Paläographische Merkmale einiger Zeichen

A/ZA: Besteht in Fāra gewöhnlich aus 4 Keilen ( ) und stimmt somit genau mit späterem ZA überein, während dieses in Fāra (und TAS) die Form hat[490]. In TAS wird A in der auch später üblichen Weise mit drei Keilen geschrieben. Neben der 4- bzw. 3-keiligen Form kommt in Fāra und TAS auch eine 2-keilige vor ( )[491].

AL: AL (LAK515) und MAḪ (LAK57) sind in Fāra zwar deutlich unterschieden[492], können aber miteinander wechseln[493]. In TAS scheint nur eine Form für beide Werte gebraucht zu werden[494].

BAR: Das senkrechte Element von BAR ist in Fāra meist sehr schwach ausgeprägt, so daß das Zeichen wie AŠ aussieht[495].

EREN: EREN ( ) und ŠEŠ$_2$ ( ) unterscheiden sich nur durch die in ersteres eingeschriebenen gekreuzten Keile.

GI: GI ( ) und ZI ( ) unterscheiden sich in Fāra nur durch die waagerechte *gunû*-Markierung, nicht aber – wie in TAS und auch sonst – durch die Orientierung der schrägen Keilchen[496].

ĜIRI$_3$: Bei diesem Zeichen und ähnlichen Darstellungen von Tierköpfen lassen sich nach der Stilisierung des "Ohres" verschiedene Varianten unterscheiden[497].

GUDU$_4$: Hat in Fāra und TAS die Form SUMAŠ+ME ( )[498], woraus sich das später gebräuchliche UḪ+ME entwickelt haben dürfte. Zwischen beiden steht die Form UḪ*šessig*+ME in Ebla: . Es gibt in Fāra, TAS und Ebla allerdings das ähnliche Zeichen, LAK369 (Fāra: ; TAS: ; Ebla:), das in UGN-Orthographie (s.u. S. 298-302) für maš$_2$ eintritt. Beide sind in TAS nebeneinander belegt[499] und somit voneinander zu trennen. Die zweite bezeichnet jedenfalls auch einen Beruf[500].

IR$_3$: s. UŠ.

[490] Biggs 1966b. Diese Form wird oft ZA$_7$ transliteriert, was, da es sich genetisch um dasselbe Zeichen wie später handelt, eigentlich nicht gerechtfertigt ist. In TAS kommt auch schon die jüngere Form vor; ältere und jüngere variieren z.B. in IAS 43 v 3 // 39 v 2'.

[491] Z.B. SF 72, passim.

[492] Vgl. im selben Text WF 68 AL (iii) und MAḪ (xi).

[493] Z.B. in gur-maḫ/maḫ$_2$ und dem PN aš-maḫ/maḫ$_2$.

[494] al-du$_3$ (IAS 142, Ende); al-nu$_2$ (IAS 387, iii' 3'); ama ^{d}nin-ma[ḫ$_2$] (IAS 329, vi 1).

[495] Von Deimel schon unter LAK1 vermerkt.

[496] Biggs 1973, 43.

[497] LAK240 / LAK253 = ĜIRI$_3$.

[498] ZLE 92: *gu$_2$-du-gum$_2$*. SF 70, ii 10: zwischen pa$_4$-šeš und šim-mu$_2$ (alle drei haben mit Beschwörungsritualen zu tun). Im präsargonischen Lagaš kommen SUMAŠ+ME und UḪ+ME vor, weshalb Bauer, 1972, 353; 1985, 15 (Nr. 23.2), für SUMAŠ+ME die Lesung luḫša/u (> akk. *luḫšû* "ein im Lendenschurz agierender Tempelfunktionär") annahm.

[499] Beide im selben Text: IAS 120, iii 11 versus iv 6. LAK369 wird z.B. in dem GN AN.LAK369.NUN verwendet (IAS 82, iii 3 // 86, ii 7; 120, iv 6; ARET 5, 12 ii 4).

[500] ED Lu$_2$ E 64, zwischen U$_2$.A und DU$_3$.E$_2$; in MEE 3, S. 38, gudu$_4$ transliteriert.

KAM: Hat die Form ḪI×DIŠ ( )[501]. In der Schreibung des Götternamens Ašgi (^{d}aš$_{8}$-gi$_{(4)}$) wird es später durch ŠIR ersetzt[502].

KALAM und KALAM*gunû* = UN (die später zuweilen, wie z.B. im Codex Hammurabi[503], differenziert sind) scheinen gleichwertig zu sein.

KI: Hat in Fāra stets die Rautenform ( ), während in TAS neben der Rautenform auch eine dreieckige Form ( ) gebraucht wird[504], die sich von DU_6 kaum oder gar nicht unterscheidet. DU_6 hat in Fāra und TAS auch eine deutlichere, aber seltenere Form [505].

KU_4: Nach Krecher wird für /ku(-d^{r})/ "eintreten" in präsargonischer Zeit DU anstelle von KU_4 gebraucht. Das Zeichen KU_4 sei auf einen Beleg mit der Bedeutung "werden zu" und einige mit ku$_4$ "eintreten" gebildete PN beschränkt[506]; aus den Fāra- und TAS-Texten wird kein Beleg notiert. Möglicherweise ist jedoch in Fāra die – allerdings seltene – Kombination ŠE+ŠU mit KU_4 zu identifizieren[507].

KUR: Die drei Bestandteile können rund, halbrund oder eckig sein[508].

LA: Neben der mit senkrechten bzw. waagerechten Keilchen ausgefüllten Form kommt auch eine (schneller ausführbare) "schraffierte" vor[509]. Analoges gilt für KU_3.

LUL/NAR: Die einfache Form mit den Varianten LAK242/243 und die mit "*šessig*"-Keilchen erweiterte (LAK244) werden nicht konsequent auseinandergehalten. Für LUL erscheint nur die einfache, für NAR auch die erweiterte[510].

MEN: Anstelle von späterem GA_2×(ME.EN) wird MEN_x = GA_2×EN geschrieben.

PA: Neben der älteren Form kommt auch schon die jüngere vor.

SIG_5: Hat die Form IGI+LAK527 ( )[511].

SUD: Wechselt in Fāra mit MUŠ, vgl. die mit *il*-MUŠ/*su*$_3$- gebildeten PN (s.o. S. 262). Von SUD ( ) zu unterscheiden ist wohl eine Form, die man als BU*gunû* bezeichnen könnte ( ): sie wird regelmäßig in der Verbindung PA. SIKIL.BU*gunû* gebraucht[512].

[501] Zur diachronen und lokalen Verteilung der Zeichen ḪI×DIŠ, ḪI×TIL und ḪI×AŠ für KAM und SUR_3 siehe zuletzt Steinkeller 1992a, 16.

[502] Biggs 1971-72.

[503] Vgl. z.B. ḫur-saĝ-kalam-ma (CH, ii 67) und *aš-ku-un* (CH, v 23).

[504] Biggs 1966a, 76 Anm. 22.

[505] Krebernik 1986, 161 mit Anm. 1.

[506] Krecher 1987b, insbesondere S. 20.

[507] SF 54, v 1; viii 4; als ku$_4$ interpretiert in Krebernik 1984, 25 bzw. 37. In dem lexikalischen Text SF 77, i 14f., folgen DUR_2.DUR_2.A und ŠE+ŠU.ŠE+ŠU.A aufeinander, was für ŠE+ŠU auf die Lesung tur$_5$ schließen läßt, der später ebenso wie ku$_4$ mit TU geschrieben wird.

[508] Biggs 1966a, 76 Anm. 22.

[509] Biggs 1966a, 76 Anm. 22.

[510] Krecher 1973, 198. In TAS (und Ebla) scheint nur die einfache Form gebräuchlich zu sein.

[511] Krecher 1987a.

[512] PA.SIKIL.BU*gunû* wird in dem Götternamen ^{d}ku$_3$-PA.SIKIL.BU*gunû* (z.B. IAS 82, vii 11'//86 vi 2') später zu SU_3 (^{d}ku$_3$-su$_3$) vereinfacht, s. Bauer 1982. Für AN.PA.SIKIL.BU*gunû* bietet ein späterer Textzeuge der Liste ED Lu_2 A die Lesung u$_2$-si-na, was "Abend", "Westen" bedeuten dürfte, s. M. Green 1984, 94. Die Zeichenkombination lebt in ^{d}USAN$_{(2)}$.PA.SIKIL weiter, das An = Anum neben bloßem ^{d}USAN als Namen

SUM: Es gibt zwei Formen, die anscheinend unterschiedslos gebraucht werden: eine wohl archaischere, die zwischen den beiden "Büscheln" noch ein drittes Element aufweist, und eine einfachere, die bloß aus zwei "Büscheln" besteht[513].

ŠU: In präsargonischer Zeit weist der abschließende Keil von unten nach oben (analog bei DA, A$_2$, GAB$_2$). Der "Daumen" ist in Fāra gewöhnlich aus zwei oder auch drei Keilen zusammengesetzt ( ), während er in TAS aus einem besteht oder ganz fehlt ( ).

TUKU: Während in TAS die auch später übliche Form ( ) vorherrscht, hat das Zeichen in Fāra gewöhnlich noch eine kleine zusätzliche Spitze ( ); letztere Form wird konventionell mit ḪUB$_2$ wiedergegeben[514].

UD: Gegenüber der gewöhnlichen, auch in TAS gebräuchlichen Form ( ) hat das Zeichen in Fāra meist einen zusätzlichen, schräg nach oben weisenden Keil ( )[515].

UŠ: Die in Ebla schon etablierte Differenzierung zwischen UŠ und IR$_3$[516] existiert in Fāra und TAS noch nicht.

ZA: Siehe A.

ZU$_5$: Einfaches LAK117 = ZU$_5$ ( ) ist unterschieden von ZU$_5$+A = AZU, das später allein überlebt[517].

6.3.8. Zeichenkombinationen

Die Komponenten zusammengesetzter Zeichen, die später z.T. verschmelzen, sind noch deutlich getrennt, so etwa bei NI.UD (auch UD.NI) für NA$_4$; KIŠ+ZA(.ZA) = AZ; KIŠ+TIN = ḪUŠ; KIŠ+SU = UG. Neben GIBIL = NE*šessig* existiert die Kombination NE.PAP in GIŠ.NE. PAP = bil$_3$[518].

Inannas überliefert (TCL 15, 10: 257f. und spätere Entsprechungen); BU*gunû* ist hier also Vorläufer von USAN$_{(2)}$. Bauer und Green transliterieren BU*gunû* jeweils SU$_3$, ohne auf die paläographische Besonderheit hinzuweisen.

513 Beide Varianten sind unter LAK197/8 abgebildet.

514 Die unter LAK474 als Muster abgebildete Form ist irreführend, die Identifikation mit späterem KAB/ḪUB$_2$ fraglich. Die einfache Form kommt selten auch in Fāra vor (z.B. SF 49, i' 7').

515 Biggs 1973, 43f.

516 Biggs 1988, 93 Anm. 23, und Westenholz 1988, 110, zu UŠ-*mi-il* in TAS.

517 Biggs 1966b, 176 Anm. 4.

518 Z.B. in ^{d}bil$_3$-ga-mes (SF 1, xiii 7').

6.3.9. Später aufgespaltene Zeichen

Umgekehrt werden manche von Hause aus homogenen Zeichen später in mehrere einzelne aufgelöst[519]:



	(LAK131)	>	UR$_3$.BAR[520]
	(LAK175)	>	IL$_2$(.MA$_2$).DUB$_2$ u.ä. (SANGA$_{2-6}$)[521]
	(LAK212)	>	TU.GABA.LIŠ = ASAL$_2$[522]
	(LAK358)	>	EN$_2$.E$_2$[523]
	(LAK742)	>	DUG.SILA$_3$.BUR = BAḪAR$_2$[524]

6.3.10. Fāra-zeitlich noch nicht vorhandene Zeichen

Als Beispiel eines erst nach-Fāra-zeitlich gebildeten Zeichens sei GUM×ŠE = GAZ erwähnt, wofür in Fāra und TAS noch bloßes GUM steht.

6.4. Logogramme

Auf logographischer Ebene sind Besonderheiten gegenüber der späteren Schrift zu bemerken wie etwa: A als Determinativ anstelle von A.ENGUR = ID$_2$[525]; g u - s u r.NUN(.GAR), g u-

519 Die Übergänge sind fließend. Später, insbesondere in der neuassyrischen Schrift, geht die Tendenz dahin, kompliziertere Zeichen als Summe selbständig vorkommender Elemente zu gestalten, vgl. z.B. UMBIN = GADA+KID$_2$+UR$_2$, EREN = SIK$_2$+NUN, ŠEŠ$_2$ = SIK$_2$(+LAM)+SUḪUR etc.

520 In dem GN ^{d}UR$_3$.BAR*gunû* > ^{d}UR$_3$.BAR.TAB, s. Krebernik 1986, 203.

521 ZLE 27: LAK175 = *ša-ga-um*; dazu Civil 1984d, 95.

522 Die später übliche Schreibung mit Lautindikator A ist schon belegt: SF 20, v 8f.; TSŠ 712; IAS 511, vi 4.

523 Krebernik 1984, 197-207. AK358 ist selbst wohl als LAK397 mit eingeschriebenem AN zu analysieren.

524 Ein ähnliches, aber konsequent unterschiedenes Zeichen ist EDEN (AK747): . Vor BAḪAR$_2$ kann – lautindizierend und zeichendifferenzierend – BAR treten, vgl. Krecher 1973, 208, wo allerdings LAK742 noch als EDEN transliteriert ist.

525 Passim in SF 72, einer Liste von Gewässernamen. Diese Schreibung ist auch noch im präsargonischen Lagaš belegbar, vgl. den mit A determinierten Kanalnamen a - s u ḫ u r in Urnanše 26, iii 7 (FAOS 5/1, 92).

GAR.NUN für gu-sur[526]; IN (später mit syllabischen Komplementen bzw. ganz syllabisch) für Isin[527]; KIŠ.UNU (später gu$_2$-du$_8$-a^{ki}) für Kutha[528]; ^{d}NAGA (später ^{d}ŠE.NAGA) für Nisaba; ^{d}nin-$^{ka_{15}}$kaš-si anstelle von späterem ^{d}nin-ka-si[529]; PA.DUN$_3$ für ḫur-saĝ[530]; ^{d}TIR anstelle von ^{d}ŠE.TIR (so schon in TAS) für Ašnan[531]; ^{d}TU für ^{d}nin-tu[532]. Utu wird sehr oft ohne Determinativ geschrieben. Besonders auffällig ist die Schreibung der Götternamen Enlil und Ninlil, deren zweites Element regelmäßig durch verschiedene Zeichen dargestellt wird, nämlich E$_2$ ( ) in Enlil und KID ( ) in Ninlil[533].

6.5. Syllabogramme

Was die zur Schreibung sumerischer Morpheme und Morphemketten betrifft, so fallen gegenüber der späteren Orthographie u.a. folgende Charakteristika ins Auge:

1 Das Syllabogramminventar ist weniger umfangreich als das spätere, insbesondere die Schreibung suffigierter Morpheme und Morphemketten ist noch wenig ausgeprägt: beispielsweise fehlen die später so gebräuchlichen Syllabogramme -ka und -ke$_4$ zum Ausdruck des Genitivs /(a)k/ mit folgendem /a/ bzw. /e/; auch dienen a und e noch nicht zur Schreibung nominaler und verbaler Suffixe.

2 Neben den – aus späterer Sicht "normalen" – Syllabogrammen ba, kam, nam sind ba$_4$, kam$_4$, na$_5$(ŠA), nam$_2$, zu$_5$ in Gebrauch; na$_5$ und nam$_2$[534] werden vorwiegend (nur?) in UD.GAL.NUN-Orthographie verwendet (s.u. S. 298-302).

Das zur Wiedergabe nicht-sumerischer (bzw. nicht sumerisch gedeuteter) – hauptsächlich akkadischer – Eigennamen und Wörter verwendete Syllabar ist nicht leicht zu überschauen bzw. gegen unproduktive Einzelfälle und Rebusschreibungen abzugrenzen. Es zeichnet sich jedoch schon ein fester Kernbestand ab, der in TAS bedeutend umfangreicher ist als in Fāra. Für die nachfolgende Übersicht werden neben den oben (S. 261-270) zitierten akkadischen Namen und Wörtern (Belege s. dort) noch folgende syllabisch geschriebenen Ortsnamen, hauptsächlich aus der großen geographischen Liste aus TAS (mit Duplikat aus Ebla; abgekürzt AG = "Atlante Geografico"[535]), ausgewertet:

[526] W. Farber 1977.
[527] Edzard 1975, 83 Anm. 76; Postgate 1974; Steinkeller 1978.
[528] W.G. Lambert 1990, 44.
[529] W.G. Lambert 1981, 85.
[530] Civil 1983b, 1.
[531] Krebernik 1986, 192.
[532] Hinter der Schreibung könnten sich zwei verschiedene Lesungen verbergen, da ^{d}TU in SF 5 // 6 zweimal nacheinander vorkommt.
[533] Biggs 1966a, 84 mit Anm. 85; Biggs, OIP 99, S. 111 mit Anm. 3; Jacobsen 1989a.
[534] Zuerst von van Dijk erkannt (1964, 34, zu TSŠ 79).
[535] Zitiert nach Pettinatos Edition in MEE 3, S. 227-241.

ʾa$_3$-dur-ru$_x$(UR$_4$)^{ki} (AG 109); *a$_3$-luḫ-*[*da*]*r*$^{?ki}$ (AG 131); *ʾa$_3$-me-šum*^{ki} (AG 265); *ʾa$_3$*-PI-*ru$_x$*(UR$_4$)^{ki} (AG 215); *ʾa$_3$-ru$_x$*(UR$_4$)-*ad*^{ki} (AG 63; 97);

a-bi$_2$-ag^{ki} (AG 154); *a-li-la/na*^{ki} (AG 289); *a-lu-lum*^{ki} (AG 169); *a-lu*^{ki} (AG 268); *a-ne*^{ki} (AG 207); *a-ša*^{ki} (AG 41); *a-ti*^{ki} (AG 25); *a*-TUG$_2^{ki}$ (AG 114); *ab*-SUM^{ki} (AG 220); [*a*]*b$_2$*-[*ru*?]-*du*^{ki} (AG 172); ⸢*ad-mud*⸣^{ki} (AG 210); *ad$_3$-ga-nu*^{ki} (AG 32); *ag-ga-bu$_x$*(NI)^{ki} (AG 219); *ag*-M[E]^{ki} (AG 287); AG-*zi-u$_3$*^{ki} (AG 60); *ar*-A.SI^{ki} (AG 250); *ar-si-ga*^{ki} (AG 72); *aš-šur$_6$*^{ki} (AG 102); *aš$_2$*-⸢*na*?⸣^{ki} (AG 82); *aš$_2$*-⸢*u$_9$*?⸣^{ki} (AG 138); *az-*(*a*)-*bu$_x$*(NI)^{ki} (AG 266);

ba -u$_2$^{ki} (AG 189); *bad$_3$-ga-ra*^{ki}, *bad$_3$-gara$_3$*^{ki} (AG 66); *bar -sa-ma-nu*^{ki} (AG 26); *ba$_4$-ra-mu*^{ki} (AG 27; 71); *ba$_4$-zu-de$_3$*^{ki} (AG 35); BIL$_2$-*lum*^{ki} (AG 165); [*bu$_3$*?-*g*]*al*^{ki} (AG 180); *bu$_3$-du$_5$*^{ki} (AG 17);

da-bu$_x$(KA)^{ki} (AG 260); *da-bur*^{ki} (AG 262); *da-mu*^{ki} (AG 47); DA-*ne*^{ki} (AG 188); ^{da}SIG$_5^{ki}$ (AG 209); *da$_5$-da$_5$*^{ki} (AG 59); DAG-*me*^{ki} (AG 100); *dar-e*^{ki} (AG 20); *dar-mu*^{ki} (AG 15);

e-sa-ma$_2$^{ki} (AG 104); E$_2$-*i$_3$/ir*?-*rim$_3$*^{ki} (AG 244); E$_2$-⸢*x*⸣^{ki} (AG 145);

ga-bu$_x$(NI)^{ki} (AG 76); *ga-da*^{ki} (AG 74); ⸢*ga-ri$_2$*⸣-[*ad*?]^{ki} (AG 216); *gag-ga-ra*^{ki} (AG 242); *gaz$_2$-mu-ru$_x$*(UR$_4$)^{ki} (AG 187); *gi-da-nu*^{ki} (AG 36); [*gi*?]-*gur*^{ki} (AG 79); *gi-ma-na/nu*^{ki} (AG 67); *gu-ne*-⸢*x*⸣^{ki} (AG 192); *gu-nir*^{ki} (AG 106);

ḫi-mu-ru$_x$(UR$_4$)^{ki} (AG 186);

i-⸢*sur$_3$-ru$_x$*(UR$_4$)⸣^{ki} (AG 191); *i-nu*^{ki} (AG 40); *i-zi-nu*^{ki} (AG 70); *i$_3$-lal$_3$-lu/lu$_5$*^{ki} (AG 206); *ib$_2$*-DA-*gal-la*^{ki} (AG 23); *ib$_2$*-DA/LA-NUM^{ki} (AG 22); *ig-mu*-[*ru*?]^{ki} (AG 185); igi-*li$_2$*^{ki} (AG 221); *il-ib$_2$*^{ki} (AG 270); [*ir*?-*ga*]*l*^{ki} (AG 12);

KA.KA-LUM^{ki} (AG 166); ⸢KA⸣-*mu$_2$*^{ki} (AG 83); *ku-me*^{ki} (AG 129);

la-gaba^{ki} (AG 58); *la-sa$_2$*^{ki} (AG 43); *lal$_3$-la-ad*^{ki} (IAS 511, vi 2); *lal$_3$-lu$_5$-ru$_x$*(UR$_4$)^{ki} (AG 61); LU$_2$×AŠ-[*d*]*a*-AN^{ki} (IAS 511, v 2);

ma-dar^{ki} (AG 241); *ma-sa$_2$*^{ki} (AG 240); *ma$_2$-ga*^{ki} (AG 37); *mar-dar*-⸢*x*⸣^{ki} (AG 93); ⸢*mar*⸣-*i-zu$_2$*^{ki} (AG 168); *mar*-KA/*bu$_3$*-AK^{ki} (AG 108);

na-mar-ru$_x$(UR$_4$)^{ki} (AG 238); *na-mar*^{ki} (AG 237); NAM.ḪI^{ki} (AG 118); *nu*-RI^{ki} (AG 39a); *ra-ga-bad$_3$*^{ki} (AG 112); *ra-ḫi*^{ki} (AG 28); *ra-ma-ad*^{ki} (AG 113); *ra-sa$_2$*^{ki} (AG 33); RI-*da-na*^{ki} (AG 19); [*r*]*i$_2$-iš*^{ki} (AG 78); *ru-ru*^{ki} (AG 128);

sa-AN (E *sa-ḫa*)^{ki} (AG 236); *sa*-NIN^{ki} (AG 121); *sa*-⸢*ri$_2$*⸣*ad*^{ki} (AG 217); *sa*-[...] (AG 137); *sa$_2$-ma-nu*^{ki} (AG 50; 48); SAL-*la*^{ki} (AG 49); *sar-da*^{ki} (AG 141); *sar-ra*-⸢*num$_2$*?⸣^{ki} (AG 167); *si-ba$_4$-ba$_4$*^{ki} (AG 46); *si-dag*^{ki} (AG 38); *si-du*^{ki} (AG 196);

ša-bad$_3$^{ki} (AG 64); *ša$_3$-la-ba$_4$-nu*^{ki} (AG 16); *ša-mu*^{ki} (AG 195); *ša*-NE^{ki} (AG 194; 247); *šu-mu$_2$*^{ki} (AG 205);

tab-nu^{ki} (AG 243); *tar-ri*$_2$-AN.AN^{ki} (AG 24); *tar-ri*$_2$*-bad*^{ki} (AG 173); *tar-ri*$_2$*-ku*$_5$*-ḫu*^{ki} (AG 56); *tar-ri*$_2$*-me*^{ki} (AG 161); *tar-ri*$_2$-SAĜ.DU$_8$^{ki} (AG 144); *tar-ri*$_2$*-šu-ḫa*^{ki} (AG 245); *tar-ri*$_2$-ŠUL^{ki} (AG 142); *tar-ri*$_2$*-zi-da*^{ki} (AG 143); *ti-*[*m*]*a-nu*^{ki} (AG 14); *tir*$_5$*-ga*^{ki} (AG 42); *tu*-BIL$_2$^{ki} (AG 288); TUM$_3$*-um*^{ki} (AG 284);

u$_2$*-ad*^{ki} (AG 239); *u*$_3$*-al*^{ki} (AG 34); *u*$_3$*-ba-*[*x*]^{ki} (AG 218); *u*$_3$*-bad*^{ki} (AG 39); *u*$_3$-[*b*]*i*$_2$$^{?}$-⸢*la*$^{?}$⸣^{ki} (AG 122); *u*$_3$*-dar*^{ki} (AG 222); URU.*sa*$_2$*-mu*$_2$(.UD.NI)^{ki} (AG 285f.)[536];

za-ra-bad$_3$^{ki} (AG 264); *zar*$_3$*-bad*$_3$^{ki} (AG 263); *zi-gi-nu*^{ki} (AG 75); *zu*-LUM^{ki} (AG 57); [*zu*$_2$?]*-mu-dar*^{ki} (AG 31); [*zu*$_2$?]*-zu*$_2$*-ru*$_x$(UR$_4$)^{ki} (AG 13).

Um einen Eindruck von der Häufigkeit und Verteilung der Syllabogramme zu vermitteln, sind für jedes Zeichen alle jeweils relevanten Belege nach ihrer Herkunft (Fāra, Fāra/TAS, TAS) geordnet zitiert. Personennamen, Götternamen und Ortsnamen sind nicht eigens als solche gekennzeichnet, die Art bzw. Bedeutung sonstiger Lemmata ist angegeben. Varianten des Textzeugen aus Ebla zu den Ortsnamen sind jeweils nur an relevanter Stelle in den Fußnoten vermerkt.

A	Fāra:	*a-ḫa-lum*; *a-ḫar-ši*; *šu-a-ba*$_4$; *su*$_4$*-a-bi*.
	TAS:	*a-a-um*(-KU.LI); *a-bi*$_2$*-ag*^{ki}; *a-ḫa-ar-si*; *a-ḫu-ne*; *a*-LAK350-BAD$_3$; ⸢*a*⸣-*la*-LUM; *a-li-la/na*^{ki}; *a-lu*^{ki}[537]; *a*-LUM; *a-lum*-BAD$_3$; *a-lum-i*$_3$*-lum*; *a-ne*^{ki}; *a-ša*^{ki}; *a-ti*^{ki}; *a*-TUG$_2$^{ki}; *ar*-A.SI^{ki}[538]; *az-*(*a*)*-bu*$_x$(NI)^{ki}; *i-dur*$_2$-[?]-*a*-NAM; *i-ku-a-ḫa*; *i*$_3$*-lum-*⸢*a-ḫa*⸣; *ir*$_3$*-bi*$_2$*-a-ḫa*; *su-ma-a-ba*$_4$; *su*$_{13}$*-ma-a-ḫa*. Wohl logographisch: GU$_2$.A^{ki}.
A$_2$	TAS:	*a*$_2$*-na*[539].
AB	TAS:	*ab*-SUM^{ki}[540].
AB$_2$	TAS:	[*a*]*b*$_2$-[*ru* ?]*-du*^{ki}.
AD	Fāra:	*mi-su*$_4$*-ad*.
	TAS:	⸢*ad-mud*⸣^{ki}; *'a*$_3$*-ru*$_x$(UR$_4$)*-ad*^{ki}; *mi-ad* "100"; *ra-ma-ad*^{ki}; *sa-*⸢*ri*$_2$⸣*-ad*^{ki}; *u*$_2$*-ad*^{ki}.
AG	TAS:	*a*$_5$ (?): AG-*zi-u*$_3$^{ki}[541]. *ag*: *a-bi*$_2$*-ag*^{ki}; *ag-ga-bu*$_x$(NI)^{ki}; *ag*-M[E]^{ki}[542]; *mar*-KA/*bu*$_3$*-ag*^{ki}.

536 Der in MEE 3, S. 239, syllabisch (*u*$_4$*-ni*) gelesene Zusatz dürfte ein Logogramm sein: UD.NI für späteres NI.UD = NA$_4$ "Stein", vgl. Krebernik 1997, 188.
537 Ebla: *a*$_x$(NI)*-i-lu*^{ki}.
538 Ebla: *ar*-AG.
539 Ebla: *'a*$_3$*-na*.
540 Ebla: *ab*$_2$*-la*^{ki}.
541 Ebla: *a-zi-wu*^{ki}
542 Ebla: *a-ga-za-*⸢*ar*$^{?}$⸣^{ki}.

AL	TAS:	*al* (Präp.); *u$_3$-al*^{ki}.
AN	TAS:	*ib*-AN-*mud*[543]; *sa*-AN^{ki}[544].
AR	TAS:	*a-ḫa-ar-si*; *ar*-A.SI^{ki}; *ar*-NI-*ba*; *ar-rum$_2$*; *ar-si-ga*^{ki}.
AŠ	Fāra:	*aš*$^{!?}$(BAR)-*ma$_2$*$^{?}$; *aš-dar-gara$_3$*; *aš-dar*-UN^{mušen}; *aš-ma$_2$-sar*; AG-*aš-dar*; *su-mu-*⸢*aš*$^{?}$*-dar*$^{?}$⸣; *u$_5$-aš-dar*; ur-^{d}*aš-dar*; *aš-maḫ/maḫ$_2$* (?).
	TAS:	*aš-da-da*; *aš-dar-bala*; *aš-šur$_6$*^{ki}; *u$_3$-aš-dar*.
AŠ$_2$	Fāra:	*aš$_2$-da-il*; *aš$_2$-dam-il*.
	TAS:	*aš$_2$-mud* (?); *aš$_2$-*⸢*na*$^{!?}$⸣^{ki}[545]; *aš$_2$-*⸢*u$_9$*$^{?}$⸣^{ki}.
AZ	TAS:	*az-*(*a*)*-bu$_x$*(NI)^{ki}; *az-bu$_3$*; *az-za-bu$_3$*.
BA	Fāra:	NI-*ba-ḫi-li* (?).
	TAS:	*ar*-NI-*ba*; *ba-lu$_5$-lu$_5$*; *ba-lum-i$_3$-lum*; *ba*$^{!}$*-u$_2$*^{ki}[546]; *u$_3$-ba-*[*x*]^{ki}.
BA$_4$	Fāra:	*šu-a-ba$_4$*.
	TAS:	^{d}*ba$_4$-al*; ^{d}*ba$_4$-li-ḫa*; *ba$_4$-ra-mu*^{ki}[547]; *ba$_4$-zu-de$_3$*^{ki}[548]; *si-ba$_4$-ba$_4$*^{ki}; *su-ma-a-ba$_4$*; *ša$_3$-la-ba$_4$-nu*^{ki}.
BAD	TAS:	*bad*: *tar-ri$_2$-bad*^{ki}; *u$_3$-bad*^{ki}[549]. Pseudologogramm für /*baʿl*(*um*)/ (> *bēl*(*um*)/): ^{d}BE-ŠINIG; *iš-ga*-BE. Diese Verwendung ist schon sehr früh im Norden (Mari[550], Ebla) bezeugt.
BAD$_3$	TAS:	*bad$_3$-gara$_3$*^{ki}[551]; *ra-ga-bad$_3$*^{ki}[552]; *ša-bad$_3$*^{ki}[553]; *za-ra-bad$_3$*^{ki}[554]; *zar$_3$-bad$_3$*^{ki}[555].
BAN	TAS:	*tir$_5$-ga*^{ki}[556].
BAR	TAS:	*bar*$^{!}$*-sa-ma-nu*^{ki}; ^{d}*da-bar*.
BI	Fāra:	*bi-li-li*; *su$_4$-a-bi*.

[543] Entspricht wohl *ib*-U$_9$-*mud* in Ebla, s.o. Anm. 331.
[544] Ebla: *sa*-ḪA^{ki}.
[545] Ebla: *aš$_2$-na-ag*^{ki}.
[546] Ebla: *bu$_3$-bu$_3$*^{ki}.
[547] Ebla: *ba-ra-mu*^{ki}.
[548] Ebla: *ba-zu$_2$-*⸢*ti*⸣^{ki}.
[549] Ebla: *u$_2$-b*[*a*$^{?}$*-ad*? ^{ki}].
[550] Z.B. auf dem Torso des "Tagge", dessen Name richtig *šum*-BE zu lesen ist und somit selbst dieses Element enthält; vgl. zuletzt Krebernik 1991, 139f.
[551] Ebla: *ba-ga-ra*^{ki}.
[552] Ebla: *ra-ga-ma-ad*^{ki}.
[553] Ebla: *ša-da-ba-ad*^{ki}.
[554] Ebla: *za-ra-ba-ad*^{ki}.
[555] Ebla: *za-ra-ba-ad*^{ki}.
[556] Zur Lesung und Identifikation mit Terqa s. Frayne 1994, 58 und Anm. 439 mit Lit.

BU Fāra: *i*-BU-NI.
TAS: su_{13}: *i*-su_{13}-*bala*; su_{13}-*ma-a-ḫa*.

BU_3 Fāra: ^{d}*e-lum-da*-⌜KA/bu_3 ?⌝; *i-sar*-bu_3.
TAS: *az*-bu_3; *az-za*-bu_3; bu_3-du_5^{ki}; *mar*-bu_3-*ag*^{ki}[557] Vgl. auch $PUZUR_4$.

BUR TAS: *da-bur*^{ki}.

DA Fāra: AN-*mu-da*; *aš*$_2$-*da-il*; *da-du*-LUL; ^{d}*e-lum-da*-⌜KA/bu_3 ?⌝.
Fāra/TAS: *da-tum*.
TAS: *aš-da-da*; ^{d}*da-bar*; *da*-bu_x(KA)^{ki}; *da-bur*^{ki}; *da-da*; *da-mu*^{ki}; ^{d}*da*-ri_2(-⌜*x* ?⌝); *ga-da*^{ki}; *gi-da-nu*^{ki}; RI-*da-na*^{ki}; *sar-da*^{ki}; ^{da}SIG_5; ^{da}SIG_5^{ki}; *tar*-ri_2-*zi-da*^{ki}. Unklar: DA-*ne*^{ki}[558]; ib_2-DA-*gal-la*^{ki}[559]; ib_2-DA/LA-NIM^{ki}[560].

DAG TAS: DAG-*me*^{ki}[561]; *si-dag*^{ki}[562].

DAM Fāra: *aš*$_2$-*dam-il*.
Fāra/TAS: dam-$gara_3$ (Lehnw.).

DAR Fāra: AG-*aš-dar*; *aš-dar*-$gara_3$; *aš-dar*-UN^{mušen}; *su-mu*-⌜*aš*?-*dar*?⌝; u_5-*aš*-*dar*; ur-^{d}*aš-dar*.
TAS: 'a_3-*luḫ*-[*da*]*r*?^{ki}; *aš-dar-bala*; *dar-e*^{ki}[563]; *dar-mu*^{ki}[564]; *ma-dar*^{ki}; *mar-dar*-⌜*x*⌝^{ki}[565]; u_3-*aš-dar*; u_3-*dar*^{ki}; [zu_2 ?]-*mu-dar*^{ki}.

DI Fāra: *na*-DI-*nu* (?).
TAS: *la*-sa_2^{ki}[566]; *ma*-sa_2^{ki}[567]; *ra*-sa_2^{ki}[568]; sa_2-*ma-nu*^{ki}[569]; URU.sa_2-mu_2(.UD.NI)^{ki}[570].

DU Fāra: *da-du*-LUL.
TAS: [*a*]b_2-[*ru* ?]-*du*^{ki}[571]; ^{d}*du-du*; *si-du*^{ki}[572].

557 Var. *mar*-KA-*ag*^{ki}.
558 Ebla: AM-ni_2^{ki}.
559 Ebla: i_3-bi_2-*ga*?-*gal*^{ki}.
560 Var. ib_2-LA-*num*^{ki}.
561 Ebla: ⌜*x*⌝-*me*^{ki}. In MEE 3, S. 233, ist das erste Zeichen LAK457 transliteriert, was aber anhand des Photos nicht sicher nachvollziehbar ist.
562 Ebla: ⌜*sa-di*⌝-*ga*^{ki}; das erste Zeichen sieht nach Photo allerdings wie U_2 aus.
563 Ebla: *ti*-ri_2^{ki}.
564 Ebla: *dal-mu*^{ki}.
565 Ebla: *mar-da-na-ag*^{ki}.
566 Ebla: *la-sa-ad*^{ki}.
567 Ebla: *ma-sa-ag*^{ki}.
568 Ebla: *ra-sa-ab*^{ki}.
569 Ebla: *ša-ḫa-ma-nu*^{ki} (AG 50); sa_2-*mu*^{ki} (AG 248).
570 Ebla: URU.*sa*-bu_3(.NI.UD)^{ki}. Vgl. Anm. 536.
571 Ebla: ab_2-*ru-ud*^{ki}.
572 Ebla: *su*-u_3^{ki}.

DU$_8$ TAS: *gaba*: *la-gaba*^{ki}. Wohl logographisch: *tar-ri$_2$*-SAĜ.DU$_8$^{ki}[573].

DUB Fāra/TAS: *iš-dub-il*.
TAS: *iš-dub*-^{d}KA.DI.

DUN$_3$ TAS: *bu$_3$-du$_5$*^{ki}[574].

DUR TAS: *'a$_3$-dur-ru$_x$*(UR$_4$)^{ki}.

DUR$_2$ TAS: *i-dur$_2$*-[?]-*a*-NAM.

E Fāra: *e-du-ia$_2$* (?); ^{d}*e-lum*; ^{d}*e-lum*-[AN].DUL$_3$; ^{d}*e-lum-da*-⌜KA/*bu$_3$*?⌝; ^{d}*e-lum*-AGA$_3$.ZI; ur-^{d}*e-lum*.
TAS: *dar-e*^{ki}[575]; *e-sa-ma$_2$*^{ki}[576].

E$_2$ Fāra: *'a$_3$-la*-LUM$_x$ (?); *'a$_3$* -LUM (?); *'a$_3$* -LUM$_x$ (?); *'a$_3$-na* (?); *'a$_3$-na-lu* (?); *'a$_3$-na-lu-lu* (?); *'a$_3$-nam* (?). Logographisch oder syllabographisch: *i*-[Ḫ]I$^?$-E$_2$.
TAS: *'a$_3$-dur-ru$_x$*(UR$_4$)^{ki}; *'a$_3$-luḫ*-[*da*]*r*$^{?ki}$; *'a$_3$-me-šum*^{ki}; *'a$_3$*-PI-*ru$_x$*(UR$_4$)^{ki}; *'a$_3$-ru$_x$*(UR$_4$)-*ad*^{ki}. Logographisch oder syllabographisch: ^{d}⌜E$_2$⌝; *i-ti*-E$_2$; *im-lik*-E$_2$; PUZUR$_4$-E$_2$. Logographisch: *E$_2$-i$_3$/ir?-rim$_3$*^{ki}. Unklar: E$_2$-⌜*x*⌝^{ki}[577].

EN Fāra: *en-gi* (?); ^{d}*zu-en*-MUD.
Fāra/TAS: ^{d}*zu-en*.
TAS: AMAR-^{d}*zu-en*; *en-na-il*; *en-na-na*; maš-gag-en (Lehnw.); *mi-en-nu*.

EŠ Fāra: *eš*$^?$-*še-šu* (?).

GA Fāra: *ga-ri*-NI; *li$_2$-ga*.
Fāra/TAS: *ga-ri*.
TAS: *ad$_3$-ga-nu*^{ki}; *ag-ga-bu$_x$*(NI)^{ki}; *ar-si-ga*^{ki}; *bad$_3$-gara$_3$*^{ki}[578]; *ga-bu$_x$*(NI)^{ki}; *ga-da*^{ki}; ^{d}*ga-ga*; ⌜*ga-ri$_2$*⌝-[*ad*?]^{ki}; *gag-ga-ra*^{ki}; *i-ti*-^{d}ša-^{ga}gan; *iš-ga*-BE; *ma$_2$-ga*^{ki}; *ra-ga-bad$_3$*^{ki}; *tir$_5$-ga*^{ki}.

GADA Fāra: na-gada (Lehnw.). Der Lautwert ist wohl besser gida$_x$ statt gada anzusetzen, vgl. Anm. 285.

GAG Fāra: GAG-*zi-um*.
TAS: *gag-ga-ra*^{ki}[579]; maš-gag-en (Lehnw.).

573 Ebla: *tar-x-x-tim*^{ki}; die Umschrift *tar-ba-ru-tim*^{ki} in MEE 3, S. 235, ist auf dem Photo nicht ganz sicher nachvollziehbar.
574 Ebla: *bu$_3$-da*^{ki}.
575 Ebla: *ti-ri$_2$*^{ki}.
576 Ebla: *a-sa-am$_6$*^{ki}.
577 Ebla: *i*-⌜*su*⌝-[*x*?]^{ki}.
578 Var. *bad$_3$-ga-ra*^{ki}; Ebla: *ba-ga-ra*^{ki}.
579 Ebla: KI.KI^{ki}; logographisch für */qaqqarā(n)/*.

GAL — TAS: [*bu*$_3$? *-g*]*al*^{ki}; *ib*$_2$-DA-*gal-la*^{ki}; [*ir*?*-ga*]*l*^{ki}.

GAN — TAS: *i-ti-*^{d}ša-^{ga}gan.

GAR$_3$ — Fāra: *aš-dar-gara*$_3$; *i*$_3$*-lum-gara*$_3$.
Fāra/TAS: dam-gara$_3$ (Lehnw.).
TAS: *bad*$_3$*-gara*$_3$^{ki}[580]; *i*$_3$*-lu-gara*$_3$; *il-su-gara*$_3$; UR.SAĜ^{gara_3}.

GI — Fāra: *en-gi* (?); *i-*⌈*ri*$_2$?⌉*-gi*; *i-ku-gi*; *ib-gi*-NE.
TAS: ^{d}*sar-gi-me-ru*; *gi-da-nu*^{ki}; *gi-ma-na/nu*^{ki}; *i-gi-i*$_3$*-lum*; *zi-gi-nu*^{ki}.

GI$_4$ — TAS: i-*gi*$_4$*-i*$_3$*-lum*; *iš-gi*$_4$*-me-ru*.

GIBIL — TAS: BIL$_2$*-lum*^{ki}; *tu*-BIL$_2$^{ki}. Wohl logographisch: GIBIL-*i*[*l*].

GU — TAS: *gu-ne-*⌈*x*⌉^{ki}[581]; *gu*-NI-*sum*; *gu-nir*^{ki}[582]; *i-ku-gu-il*; *i-ši-*⌈*x*?⌉*-gu*-NI-⌈*x*⌉.

GU$_2$ — TAS: *gu*$_2$*-luḫ-*⌈*ḫa*!?⌉ (Subst.). Wohl logographisch: GU$_2$.A^{ki}.

GUM — TAS: *gaz*$_2$: *gaz*$_2$*-mu-ru*$_x$(UR$_4$)^{ki}[583]; sa-gaz$_2$ (Lehnw.). *kun*$_3$ (oder *kum*): *i-kun*$_3$*-ma-ri*$_2$.

GUR — TAS: [*gi*?]*-gur*^{ki}[584].

ḪA — Fāra: *a-ḫa-lum*; *ḫa*-NI-LUM.
TAS: *a-ḫa-ar-si*; ^{d}*ba*$_4$*-li-ḫa*; *gu*$_2$*-luḫ-*⌈*ḫa*!?⌉ (Subst.); *i-ku-a-ḫa*; *i*$_3$*-lum-*⌈*a-ḫa*⌉; *ir*$_3$*-bi*$_2$*-a-ḫa*; *su/su*$_{13}$*-ma-a-ḫa*; *tar-ri*$_2$*-šu-ḫa*^{ki}[585].

ḪAR — Fāra: *ḫar*: *a-ḫar-ši*; *war*$_x$: ḪAR.TU-^{d}sud$_3$ (?); ḪAR.TU-TUR (?). Unklar: ME-ḪAR-*ši*.
Fāra/TAS: *war*$_x$: ḪAR.TU (?).
TAS: *war*$_x$: ḪAR.TU-^{d}nisaba (?). Unklar: ḪAR.KA.

ḪI — Fāra: *i-*[Ḫ]I$^{?}$-E$_2$; NI-*ba-ḫi-li* (?).
TAS: *ḫi-mu-ru*$_x$(UR$_4$)^{ki}; *ra-ḫi*^{ki}[586]. Logographisch oder syllabographisch: ḪI-*la-i*$_3$*-lum*; NAM.ḪI^{ki}.

ḪU — TAS: *a-ḫu*-NE; *ḫu-ti-um*; *tar-ri*$_2$*-ku*$_5$*-ḫu*^{ki}.

I — Fāra: *i*-BU-NI; *i-bu*$_3$-LUL-*il*; *i-*[Ḫ]I$^{?}$-E$_2$; *i-ku-gi*; *i-na-il*; *i-*⌈*ri*$_2$?⌉*-gi*; *i-sar-bu*$_3$.
Fāra/TAS: *i-ku-il*.

580 Var. *bad*$_3$*-ga-ra*^{ki}; Ebla: *ba-ga-ra*^{ki}.
581 Ebla: *gu*$_2$*-ne-er*^{ki}.
582 Ebla: *gu*$_2$*-ne-er*^{ki}.
583 Ebla: *gi-zi-mu-ru*^{ki}.
584 Ebla: *gi-gur-ra*^{ki}.
585 Ebla: *tar-ri*$_2$*-ze*$_2$*-ḫu*^{ki}.
586 Ebla: *ra-ḫa*^{ki}.

	TAS:	*i-bi*$_2$-*la*; *i-bi*$_2$-*um*; *i-dur*$_2$-[?]-*a*-NAM; *i-gi/gi*$_4$-*i*$_3$-*lum*; *i*-IM.NI-*rum*$_2$; *i*-⌜KA⌝-LUM; *i-ku-a-ḫa*; *i-ku-gu-il*; *i-ku-i-sar*; ^{d}*i-ku-pi*; *i-kun*$_3$-*ma-ri*$_2$; *i-ma* (Verb?); *i-me*$^!$-EREN$_2$+X; *i-nu*^{ki}[587]; *i-su*$_{13}$-*bala*; *i*-⌜*sur*$_3$-*ru*$_x$(UR$_4$)⌝^{ki}; *i-ši*-⌜*x*?⌝-*gu*-NI-⌜*x*⌝; *i-ti-i*$_3$-*lum*; *i-ti*-^{d}ID$_2$; *i-ti*-^{d}ša-^{ga}gan; *i-ti*-^{d}UD.GAM+GAM; *i-zi-nu*^{ki}; ⌜*mar*⌝-*i-zu*$_2$^{ki}.
IA$_2$	Fāra:	*e-du-ia*$_2$ (?).
IB	Fāra:	*ib-gi*-NE.
	TAS:	*ib*-AN-*mud*; *ib-li*.
IG	TAS:	*ig-mu*-[*ru*?]^{ki}.
IL	Fāra:	*aš*$_2$-*da-il*; *aš*$_2$-*dam-il*; *i-na-il*; *il*-LAGAB-LUM$_x$; *il-lu-sar*; *il-me-sar*; *il-su*$_x$(MUŠ)-*me-nu*; *il-su*$_x$(MUŠ)-*nu-me-ru*; *il*-NI.NI; *il-su*$_3$-*nu-ru*; *il-tu-tu*.
	Fāra/TAS:	*iš-dub-il*; *iš*-LUL-*il*.
	TAS:	*en-na-il*; GIBIL-*i*[*l*]; ⌜GIŠ.BAN$^?$⌝-*il*; *i-ku-gu-il*; *il*-BAD$_3$; *il-ib*$_2$^{ki}; *il*-LAK647; *il*-SIG$_5$; *im-lik-il*; *ir*$_3$-*mi-il*; LU$_2$×ŠE$_3$-*il*; MES.LAM-*il*; PUZUR$_4$-*il*.
IM	TAS:	*i*-IM.NI-RUM$_2$; *im-lik*-E$_2$; *im-lik-il*; *im-mar*; *im-ri*$_2$-*iš*-E$_2$; *im-tum*; *li-im* "1000".
IN	TAS:	*in* (Präp.).
IR	TAS:	E$_2$-*i*$_3$/*ir*?-*rim*$_3$^{ki}[588].
IŠ	Fāra:	*iš-pi-lum*.
	Fāra/TAS:	*iš-dub-il*; *iš*-LUL-*il*.
	TAS:	*im-ri*$_2$-*iš*-E$_2$; *iš-dub*-^{d}KA.DI; *iš-ga*-BE; *iš-ma*$_2$-*i*$_3$-*lum*; [*r*]*i*$_2$-*iš*^{ki}[589].
IŠ$_{11}$[590]	TAS:	*iš*$_{11}$-*gi*$_4$-*me-ru*.
KA	Fāra:	*bu*$_x$: ^{d}*e-lum-da*-⌜KA/*bu*$_3$?⌝. *zu*$_2$: *zu*$_2$-*la*$_2$-*lum*.
	TAS:	*bu*$_x$: *da-bu*$_x$^{ki}[591]; *mar-bu*$_x$/*bu*$_3$-*ag*^{ki}. *zu*$_2$: ⌜*mar*⌝-*i-zu*$_2$^{ki}; [*zu*$_2$?]-*zu*$_2$-*ru*$_x$(UR$_4$)^{ki}. Wohl logographisch: KA.KA-LUM^{ki}[592]. Unklar: ḪAR.KA; *i*-⌜KA⌝-LUM; ⌜KA⌝-*mu*$_2$^{ki}[593].
KALAG	Fāra/TAS:	^{d}*ku*$_3$-*rib-ba*.
KI	TAS:	*ki-num*$_2$.

[587] Ebla: *i*$_3$-*i-nu*^{ki}.
[588] Ebla: E$_2$-AN.AN^{ki}.
[589] Ebla: *ri*$_2$-*aš*$_2$^{ki}.
[590] = LAM×KUR. Zum Lautwert vgl. Anm. 381.
[591] Ebla: *da-bu*$_3$^{ki}.
[592] Ebla: nach Photo *iš*$^?$-*gi-ri*$_2$-LUM^{ki}, nicht *ši-gi-ri*$_2$-*lum*^{ki} (so MEE 3, S. 235).
[593] Var. [*g*]*i*$^?$-*mu*$_2$^{ki}. Ebla: *gi-ma*^{ki}. Vielleicht ist ⌜*gi*⌝ statt ⌜KA⌝ zu lesen.

KU Fāra: i-ku-gi.
TAS: i-ku-a-ḫa; i-ku-i-sar; i-ku-il; ^{d}i-ku-pi; i$_3$-ku-[u]l$^{?}$; ku-me^{ki}.

KU$_3$ Fāra/TAS: ^{d}ku$_3$-rib-ba.

LA Fāra: 'a$_3$-la-LUM$_x$ (?); la-la; la-la-lum; la-LUM-ma; MI-la (?); MI-la-UN (?).
TAS: a-li-la/na^{ki}; a-lum-la; ḪI-la-i$_3$-lum; i-bi$_2$-la; ib$_2$-DA-gal-la^{ki}; la-gaba^{ki}; la-mu-tum; la-sa$_2$^{ki}; SAL-la^{ki}; ša$_3$-la-ba$_4$-nu^{ki}; u$_3$-[b]i$_2$$^{?}$-⌈la$^{?}$⌉^{ki}. Unklar: ib$_2$-LA-NIM^{ki}[594].

LAGAB Fāra: il-LAGAB-LUM$_x$.

LAK350[595] TAS: a-LAK350-DAB$_3$.

LAL$_3$ TAS: i$_3$-lal$_3$-lu/lu$_5$^{ki}[596]; lal$_3$-la-ad^{ki}; lal$_3$-lu$_5$-ru$_x$(UR$_4$)^{ki}.

LI Fāra: bi-li-li; NI-ba-ḫi-li (?); pi-li-li.
TAS: a-li-la/na^{ki}; a-lu-lum^{ki}; ^{d}ba$_4$-li-ḫa; ib-li; li-im "1000".

LU Fāra: 'a$_3$-na-lu (?); 'a$_3$-na-lu-lu (?); il-lu-sar.
TAS: a-lu^{ki}; a-lu-lum^{ki}; gu$_2$-luḫ-⌈ḫa$^{!?}$⌉ (Subst.); i$_3$-lal$_3$-lu/lu$_5$^{ki}; i$_3$-lu-gara$_3$.

LU$_2$×AŠ TAS: LU$_2$×AŠ-[d]a-AN^{ki}.

LU$_2$×ŠE$_3$ TAS: Wohl logographisch: LU$_2$×ŠE$_3$-il.

LU$_2$×UŠ$_2$ TAS: ad$_3$-ga-nu^{ki}[597].

LUḪ TAS: 'a$_3$-luḫ-[da]r$^{?ki}$[598].

LUL Fāra: da-du-LUL; i-bu$_3$-LUL-il.
Fāra/TAS: iš-LUL-il.
TAS: ba-lu$_5$-lu$_5$; i$_3$-lal$_3$-lu/lu$_5$^{ki}[599].

LUM Fāra: lum: a-ḫa-lum; ^{d}e-lum; ^{d}e-lum-AGA$_3$.ZI; ^{d}e-lum-[AN].DUL$_3$; e-lum-da-⌈KA/bu$_3$?⌉; i$_3$-lum-gara$_3$; i$_3$-lum-su$_x$(MUŠ); iš-pi-lum; la-la-lum; la-LUM-ma; ur-^{d}e-lum. Unklar: 'a$_3$-LUM; ḫa-NI-LUM; la-LUM-ma.
TAS: lum: a-lum-BAD$_3$; a-lum-i$_3$-lum; ba-lum-i$_3$-lum; BIL$_2$-lum^{ki}; ḪI-la-i$_3$-lum; i-gi/gi$_4$-i$_3$-lum; i-ti-i$_3$-lum; i$_3$-lum-ma-lik; iš-ma$_2$-i$_3$-lum. num$_2$: ki-num$_2$. Unklar: ⌈a⌉-la-LUM; a-LUM; KA.KA-LUM^{ki}; mi-na-LUM; sar-ra-⌈LUM$^{?}$⌉^{ki}; ša-LUM; zu-LUM^{ki}.

594 Var. ib$_2$-DA-NIM^{ki}.
595 Zur Identifikation LAK350 = UZU s.o. S. 279. Syllabischer Wert ist vielleicht bu$_x$, vgl. Anm. 290. Das Zeichen in obigem PN steht allerdings senkrecht und könnte dadurch von UZU differenziert sein.
596 Ebla: i$_3$-la-lu^{ki}.
597 Ebla: 'a$_3$-da-ga-nu^{ki}.
598 Ebla: 'a$_3$-ru-ag-dar^{ki}.
599 Ebla: i$_3$-la-lu^{ki}.

LUM_x[600]	Fāra:	*'a₃-la*-LUM_x (?); *'a₃*-LUM_x (?); *il*-LAGAB-LUM_x; NE-LUM_x (?).
MA	Fāra:	AN-*ma-tum*; *la*-LUM-*ma*; LUM-*ma*.
	Fāra/TAS:	ma-na (Lehnw.).
	TAS:	AN-*ma₂-ti*; ᵈ*ma-l*[*ik*?]; ᵈ*ma-ni*; *i-kun₃-ma-ri₂*; *i₃-lum-ma-lik*; *i-ma*; *il-su₃-ma-lik*; *su-ma-a-ba₄*; *su/su₁₃-ma-a-ḫa*; *su₃-ma-me-ru*; *bar*?*-sa-ma-na*ᵏⁱ; *gi-ma-na/nu*ᵏⁱ; *ma-dar*ᵏⁱ; *ma-sa₂*ᵏⁱ; *ra-ma-ad*ᵏⁱ; *sa₂-ma-nu*ᵏⁱ; *ti-*[*m*]*a-nu*ᵏⁱ.
MA_2	Fāra:	*aš*?*-ma₂*?(SI); *aš-ma₂-sar*.
	TAS:	AN-*ma₂-ti*; *e-sa-ma₂*ᵏⁱ; *iš-ma₂-i₃-lum*; *ma₂-ga*ᵏⁱ.
MAḪ	Fāra:	*aš-maḫ/maḫ₂* (?).
MAR	TAS:	*im-mar*; *mar-dar-*⌜*x*⌝ᵏⁱ; ⌜*mar*⌝*-i-zu₂*ᵏⁱ; *mar*-KA/*bu₃-ag*ᵏⁱ; *na-mar*ᵏⁱ; *na-mar-ru*ₓ(UR₄)ᵏⁱ.
MAŠ	TAS:	maš-gag-en (Lehnw.).
ME	Fāra:	*il-me-sar*; *il-su*ₓ(MUŠ)*-me-nu*; *il-su*ₓ(MUŠ)*-me-ru*; *il-su*ₓ(MUŠ)*-nu-me-ru*. Unklar: ME-ḪAR-*ši*.
	TAS:	*'a₃-me-šum*ᵏⁱ; DAG-*me*ᵏⁱ; ᵈIM.MIᵐᵘˢᵉⁿ*-me-ru*; *iš₁₁-gi-me-ru*; *ku-me*ᵏⁱ [601]; ᵈ*me-ru*; ᵈ*sar-gi-me-ru*; *su₃-ma-me-ru*; *tar-ri₂-me*ᵏⁱ [602]. Unklar: *ag*-M[E]ᵏⁱ [603].
MES	TAS:	Wohl logographisch: MES-*sar*.
MI	Fāra:	MI-*la* (?); MI-*la*-UN (?); *mi-su₄-ad*.
	Fāra/TAS:	*mi-mud* (?).
	TAS:	*ir₃-mi-il*; *mi-ad* "100"; *mi-en-nu*; *mi-na*-LUM.
MU	Fāra:	AN-*mu-da* (?); *su-mu-*⌜*aš*?*-dar*?⌝.
	TAS:	*ba₄-ra-mu*ᵏⁱ; *da-mu*ᵏⁱ; *dar-mu*ᵏⁱ; *gaz₂*(GUM)*-mu-ru*ₓ(UR₄)ᵏⁱ; *ḫi-mu-ru*ₓ(UR₄)ᵏⁱ; *ig-mu-*[*ru*?]ᵏⁱ; *la-mu-tum*; *ša-mu*ᵏⁱ; [*zu₂*?]*-mu-dar*ᵏⁱ.
MUD	Fāra:	Wohl logographisch: ᵈ*zu-en*-MUD.
	Fāra/TAS:	*mi-mud* (?).
	TAS:	⌜*ad-mud*⌝ᵏⁱ [604]; *aš₂-mud* (?); *ib*-AN-*mud*.
MUŠ	Fāra:	*su*ₓ: *i₃-lum-su*ₓ; *il-su*ₓ*-me-nu*; *il-su*ₓ*-me-ru*; *il-su*ₓ*-nu-me-ru*.

600 = ZU+ZU+SAR; s.o. S. 257.

601 Ebla: *ku-um*ᵏⁱ.

602 Ebla: *tar-ri₂-ma-ki*ᵏⁱ. Pomponio 1983, 286, möchte dagegen in *tar-ri₂-me*ᵏⁱ die Entsprechung von *a-ri₂-ga-at*ᵏⁱ sehen; s.u. Anm. 665.

603 Ebla: *a-ga-za-*⌜*ar*?⌝ᵏⁱ.

604 Ebla: *ad-mu-ud*ᵏⁱ.

NA Fāra: *ʾa$_3$-na* (?); *ʾa$_3$-na-lu* (?); *ʾa$_3$-na-lu-lu* (?); *i-na-il*; *na*-DI-*nu* (?); na-gada (Lehnw.); *šu-a-na-ti*.
Fāra/TAS: ma-na (Lehnw.).
TAS: *a-li-la/na*^{ki}; *aš$_2$*-⸢*na*?⸣^{ki}; *bar-sa-ma-na*^{ki}; *en-na-il*; *en-na-na*; *gi-ma-na/nu*^{ki}; *mi-na*-LUM; *na-mar*^{ki}; *na-mar-ru$_x$*(UR$_4$)^{ki}; *na-sum*; RI-*da-na*^{ki}; SIG?-*na-sar*.

NAM Fāra: *ʾa$_3$-nam* (?).
TAS: *i-dur$_2$*-[?]-*a*-NAM; NAM.ḪI^{ki}[605].

NE Fāra: *ib-gi*-NE; NE-LUM$_x$ (?).
TAS: *bi$_2$*: *a-bi$_2$-ag*^{ki}; *bi$_2$-bi$_2$-um*; *i-bi$_2$-la*; *i-bi$_2$-um*; *ir$_3$-bi$_2$-a-ḫa*. *de$_3$*: *ba$_4$-zu-de$_3$*^{ki}[606]. *ne*: *a-ḫu-ne*; *a-ne*^{ki}[607]; DA-*ne*^{ki}[608]; *gu-ne*-⸢*x*⸣^{ki}; *u$_3$*-[*b*]*i$_2$*?-⸢*la*?⸣^{ki}. Unklar: *ša*-NE^{ki}; *u$_3$*-NE-NE.

NI Fāra: *i$_3$*: *i$_3$-lum-su$_x$*(MUŠ). *li$_2$*: *li$_2$-ga*. Unklar: *ga-ri*-NI; *ḫa*-NI-LUM; *i*-BU-NI; *il*-NI.NI; NI-*ba-ḫi-li* (?).
Fāra/TAS: *i$_3$-lum-gara$_3$*.
TAS: *bu$_x$*: *ag-ga-bu$_x$*^{ki}; *az*-⟨*a*⟩-*bu$_x$*^{ki}; *ga-bu$_x$*^{ki}[609]. *i$_3$*: *a-lum-i$_3$-lum*; *ba-lum-i$_3$-lum*; E$_2$-*ir/i$_3$-rim$_3$*^{ki}[610]; ḪI-*la-i$_3$-lum*; *i-gi/gi$_4$-i$_3$-lum*; *i-ti-i$_3$-lum*; *i$_3$-ku*-[*u*]*l*?; *i$_3$-lal$_3$-lu/lu$_5$*^{ki}; *i$_3$-lum-ma-lik*; *iš-ma$_2$-i$_3$-lum*. *li$_2$*: *gu*-NI-*sum*; *igi-li$_2$*^{ki}[611]. *ni*: ^{d}*ma-ni*. Unklar: *ar*-NI-*ba*; *i*-IM.NI-*rum$_2$*; *i-ši*-⸢*x*?⸣-*gu*-NI-⸢*x*⸣.

NIM TAS: *nim/num*: *ib$_2$*-DA/LA-NIM^{ki}.

NIR TAS: *gu-nir*^{ki}[612].

NU Fāra: *il-su$_x$*(MUŠ)-*me-nu*; *il-su$_x$*(MUŠ)-*nu-me-ru*; *il-su$_3$-nu-ru*; *na*-DI-*nu* (?).
TAS: *ad$_3$-ga-nu*^{ki}; *gi-da-nu*^{ki}; *gi-ma-na/nu*^{ki}; *i-nu*^{ki}; *i-zi-nu*^{ki}; *mi-en-nu*; *nu*-RI^{ki}; *sa$_2$-ma-nu*^{ki}; *ša$_3$-la-ba$_4$-nu*^{ki}; *tab-nu*^{ki}; *ti*-[*m*]*a-nu*^{ki}; *zi-gi-nu*^{ki}.

PAP Fāra/TAS: pa$_4$-šeš (Lehnw.).

PI Fāra: *iš-pi-lum*; *pi-li-li*.
TAS: *ʾa$_3$*-PI-*ru$_x$*(UR$_4$)^{ki}; ^{d}*i-ku-pi*.

[605] Ebla: KALAM.ḪI^{ki}.
[606] Ebla: *ba-zu$_2$*-⸢*ti*⸣^{ki}.
[607] Ebla: *a-ni$_2$*^{ki}.
[608] Ebla: AM-*ni$_2$*.
[609] Ebla: *ga-bu$_3$*^{ki}.
[610] Ebla: E$_2$-AN.AN^{ki}.
[611] Ebla: *i$_3$-gi-il*^{ki}.
[612] Ebla: *gu$_2$-ne-er*^{ki}

PUZUR$_4$ TAS: PUZUR$_4$-E$_2$; PUZUR$_4$-*il*. Die Zeichenkombination BU$_3$.ŠA = PUZUR$_4$ ist sicherlich aus einer Rebusschreibung hervorgegangen, deren erstes Glied, *bu*$_3$- noch klar als Phonogramm erkenntlich ist. Die Abstraktion von *zur*$_8$ aus ŠA ist jedoch zweifelhaft. Möglicherweise hat man von */puzar/* oder */puzra/* auszugehen, dessen Silben defektiv durch *bu*$_3$ und *ša* ausgedrückt wurden.

RA TAS: *bad*$_3$*-ga-ra*^{ki}; *ba*$_4$*-ra-mu*^{ki}; *gag-ga-ra*^{ki}; *ra-ga-bad*$_3$^{ki}; *ra-ḫi*^{ki}; *ra-ma-ad*^{ki}; *ra-sa*$_2$^{ki}; *sar-ra-*⸢LUM$^{?}$⸣^{ki}; *za-ra-bad*$_3$^{ki}.

RI Fāra: *ga-ri*-NI; *u*$_3$-RI-*ti*-LUM$_x$.
Fāra/TAS: *ġa-ri*.
TAS: *nu*-RI^{ki}; RI-*da-na*^{ki}.

RU Fāra: *il-su*$_x$(MUŠ)*-me-ru*; *il-su*$_x$(MUŠ)*-nu-me-ru*; *il-su*$_3$*-nu-ru*.
TAS: ^{d}IM.MI^{mušen}*-me-ru*; *iš*$_{11}$*-gi-me-ru*; ^{d}*me-ru*; *ru-ru*^{ki}[613]; ^{d}*sar-gi-me-ru*; *su*$_3$*-ma-me-ru*.

RUM$_2$ TAS: *rim*$_3$: E$_2$*-i*$_3$*/ir*?*-rim*$_3$^{ki}[614]. *rum*$_2$: *ar-rum*$_2$. Unklar: *i*-IM.NI-RUM$_2$.

SA TAS: *bar-sa-ma-na*^{ki}; *e-sa-ma*$_2$^{ki}; *sa*-AN^{ki}; s a - g a z$_2$(GUM) (Lehnw.); *sa*-NIN^{ki}[615]; *sa-*⸢*ri*$_2$⸣*-ad*^{ki}; *sa-*[…^{ki}][616].

SAĜ TAS: Wohl logographisch: *tar-ri*$_2$-SAĜ.DU$_8$^{ki}.

SAL TAS: SAL-*la*^{ki}[617].

SAR Fāra: *aš-ma*$_2$*-sar*; *i-sar-bu*$_3$; *il-lu-sar*; *il-me-sar*; UN^{mušen}*-sar* (?).
TAS: *mu*$_2$: ⸢KA⸣*-mu*$_2$^{ki}[618]; *šu-mu*$_2$^{ki}[619]; URU.*sa*$_2$*-mu*$_2$(.UD.NI)^{ki}[620]. *sar*: *i-ku-i-sar*; MES-*sar*; *sar-da*^{ki}[621]; ^{d}*sar-gi-me-ru*; *sar-ra-*⸢LUM$^{?}$⸣^{ki}[622]; SIG$^{?}$-*na-sar*.

SI TAS: *a-ḫa-ar-si*; *ar*-A.SI^{ki}[623]; *ar-si-ga*^{ki}; *si-ba*$_4$*-ba*$_4$^{ki}; *si-dag*^{ki}; *si-du*^{ki}[624].

[613] Ebla: *ra-ra*^{ki}.
[614] Ebla: E$_2$-AN.AN^{ki}.
[615] Ebla: *sa-ad*-NIN^{ki}.
[616] Ebla: *sa-ad*-IBILA^{ki}.
[617] Ebla: *gi-sa-la*^{ki}.
[618] Var. [*g*]*i*$^{?}$*-mu*$_2$^{ki}. Ebla: *gi-ma*^{ki}. Vielleicht ist ⸢*gi*⸣ statt ⸢KA⸣ zu lesen.
[619] Ebla: *si-ma*^{ki}.
[620] Ebla: URU.*sa-bu*$_3$(.NI.UD)^{ki}. Vgl. Anm. 536.
[621] Ebla. ⸢*x*⸣*-ri*$_2$*-da*^{ki}.
[622] Ebla: *sa-ra*-LUM^{ki}.
[623] Ebla: *ar*-AG^{ki}.
[624] Ebla: *su-u*$_3$^{ki}.

SIG	TAS:	SIG$^{?}$-*na-sar*[625].
SU	Fāra:	*su-mu-*⌜*aš*$^{?}$*-dar*$^{?}$⌝.
	TAS:	*il-su-a-ḫa*; *il-su-gara*$_3$; *su-ma-a-ba*$_4$; *su-ma-a-ḫa*; *su-ma-me-ru*.
SU$_3$	Fāra:	*il-su*$_3$*-nu-ru*.
	TAS:	*il-su*$_3$*-a-ḫa*; *il-su*$_3$-EREN$_2$+X; *il-su*$_3$*-ma-lik*; *su*$_3$ (Pronomen); *su*$_3$*-ma-me-ru*.
SU$_4$	Fāra:	*mi-su*$_4$*-ad*; *su*$_4$*-a-bi*.
SUM	TAS:	*sum*: *gu*-NI-*sum*; *na-sum*. *zar*$_3$: *zar*$_3$*-bad*$_3$^{ki}[626]. Unklar: *ab*-SUM^{ki}[627].
SUR$_3$	TAS:	*i-*⌜*sur*$_3$*-ru*$_x$(UR$_4$)⌝^{ki}.
ŠA	TAS:	*a-ša*^{ki}; *i-ti-*^{d}ša-^{ga}gan; *ša-bad*$_3$^{ki}[628]; *ša*-LUM; *ša-mu*^{ki}[629]; *ša*-NE^{ki}[630]. Vgl. auch PUZUR$_4$.
ŠA$_3$	TAS:	*ša*$_3$*-la-ba*$_4$*-nu*^{ki}[631].
ŠE	Fāra:	*eš*$^{?}$*-še-šu* (?).
ŠE$_3$	Fāra/TAS:	$^{d še_3}$NIR (Lautindikator).
ŠEŠ	Fāra/TAS:	pa$_4$-šeš (Lehnw.).
ŠI	Fāra:	*a-ḫar-ši*; ME-ḪAR-*ši*.
	TAS:	*i-ši-*⌜*x*?⌝*-gu*-NI-⌜*x*⌝. Wohl logographisch: igi-*li*$_2$^{ki}[632].
ŠU	Fāra:	*šu-a-ba*$_4$; *šu-a-na-ti*; *eš*$^{?}$*-še-šu* (?).
	TAS:	*šu-mu*$_2$^{ki}; *tar-ri*$_2$*-šu-ḫa*^{ki}.
ŠUL	TAS:	Wohl logographisch: *tar-ri*$_2$-ŠUL^{ki}.
ŠUM	TAS:	*'a*$_3$*-me-šum*^{ki}.
ŠUR$_6$	TAS:	*aš-šur*$_6$^{ki}.
TAB	TAS:	*tab-nu*^{ki}.
TAR	TAS:	*ku*$_5$: *tar-ri*$_2$*-ku*$_5$*-ḫu*^{ki}. *tar*: *tar-ri*$_2$-AN.AN^{ki}; *tar-ri*$_2$*-bad*^{ki}; *tar-ri*$_2$*-me*^{ki}; *tar-ri*$_2$-SAĜ.DU$_8$^{ki}; *tar-ri*$_2$*-šu-ḫa*^{ki}; *tar-ri*$_2$-ŠUL^{ki}; *tar-ri*$_2$*-zi-da*^{ki}.

625 Varianten *a-na-sar* (Ebla) und *i-na-sar* (Ur III)! Möglicherweise ist UD statt SIG zu lesen (IAS 61, vii 4; Photo).
626 Ebla: *za-ra-ba-ad*^{ki}.
627 Ebla: *ab*$_2$*-la*^{ki}.
628 Ebla: *ša-da-ba-ad*^{ki}.
629 Ebla: *sa-mu*^{ki}.
630 Ebla: *sa*-NE^{ki}.
631 Ebla: *sa-la-ba-an*^{ki}.
632 Ebla: *i*$_3$*-gi-il*^{ki}.

TI	Fāra:	*šu-a-na-ti*; u_3-RI-*ti*-LUM$_x$.
	TAS:	*a-ti*^{ki}; AN-*ma*$_2$-*ti*; *ḫu-ti-um*; *i-ti*-E$_2$; *i-ti-i*$_3$-*lum*; *i-ti*-^{d}ID$_2$; *i-ti*-^{d}ša-^{ga}gan; *i-ti*-^{d}UD.GAM+GAM; *ti*-[*m*]*a-nu*^{ki}.
TU	Fāra:	*il-tu-tu*; ḪAR.TU-^{d}sud$_3$ (?); ḪAR.TU-TUR (?).
	Fāra/TAS:	ḪAR.TU (?).
	TAS:	ḪAR.TU-^{d}nisaba (?); *tu*-BIL$_2^{ki}$.
TUG$_2$	TAS:	*a*-TUG$_2^{ki}$[633].
TUM	Fāra:	AN-*ma-tum*; *da-tum*.
	TAS:	*ib*$_2$: *ib*$_2$-DA-*gal-la*^{ki}[634]; *ib*$_2$-DA/LA-NIM^{ki}[635]; *il-ib*$_2^{ki}$. *tum*: AN-*tum*; *da-tum*; *im-tum*; *la-mu-tum*.
TUM$_3$	TAS:	TUM$_3$-*um*^{ki}[636].
U$_2$	TAS:	*u*$_2$-*ad*^{ki}; *ba*!-*u*$_2^{ki}$[637].
U$_3$	Fāra:	*u*$_3$-RI-*ti*-LUM$_x$.
	TAS:	AG-*zi-u*$_3^{ki}$; *u*$_3$ (Präp.); *u*$_3$-*al*^{ki}; *u*$_3$-*aš-dar*; *u*$_3$-*ba*-[*x*]^{ki}; *u*$_3$-*bad*^{ki}[638]; *u*$_3$-*dar*^{ki}; *u*$_3$-[*b*]*i*$_2$?-⌜*la*?⌝^{ki}; *u*$_3$-NE-NE.
U$_5$	Fāra:	*u*$_5$-*aš-dar*.
U$_9$[639]	TAS:	*aš*$_2$-⌜*u*$_9$?⌝^{ki}[640].
UL	TAS:	*i*$_3$-*ku*-[*u*]*l*?.
UM	Fāra:	GAG-*zi-um*.
	TAS:	*a-a-um*(-KU.LI); *bi*$_2$-*bi*$_2$-*um*; *ḫu-ti-um*; *i-bi*$_2$-*um*; TUM$_3$-*um*^{ki}.
UR	Fāra:	Logographisch: ur-^{d}*aš-dar*; ur-^{d}*e-lum*.
	TAS:	*i*$_3$-*lum-ma-lik*; *il-su*$_3$-*ma-lik*; *im-lik*-E$_2$; *im-lik-il*; ^{d}*ma-l*[*ik*?].
UR$_4$	TAS:	*ru*$_x$: *ʾa*$_3$-*dur-ru*$_x^{ki}$[641]; *ʾa*$_3$-PI-*ru*$_x^{ki}$[642]; *ʾa*$_3$-*ru*$_x$-*ad*^{ki}[643]; *gaz*$_2$(GUM)-*mu-ru*$_x$(UR$_4$)^{ki}[644]; *ḫi-mu-ru*$_x^{ki}$[645]; *i*-⌜*sur*$_3$-*ru*$_x$⌝^{ki}; *lal*$_3$-*lu*$_5$-*ru*$_x^{ki}$; *na-mar-ru*$_x^{ki}$; [*zu*$_2$?]-*zu*$_2$-*ru*$_x^{ki}$. Die Varianten weisen übereinstimmend auf einen

633 Ebla: *a-gu*$_2$-*zu*$_2^{ki}$.
634 Ebla: *i*$_3$-*bi*$_2$-*ga-gal*^{ki}.
635 Ebla: *i*$_3$-*bi*$_2$/*bil*$_2$?-*a*-NIM^{ki}.
636 Ebla: KA-LUM.
637 Ebla: *bu*$_3$-*bu*$_3^{ki}$.
638 Ebla: *u*$_2$-*b*[*a*?-*ad*?^{ki}].
639 = EZEN×AN, im Unterschied zu BAD$_3$ = EZEN×BAD.
640 Ebla: *as*$_2$-*su-ud*^{ki}.
641 Ebla: *ʾa*$_3$-*dur-ru*^{ki}.
642 Ebla: *ʾa*$_3$-P[I]-*r*[*u*^{ki}].
643 Ebla: *ʾa*$_3$-*ru*$_{12}$-*ad* (AG 63), *ʾa*$_3$-*ra-wa-ad* (AG 197).
644 Ebla: *gi-zi-mu-ru*^{ki}.
645 Ebla: *ḫi-mu-ru*^{ki}.

Lautwert ru_x; *na-mar-ru*$_x$^{ki} (Ebla: *na-ma-ra-at*) steht defektiv für /*namarrūt*/[646].

URU — Fāra: *i-*⌜*ri*$_2$$^?$⌝*-gi*.
TAS: ^{d}*da-ri*$_2$(-⌜*x*?⌝); ⌜*ga-ri*$_2$⌝-[*ad*?]^{ki}; *i-kun*$_3$*-ma-ri*$_2$; *im-ri*$_2$*-iš*-E$_2$; *sa-*⌜*ri*$_2$⌝*-ad*^{ki}; *tar-ri*$_2$-AN.AN^{ki}; *tar-ri*$_2$*-bad*^{ki}; *tar-ri*$_2$*-šu-ḫa*^{ki}; *tar-ri*$_2$-ŠUL^{ki}; *tar-ri*$_2$*-ku*$_5$*-ḫu*^{ki}; *tar-ri*$_2$*-me*^{ki}; *tar-ri*$_2$-SAĜ.DU$_8$^{ki}; *tar-ri*$_2$*-zi-da*^{ki}.

URUDU — TAS: *da*$_5$*-da*$_5$^{ki}[647].

UŠ — TAS: *ir*$_3$*-bi*$_2$*-a-ḫa*; *ir*$_3$*-mi-il*.

ZA — TAS: *az-za-bu*$_3$; *za-ra-bad*$_3$^{ki}.

ZI — Fāra: GAG-*zi-um*.
TAS: AG-*zi-u*$_3$^{ki}; *i-zi-nu*^{ki}[648]; *tar-ri*$_2$*-zi-da*^{ki}; *zi-gi-nu*^{ki}.

ZU — Fāra: ^{d}*zu-en*-MUD.
Fāra/TAS: ^{d}*zu-en*.
TAS: AMAR-^{d}*zu-en*; *ba*$_4$*-zu-de*$_3$^{ki}; *zu*-LUM^{ki}. Unklar: *il*-ZU.ZU.

In Fāra und TAS zeichnet sich bereits der Kernbestand des aAK Syllabars ab. Der im Vergleich zu Fāra wesentlich stärkere Anteil des semitisch-akkadischen Elements in TAS spiegelt sich dort in einem weiter entwickelten Syllabar wider. Wie im aAK, im eblaitischen (und noch im aA!) Syllabar werden stimmhafte, stimmlose und emphatische Verschlußlaute und Sibilanten in der Schrift nicht unterschieden, während z.B. zwischen *i* für /*yi*/ und *i*$_3$ für /*ʾi*/, *ir* für /*ʾir*/ und *ir*$_3$ (UŠ) für /*yir*/ sowie *a* für /*ʾa*/ und *ʾa*$_3$ für /*ḥa*/ differenziert wird. Hinsichtlich der Differenzierung von Sibilanten und Interdentalen sind die Beispiele zwar etwas dünn, doch dürften auch hier ähnliche Verhältnisse wie im aAK gelten, also etwa *za*, *zi*, *zu*, *zu*$_2$ für *s*, *z*, *ṣ*; *sa*, *si*, *su*, *su*$_3$, *su*$_4$ für *š*; *ša*, *ša*$_3$, *šu* für *ṯ* (und *ḏ* ?); statt *ši* in *a-ḫar-ši* (Fāra) würde man allerdings *si* erwarten.

6.6. UD.GAL.NUN-Orthographie

Ein charakteristisches Phänomen der Texte aus Fāra und TAS ist die sogenannte "UD.GAL.NUN"-Orthographie (hinfort UGN). Sie besteht darin, daß einzelne Zeichen unabhängig von ihrer jeweiligen Funktion durch andere ersetzt werden. Für manche Normalzeichen existieren mehrere UGN-Zeichen, und manche UGN-Zeichen treten für mehrere Normalzeichen ein. Normal- und UGN-Schreibweise wechseln gewöhnlich in einem Text, oft auch in einem Wort, miteinander ab. Andererseits gibt es aber keine normalorthographischen Duplikate zu UGN-Texten (außer einem späteren Übungstext, s.u.).

646 Frayne 1992, 64, vergleicht späteres *me-e-mar-ru-ut*.
647 Ebla: *da-*⌜*da*$_5$^{ki}⌝.
648 Ebla: *i-si-nu*^{ki}.

Das UGN-System wurde in Fāra und TAS offenbar fast nur für Texte mythologischen Inhalts benutzt[649]. Der von Biggs eingeführte Terminus "UD.GAL.NUN" (Biggs 1971, 82; IAS S.32) bezieht sich denn auch auf eine in solchen Texten besonders häufige Zeichengruppe.
Einige typischerweise in UGN-Texten verwendete Graphien (s.u. zu KU für UR; NAM_2; PA.RU; NA_5) kommen jedoch auch außerhalb derselben vor, so daß sich die Grenzen zwischen Normal- und UGN-Orthographie nicht ganz scharf ziehen lassen.
Krecher konnte 1975 in einem (ungedruckten) Vortrag auf der 22. RAI in Göttingen zeigen, daß UD.GAL.NUN für ^{d}en-lil$_2$ steht. Er identifizierte auch das bislang einzige UGN-Dokument außerhalb der Fāra- und TAS-Texte[650], eine Liste von 8 Personennamen in UGN- und Normalschreibweise aus sargonischer Zeit[651]. Weitere Deutungen von UGN-Zeichen steuerten M. Cohen und W.G. Lambert bei[652]. Eine um neue Deutungen erweiterte Liste stellte Krebernik zusammen[653]. Zuletzt hat sich Krecher ausführlich mit dem UGN-System sowie der UGN-Literatur und ihrem Verhältnis zur Normalorthograhie bzw. zur normalorthographischen Literatur befaßt und dabei auch einige neue Entsprechungen aufgezeigt[654].
Seine wichtigsten Ergebnisse sind:

1 Die UGN-Schreibweise ist eine Kryptographie und repräsentiert keine dialektale Variante des Sumerischen.
2 Zwischen UGN- und normalorthographischer Literatur besteht kein wesentlicher Unterschied.
3 Manche UGN-Zeichen sind graphisch von den entsprechenden Normalzeichen abgeleitet.
4 Manche UGN-Zeichen basieren auf willkürlichen lautlichen Veränderungen der wiederzugebenden Wörter oder Morpheme.

Neben den von Krecher diskutierten graphischen und phonetischen Beziehungen zwischen UGN- und Normalzeichen spielen aber auch semantische eine Rolle. Die bislang identifizierten UGN-Zeichen sind im folgenden noch einmal zusammengestellt[655]:

AMA = TU; Beziehung: semantisch (ama "Mutter" – TU "gebären").
BU = NUN[656]; Beziehung: phonetisch? Krecher (s. Anm.) nimmt phonetische Beziehung zwischen BU = su$_{13}$ und nun an; eine plausiblere Brücke bilden vielleicht die Werte BU = sir$_2$ und NUN = zil.
"DIŠ" siehe SUM*nutillû*

[649] Einen Überblick über den Textbestand gibt Krecher 1978b, 156-158; ergänzt durch Krecher 1992, 303. Der UGN-Text TSŠ 168 ist nach Krecher 1992, 294, vielleicht eher lexikalisch als literarisch.
[650] TMH 5, 173 = ECTJ, 173.
[651] Krecher 1978a, 107 Anm. 22; 1978b, 156.
[652] Cohen 1976; W.G. Lambert 1976; 1981.
[653] Krebernik 1984, 269-286.
[654] Krecher 1992.
[655] Gleichungen aus ECTJ 173 sind unterstrichen. Für Belege und Literatur siehe, wenn nichts anderes angegeben, Krebernik 1984, 267-286.
[656] Krecher 1992, 299 mit Anm. 45.

DU_6 = NA, NU?[657]; Beziehung: graphisch?
EZEN = ŠEŠ; Beziehung: unklar.
GAL = DA; Beziehung: unklar.
GAL = EN; Beziehung: semantisch (gal "groß" – en "Herr").
GAB_2*šessig* = GAB_2[658]; Beziehung: graphisch. Das Zeichen ist nicht auf UGN-Texte beschränkt[659].
GAG = $GI_{(4)}$?[660]; Beziehung: phonetisch?
GAR_5 = $\hat{G}AL_2$, $\hat{G}AR$; Beziehung: phonetisch.
IŠ = ZU; Beziehung: phonetisch[661]? Falls IŠ auch SU vertritt, stellen die Werte kuš bzw. $kuš_7$ eine Verbindung her.
KAD_4 (LAK171) = DI; Beziehung: unklar.
KAS = BI; Beziehung: phonetisch (wohl über BI = kaš; weniger wahrscheinlich über KAS = bu_8[662]).
KIŠ = EN; Beziehung: semantisch (Residenzstadt Kiš – en "Herr")?
KU = SI, $ŠE_3$?; Beziehung: graphisch?
KU = RA; Beziehung: unklar.
KU = UR; Beziehung: unklar. Ein Lautwert ur_x oder ru_x von KU kommt außerhalb der UGN-Texte vor[663].
KUR = AN; Beziehung: semantisch (kur "Berg" – an "Himmel"/"Oberes")?
KURUŠDA = IGI; Beziehung: unklar.
LAGAB = BAD
LAGAB = DU; Beziehung: wohl phonetisch (LAGAB = $ni\hat{g}in_2$ – DU = $\hat{g}en$). LAGAB tritt wohl auch in Zeichenkombinationen wie UD.DU = E_3, KAS.DU = KAS_4 für DU ein.
LAGAB = GIN_7; Beziehung: phonetisch (LAGAB = $ni\hat{g}in_2$)?
LAK30 = ŠUBUR; Beziehung: phonetisch (LAK30 = su:bar)?
LAK51 = GUR_8 (LAK382)[664]; Beziehung: graphisch.
LAK369 = $MAŠ_2$; Beziehung: graphisch.
LU_2×AŠ = $ŠE_3$; Beziehung: phonetisch (vgl. LU_2×KAR_2 = $še_{29}$)?
MAR = $ŠA_3$; Beziehung: unklar.

[657] Krebernik 1994, 154 vergleicht UGN KIŠ nu-nam_2-NAGAR GAL du_{11}-TUKU DU_6.GAG.GAG (IAS 113, ii 6f.) mit en nu-nam-nir en du_{11}-ga nu-gi_4.gi_4 (za_3-me-Hymnen Z. 7f.). In vielen anderen Belegen scheint DU_6 für na zu stehen, so etwa in der häufigen Phrase URU NUN-DU_6-LAGAB, der normalorthographisch e_2 mu-na-DU (so z.B. IAS 372) entsprechen dürfte; vgl. auch URU NUN-na_5-LAGAB (IAS 175 iii' 3').
[658] Krecher 1992, 297.
[659] Z.B. IAS 332, ii' 3.
[660] S.o. DU_6 mit Anm.
[661] Krecher 1992, 299.
[662] Krecher 1992, 299.
[663] Krecher 1992, 300, verweist auf den PN *ku_8*-KU-*ub-e-la-ak* (USP, 26, 10).
[664] Vgl. SF 39 v 17: UD.GAL.NUN UD LAK51.LAK51 und Dupl. IAS 163 vi 8f.: UD.GAL.NUN [UD G]UR_8.GUR_8 .

ME = ŠU; Beziehung: unklar[665].
NAGAR = NIR; Beziehung: phonetisch?
NAM$_2$ = EN; Beziehung: semantisch?
NAM$_2$ = NAM; Beziehung: phonetisch. Der Wert nam$_2$ kommt auch außerhalb von UGN-Texten vor[666].
NISAĜ(LAK159) = AB; Beziehung: graphisch[667].
NU$_{11}$ (LAK24) = NU; Beziehung: phonetisch.
NUN = E$_2$/LIL$_2$; Beziehung: unklar.
NUN = GAL; Beziehung: semantisch (nun "Fürst" – gal "groß").
NUN = MU; Beziehung: phonetisch.
PA = LU$_2$[668]; Beziehung: phonetisch[669]?
PA.NUN = LUGAL; Beziehung: Kombination aus PA = LU$_2$ und NUN = GAL, q.v.
PA.RU = GI($_4$); Beziehung: unklar.
RU = RA; Beziehung: phonetisch.
RU = E$_2$?[670]; Beziehung: unklar.
RU = E$_{11}$?[671]; Beziehung: semantisch (e$_{11}$ "herabsteigen" – šub "fallen")?
SIG$_4$ = KI; Beziehung: semantisch (sig$_4$ "Ziegel" – ki "Erde")?
SIG$_7$ = GI; Beziehung: phonetisch (GI = sig$_{17}$[672]).
SU = NI; Beziehung: semantisch (aAK *-su* = sum. -(a)-ni "sein")?
SUG = ŠA$_3$[673]; Beziehung: wohl eher phonetisch als graphisch.
SUM*nutillû* ( ) = SUM; Beziehung: graphisch.
SUR = MAḪ; Beziehung: unklar.
ŠA = NA; Beziehung: phonetisch? ŠA = na$_5$ kommt auch außerhalb von UGN-Texten vor[674].
ŠID = KA; Beziehung: semantisch (dug$_4$ "sprechen" – šita$_5$ "zählen")
TA*gunû*(LAK654) = ŠITA; Beziehung: graphisch?

[665] Ein phonetischer Bezug über ist wohl nicht gegeben. Pomponio 1983, 286 mit Anm. 4, setzt – m.E. zu Unrecht – den UGN-Wert ŠU = qat in dem ON *tar-ri$_2$-me*^{ki} (IAS 91, vi 4) an. Pettinato hatte diesen Eintrag in seiner Edition des "Atlante Geografico" (MEE 3, S. 235 Z. 161) zu *tar-ri$_2$-ma-ki*^{ki} in Ebla gestellt, während Pomponio ihn mit dortigem *a-ri$_2$-ga-at*^{ki} gleichsetzt und auf ME =*qat$_4$* in Labats Manuel (Index) verweist. Für diesen Wert kenne ich allerdings keine Belege.

[666] Krecher, 1992, 300, verweist auf nam$_2$-ma-ni-ra (OIP 14, 53 vi 4; 6).

[667] Krecher 1992, 298 mit Anm. 40.

[668] Krecher 1992, 298 mit Anm. 41.

[669] Krecher 1992, 299, verweist auf PA = mu$_6$ (in mu$_6$-sub$_2$) und PA = luĝ$_2$/lu$_6$ (in lu$_6$-ĝa$_2$).

[670] In SF 60 ist RU ein Schlüsselwort und dürfte dort jedenfalls ein Gebäude bezeichnen; in v 15/17 stehen URU und RU im Wechsel: URU UD-še$_3$ gu$_4$-ku$_3$ ki-še$_3$ ab$_2$-sig$_7$ RU UD-še$_3$ gu$_4$-ku$_3$ ki-še$_3$ ab$_2$-sig$_7$.

[671] Wegen der häufigen Wendung UD-ta nam$_2$-ta-RU "kam vom Himmel herunter" (z.B. IAS 124, iii 5'; 7'; nicht "fallen", Subjekt Enlil).

[672] Vgl. Civil 1976, 183f., zur ursprünglichen Lesung ku$_3$-sig$_{17}$ von ku$_3$-GI.

[673] Krebernik 1984, 286; Krecher 1992, 298 Anm. 41.

[674] Krecher, 1992, 300, verweist auf *en-na$_5$-il* (ECTJ, 53, iii 2; Beleg von W. Sommerfeld).

TA*gunû*(LAK654) = TA; Beziehung: graphisch.
TIR = KI; Beziehung: semantisch (tir "Wald" – ki "Erde")?
TIN = ĜEŠTIN[675]; Beziehung: graphisch.
TUKU = GA, $ĜA_2$; Beziehung: unklar.
UB = ME; Beziehung: unklar.
UD = AN; Beziehung: semantisch oder phonetisch[676]?
UD = KUR; Beziehung: unklar.
UNU = KI; Beziehung: semantisch (unu "Wohnsitz" – ki "Ort").
URU = E_2[677]; Beziehung: semantisch (URU "Stadt" – e_2 "Haus")? Krecher nimmt phonetische Beziehung (über URU = re_2) an[678].
ZADIM = ZA_3; Beziehung: phonetisch?

[675] kaš – de_2 und paralleles TIN – de_2 "Bier/Wein eingießen" findet sich SF 39, vi 14f. // IAS 163, vii 19-22 und IAS 167, v'. Dagegen normalorthographisch: IAS 393, ii' 3'f. Die Wertung von TIN als UGN-Schreibung ist jedoch nicht ganz sicher.
[676] Krecher 1992, 299, nimmt phonetische Beziehung (über UD = u_4) an.
[677] Krecher 1992, 299 mit Anm. 42.
[678] Krecher 1992, 299.

7. Zahlen und Maße[679]

7.1. Gewöhnliche Zahlzeichen

Die gewöhnlichen Zahlzeichen[680] sind:

1/3[681]

1/2

1

10

60

120[682]

600

1200[683]

3600

36000[684]

Die halbkreisförmigen Griffeleindrücke gehen manchmal in mehr oder weniger eckige Formen über ( )[685]. Es gibt aber auch Einer in Form von regelrechten – meist mehr oder weniger schräggestellten – Keilen (\ ), die öfters neben halbrunden Einern vorkommen und mit diesen kontrastieren[686]. Selten treten mit ▽ gebildete Zahlen auf[687] (sie entsprechen den bariga-Zahlen im Hohlmaßsystem, s.u. 7.4).

[679] Vgl. allgemein Friberg 1987-90 und Powell 1987-90, wo auch die Fāra-zeitlichen Zahlen- und Maßsysteme berücksichtigt sind. Da die relevanten Daten dort z.T. nur etwas mühsam zu extrahieren sind und insbesondere die konkrete Schreibweise nicht immer ersichtlich ist, sind im folgenden die verschiedenen Systeme und ihre Zeichen in übersichtlicher Form zusammengestellt. Belegstellen werden nur für seltene Zeichen gegeben.

[680] Vgl. LAK815-828.

[681] WF 139, i 1. Das entsprechende Zeichen für 2/3 kann ich in Fāra und TAS nicht belegen.

[682] In TSŠ 627 hat das Zeichen einen waagrechten Keil zwischen oberem und unterem Bestandteil.

[683] TSŠ 627; 649; 969 (jeweils in der Endsumme).

[684] TSŠ 50, ii 1.

[685] Eckige Einer finden sich z.B. in SF 14; WF 108-115;128; TSŠ 752; 869.

[686] Halbrunde und keilförmige Zahlzeichen erscheinen zusammen z.B. in WF 59; 64; TSŠ 59; 150; 230; 467; 506; 597; 627; 632; 648; 878; 906; 924; NTSŠ 154. Die keilförmigen Zahlzeichen werden u.a. zur Zählung von Tagen/Monaten (TSŠ 150, Ende: UD 7, nach Visicato, EDATS, S. 31, in ITU! zu emendieren; TSŠ 882, ii 1: ITU 3 1/2) und Jahren (IAS 508, iv 1': 2 MU) benutzt. Kontrastive Verwendung wird z.B. in TSŠ 648 deutlich, wo die übergeordnete Zählung (Personen) mittels (halb)runder Ziffern erfolgt, während untergeordnete Posten (jeweils erhaltene Brote) mit keilförmigen Zahlen notiert sind.

[687] Mit Eseln: WF 7, Ende; TSŠ 115, Ende; TSŠ 924, iv 1. Mit Textilien: TSŠ 924, iv 3. Mit GIŠ.ḪUB$_2$.DU: TSŠ 924, iv 2. In TSŠ 924, iv 1-3 stehen diese Zahlen jeweils nach halbrunden Einern und scheinen somit Brüche auszudrücken, während in TSŠ 115 ein ganzzahliger Wert sinnvoll erscheint: die Summe 20 LA$_2$.3 = 17 (Vierergespanne) würde zu den 68 im Text einzeln aufgelisteten Eseln stimmen.

Subtraktion von der nächsthöheren Einheit – also z.B. 10 LA_2.3 für 7 – ist sowohl bei den gewöhnlichen Zahlen wie auch in den einzelnen Maßsystemen gebräuchlich.

7.2. Längenmass

Die einfachen Zahlzeichen sind auch für das Längenmaß n i n d a(n) belegt[688].

7.3. Massangaben von Flächen[689]

Maßangaben von Flächen werden mit Zusatz von $GANA_2$ (Fāra) bzw. ŠE+$GANA_2$ (TAS[690]) geschrieben; in Fāra fehlt $GANA_2$ gewöhnlich nach der ersten von mehreren aufeinanderfolgenden Flächenmaßzahlen, während ŠE+$GANA_2$ in TAS regelmäßig wiederholt wird. Es kommen folgende Zahlzeichen bzw. Einheiten vor:

	š a r[691]
	1/4 i k u =25 š a r[692]
	1 u b u = 1/2 i k u = 50 š a r
	1 i k u = 100 š a r
,	1 e š e$_3$ = 6 i k u = 600 š a r
	1 b u r$_3$ = 3 e š e$_3$ = 18 i k u = 1800 š a r
, ,	10 b u r$_3$[693] = 30 e š e$_3$ = 180 i k u = 18000 š a r
	1 š a r$_2$[694] = 60 b u r$_3$ = 180 e š e$_3$ = 1080 i k u = 108000 š a r
	600 bur$_3$?
	š a r$_2$-g a l[695] = 3600 bur$_3$

688 SF 82, i und ii. n i n d a(n) steht nur in der ersten Zeile.
689 Vgl. LAK852-870. Das vor allem aus SF 82 und WF 43-60 gewonnene Flächenmaßsystem ist bei Powell 1972, 118, vergleichend dargestellt.
690 In IAS 503 wird bloßes $GANA_2$ verwendet. Dort fallen auch die damit kombinierten keilförmigen Zahlzeichen auf: möglicherweise sind also nicht Flächenmaße sondern -zahlen gemeint; allerdings kommt auch das Zeichen für 1/2 i k u vor.
691 IAS 507, mit keilförmigen Zahlen kombiniert.
692 Z.B. TSŠ 188, ii 3..
693 Die erste Form entspricht dem einfachen Zahlzeichen für 36000 und begegnet z.B. in WF 55; TSŠ 102 (jeweils in der Endsumme). Belege für die zweite Form: WF 45; 53; TSŠ 101 (jeweils in der Endsumme). Die dritte Form kommt nur in SF 82 vor.
694 TSŠ 91 (Endsumme).
695 Die letzten beiden Einheiten kann ich nur in TSŠ 188 (math. Übung?) belegen.

7.4. Hohlmasse[696]

Die Hohlmaße sind:

sila$_3$
ban$_3$ = 10 sila$_3$
bariga = 6 ban$_3$ = 60 sila$_3$
gur/li$_2$-ga[697] = 4 bariga = 24 ban$_3$ = 240 sila$_3$
gur-maḫ = 2 gur/li$_2$-ga = 8 bariga = 48 ban$_3$ = 480 sila$_3$
guru$_7$ = 2400 gur-maḫ = 4800 gur/li$_2$-ga = 19200 bariga = 115200 ban$_3$
= 1152000 sila$_3$

Wie ersichtlich, konkurrieren ab gur bzw. li$_2$-ga zwei Systeme miteinander[698], die sich durch den Wert des gur unterscheiden.
Beträge in den Einheiten sila$_3$, li$_2$-ga, gur(-maḫ) und guru$_7$ werden mit den gewöhnlichen Zahlzeichen (einschließlich 1/2) geschrieben, die jeweilige Maßeinheit wird logographisch bzw. syllabographisch expliziert, was nach dem ersten von mehreren aufeinanderfolgenden Beträgen unterbleiben kann.
Beträge im ban$_3$-Maß werden durch mit der entsprechenden Anzahl von Querstrichen dargestellt: , etc[699]. Ohne Kontext ist zweideutig: 1/2 gur(-maḫ) oder 1 ban$_3$.
bariga-Beträge werden , etc. geschrieben. Diese Maßeinheit wird zuweilen auch über die nächsthöhere hinaus verwendet[700].
Außerdem werden zuweilen Behälter unbekannter Kapazität wie das DUN$_3$-Gefäß[701] als Hohlmaße verwendet.

7.5. Die Gewichtseinheiten

NINDA$_2$×ŠE.1-ma-na[702] ( ) = 1/3 gin$_2$
gin$_2$
ma-na = 60 gin$_2$
Bei den explizit ausgedrückten Maßeinheiten gin$_2$ und ma-na stehen die gewöhnlichen Zahlzeichen. Höhere gin$_2$-Beträge werden als Bruchteile von ma-na geschrieben[703].

[696] Vgl. Powell 1987-90, 495f. § IV.2-3 und Tabelle S. 494.
[697] Zu Lesung und Deutung s.o. Anm. 282.
[698] Von Visicato erst abgelehnt (1991b), dann anerkannt (1992b).
[699] 5 (ban$_3$) kann ich nicht belegen. 6 (ban$_3$) in TSŠ 209, i 1 ist vielleicht ein Fehler für 5 (ban$_3$).
[700] TSŠ 93, x 4: 7 (bariga)
[701] Vgl. Visicato, EDATS, S. 197 Anm. 67.
[702] RTC 14, v 5. Entspricht späterem ma-na-tur, vgl. Powell 1987-90, 510 § V.3. Analoges NINDA$_2$×ŠE.2-ma-na (= 2/3 ma-na) kann ich nicht belegen.
[703] Belegt ist nur 1/3 ma-na für 20 gin$_2$: WF 139, i.

8. Die Texte nach Gattungen

Deimel hatte die Fāra-Texte in "Schultexte" und "Wirtschaftstexte" eingeteilt. Letztere bilden die Mehrheit, die nicht-administrativen Texte machen unter den publizierten Fāra-Texten weniger als ein Viertel aus[704] In TAS hingegen stehen nur etwa 30 Texte und Fragmente administrativen Inhalts fast 500 lexikalischen und literarischen gegenüber.

8.1. Wirtschaftstexte

Erste Ansätze zur Erforschung der Wirtschaftstexte unternahmen Deimel[705] und vor allem M. Lambert[706]. Einen großen Fortschritt bedeutete D.O. Edzards Bearbeitung der "Sumerischen Rechtsurkunden des III. Jahrtausends"[707]. Seine Arbeit wurde von Krecher fortgeführt und ergänzt[708]. Bald darauf eröffnete Martin neue Perspektiven, indem sie die einzelnen Fundkomplexe der Fāra-Texte rekonstruierte[709]. Wichtige allgemeine Beiträge aus den folgenden Jahren stammen wiederum von Edzard[710], Einzelstudien von G. Pettinato[711] (zur Gründung von UNKEN^{ki}) und G. Biga[712] (zu den Kaufleuten). In jüngster Zeit haben sich vor allem Pomponio und Visicato in mehreren Arbeiten[713] mit den Fāra-Archiven beschäftigt und sind dabei zu bemerkenswerten Ergebnissen gelangt (s.u. S. 312). Eine systematische Edition aller Wirtschaftstexte in Istanbul und Berlin (einschließlich der noch unveröffentlichten) bereiten J. Marzahn, H. Steible und F. Yıldız vor; einige Istanbuler Texte haben Steible und Yıldız bereits in zwei Aufsätzen publiziert[714].

Deimels Edition der Wirtschaftexte aus Fāra liegt bereits eine Klassifizierung zugrunde:

1 Texte über Esel für Feldarbeit": WF 1-29.
2 Kaufurkunden: WF 30-42; vgl. auch 115.
3 Über Felder: WF 43-60.
4 Über Getreide: WF 61-91.
5 Personenlisten: WF 92-124.
6 Vieh und Viehprodukte: Wf 125-141.
7 Listen über Holz und Früchte: WF 142-146.
8 Metalle: WF 147-151.
9 Opferlisten: WF 152f.

[704] Die unpublizierten sind fast ausschließlich Wirtschaftstexte.
[705] WF, S. 1*-48*.
[706] M. Lambert 1953b; 1954.
[707] Edzard 1968.
[708] Krecher 1973.
[709] Martin 1975, mit Tabelle S. 176; MFara, 85-112.
[710] Edzard 1976; 1979.
[711] Pettinato 1977.
[712] Biga 1978.
[713] Pomponio 1983a; 1984a; 1987; 1991; Pomponio – Visicato 1992; Pomponio – Visicato 1994; G. Visicato 1988; 1989; 1992a; 1993; 1995.
[714] Steible – Yıldız 1993; 1996.

Den Gesamtbestand der Wirtschaftstexte aus Fāra und TAS hat Edzard gesichtet und primär nach strukturell-funktionalen, sekundär nach inhaltlichen Gesichtspunkten eingeteilt[715]:

Abrechnungen:

Bier und Bieringredientien:	TSŠ 456.
Esel:	WF 2; 10.
Esel und Pflüger:	WF 20.
gu(-la$_2$):	TSŠ 630.
Korn und Kornprodukte:	AS 494; 495; 503; CT 50, 10; 11; TSŠ 50; 442; 671; 882; WF 94; 83 – 85; 91.
Kupfer:	IAS 501; WF 147
Kupfer oder Wolle:	TSŠ 834
LAḪTAN×GU:	TSŠ 368; 423.
LAK490:	WF 141
Öl:	CT 50, 14.
šar und gu-la$_2$:	NTSŠ 92.
Schiffe:	TSŠ 828.
Silber:	CT 50, 5.
si-NU×U[716]:	DP 36; TSŠ 369; 424; 627; 969.
Textilien:	TSŠ 401.
Vermischtes:	TSŠ 89; WF 81.
Vieh:	CT 50, 20; 22.
Wolle:	WF 132
Wolle oder Kupfer:	TSŠ 834.

Aufzählungen:

Bier und Bieringredientien:	TSŠ 827.
Feigen:	WF 145.
Feldparzellen:	IAS 504.
Feldparzellen und Kupferbeträge:	TSŠ 568.
gu und šar:	TSŠ 503.
KAL, si-KAL u.a.:	TSŠ 842.
Korn und Kornproduke:	CT 50, 12; TSŠ 38; 86; 209; 210; 247; 597; 960; WF 79; 82.
si-NU×U und ninni$_5$:	WF 142.
Vermischtes:	IAS 502; CT 50, 8; 8a; 9; TSŠ 40; 465; 515; 757; 924; WF 152.
Vieh:	CT 50, 19; 21?.
Viktualien:	TSŠ 382.

[715] Edzard 1976; einige Ergänzungen zum Korpus bietet Krecher 1978b, 155 Anm. 2.

[716] Der auch si-NU×ŠUŠ transliterierte Terminus bezeichnet ein Fischfanggerät, und zwar wahrscheinlich einen Faden oder ein Netz, s. Civil 1987c, 313; dazu Englund 1990, 98 Anm. 314; Selz 1990, 306. Zur uneinheitlichen Zählung s. Damerow-Englund 1978, 151 Anm. 37.

Gemischte Listen: TSŠ 60; 964?; WF 118; 137; 138; 151*.

Listen:

Feigen/Personen: TSŠ 422.
Feldparzellen/Personen: NTSŠ 147; 213; 234; 250; 256; RTC 4,5; TSŠ 53,; 98?; 100-102; 112; 230?; 274?; 482?; 486; 521; 526; 962; WF 43-48; 50-54; 56-60.
gada und gu/Personen: WF 133.
gu-la$_2$/Personen: TSŠ 619.
Hölzer/Personen: TSŠ 113; 794; WF 143.
i$_3$-nun/Personen: NTSŠ 118; TSŠ 263; WF 140.
KAL/Personen: TSŠ 572.
Korn/Personen: DP 33?; NTSŠ 65+?; 114; 296; 569?; TSŠ 3?; 7?; 58?; 65?; 78; 93; 130?; 150; 158?; 160; 237?; 261; 400; 494; 614?; 667; 684; 723; WF 61; 62; 65 - 78; 80; 86 - 88; 90; 146.
Korn und Kupfer/Personen: WF 63.
Kupfer/Personen: NTSŠ 207; TSŠ 90; 260: WF 148; 149; 151.
LAḪTAN×GU/Personen: TSŠ 629.
Mehl/Personen: WF 98; 99.
Öl/Personen: TSŠ 119bis;
Pflugesel/Personen: NTSŠ 205; 211; 244?; 444; 496; TSŠ 1?; 9; 52; 106; 107; 115; 127; 173; 222; 344; 532; 668?; 704; WF 1; 3-9; 12-19; 22-28.
šar und gu-la$_2$/Personen: TSŠ 303.
Textilien/Personen: WF 135; 136.
Viehlisten: RTC 2; TSŠ 28; 131; 134; 212; 362; 536; 548; WF 126; 127; 129; 131; 134.
Wolle/Personen: CT 50, 16; RTC 9; 11.

Mathematische Texte: TSŠ 50; 671.

Nicht definierbare Bruchstücke:
IAS 491 - 493; 496 - 500; 509; 513 - 515; NTSŠ 277; TSŠ 4; 15; 43; 47; 119; 258; 307; 308; 506; 764; 823; 826; 861; 864; 873; 900; WF 97; 99*; 113.

Notizen:

Bier: TSŠ 56; 135; 604.
Brot: TSŠ 897; Wf 116.
Esel: IAS 510; TSŠ 498; Wf 11; 21.
Feigen: TSŠ 363; 557; 558; 750.
Feld: DP 35?; NTSŠ 162; TSŠ 91; 133; 463; 645; 832; WF 49.
Fisch u.a.: TSŠ 44.

gu:	TSŠ 251.
ĝuruš:	TSŠ 613; 933; WF 96; 101.
Guthaben von Kupfer:	CT 50, 6.
Häute:	TSŠ 635.
i_3-nun:	TSŠ 48.
Korn:	IAS 512; NTSŠ 140; 141; 157; 272; 273; TSŠ 164; 479; 480; 484; 821; 837; WF 89.
KUŠ.EDEN:	TSŠ 644.
LAḪTAN×GU:	TSŠ 753.
maškim:	WF 103.
Mehl:	DP 37; TSŠ 81; 395; 615.
$NINDA_2$.TUR:	TSŠ 59.
$ninni_5$:	WF 144.
Opfer:	CT 50, 24.
Personen:	TSŠ 524; 679; WF 114.
Rohr:	TSŠ 649.
Silber und Kupfer:	CT 50, 4.
Silber und Bronze:	WF 150.
si-NU×U:	TSŠ 415; 736; 748; 752.
Textilien:	TSŠ 348; 732; 763; 925.
Unklar:	TSŠ 930.
Vieh:	TSŠ 24; 253; 499; 662; 664; 895; 906; 927; 929; WF 125; 128; 130.
Wolle:	CT 50, 17; 18; RTC 10; TSŠ 411; 725; 751.
X:	TSŠ 758.

Opferlisten: RTC 7; 8; TSŠ 715; 886; WF 153.

Personenlisten: NTSŠ 248; 255; 258; TSŠ 8; 31; 49; 70; 290; 292; 467; 501; 522; 622; 765; 936?; WF 105 - 111; 117; 119 - 122.

Personenregister: IAS 490; CT 50, 1 - 3; DP 34; NTSŠ 280?; RTC 1; TSŠ 245; 249; 501; 574; 765; 775; 780; 869?; 878?; 894; WF 92 - 95; 100; 102; 104.

Übungstexte: RTC 6?; TSŠ 51; 67; 188; 190; 483; 632; 712; 820; 835; 877; 926; 930?.

Unbestimmbar (Mengen/Personen):
CT 50, 25; NTSŠ 152; 165; 169; 276; RTC 3; TSŠ 14; 45; 64; 104; 181; 302; 385; 420; 525; 567; 570; 605; 783; 928; WF 123; 124.

Unklar: CT 50, 7; 15; NTSŠ 154; 254; 262; TSŠ 2; 242; 387; 433; 860; 876; 903; 931; WF 35; 112.

Verschiedenes:

Berechnung von Saatgerste und Feld: WF 55.
Empfang von Brot durch ĝ u r u š: TSŠ 648.
Felder/Versorgungslose: IAS 505; 506; 508; 511.
Preisquittung für Sklavinnen(?): WF 115.
Quittung über Empfang von Rindern durch Abdecker: CT 50, 23.
Sammeltafel: TSŠ 430?; 881.
Streitwagenzubehör(?): TSŠ 782.
Übersicht über Esel und Personal: WF 29.
Verpflichtungsschein(?): WF 139.
Zeugenliste: WF 42.

Verträge: RTC 12 - 15; TSŠ 66, "x"; WF 30 - 34; 36 - 40; 41(?). S. ferner J. Krecher ZA 63 (1974), Nr. 1-4; 4a; 11; 12. G. und W. Farber, WO 8 (1975/76) 178-184.

Zeichnung: TSŠ 77.

Visicato gliedert die Verwaltungstexte aus Fāra wie folgt[717]:

1 **Registers of barley**: CT 50, 10; 11. TSŠ 3; 7; 58; (65: s. NTSŠ); 78; 86; 93; 130; 150; 158; 160; 164; 209; 210; 237; 261; 400; 442; 494; 570; 667; 684; 723; 821; 837; 928. NTSŠ 65+; 140; 141; 157; 273; 276; 296; 569. WF 41; 55; 61; 62; 64-80; 84-91; 106; 107.
2 **Registers of various kinds of grain**: CT 50, 12; 13. (N)TSŠ 59; 247; 479; 480; 484; 882; 960. NTSŠ 272. WF 83; 153.
3 **Registers of grain-based products**: CT 50, 24. TSŠ 38; 81; 382; 395; 456; 483; 572?; 615; 648; 715; 775; 842; 860; 877; 897; 903. WF 81; 116.
4 **Registers of beverages**: TSŠ 56; 135; 308; 604; 827.
5 **Registers of oil**: CT 50, 14; (N)TSŠ 48; 118; 263. WF 140.
6 **Registers of fruit**: TSŠ 363; 422; 557; 558; 750. WF 141; 145.
7 **Registers of wool**: CT 50, 16-18; RTC 9-11; TSŠ 411; 725; 751. WF 132.
8 **Registers of textiles**: CT 50, 15. TSŠ 348; 401; 732; 763; 924; 925; 964. WF 135; 136.
9 **Registers of vegetal fibres**: BIN 8, 384. TSŠ 251; 303; 368; 423; 503; 619; 629; 630; 753; 861; 886. NTSŠ 92. WF 133.
10 **Register of hides**: TSŠ 635.
11 **Registers of reeds**: TSŠ 649. WF 146.
12 **Register of silver**: CT 50, 5.
13 **Register of silver and copper**: CT 50, 4.

[717] EDATS S. 3f. Manche Texte werden anhand prosopographischer und/oder formaler Kriterien einem Stichwort untergeordnet, ohne daß dieses im Text vorkommt. So wird beispielsweise WF 106 (Edzard: "Personenliste") als Getreidetext identifiziert aufgrund seiner Beziehungen zu WF 76 (Sammeltafel).

14 **Registers of copper**: CT 50, 6. TSŠ 90; 260; 834. NTSŠ 207; 280. WF 137; 147-149; 151.
15 **Registers of various goods**: CT 50, 7; 8; 8a; 9. TSŠ 40; 60; 89; 98; 387; 465; 515; 597; 757; 782; 881. NTSŠ 154. WF 63; 82; 115; 118; 138; 139; 150; 151*; 152.
16 **Lists of parcels of land**: TSŠ 53; 91; 100-102; 112; 133; 230; 242; 274; 453; 482; 486; 506; 521; 526; 568; 645; 758; 832; 930; 962. NTSŠ 147; 162; 213; 234; 238; 250; 256. WF 43-54; 56-60; 143.
17 **Registers of personnel**: Ct 50, 1-3. TSŠ 45; 49; 245; 249; 292; 302?; 467?; 501; 525?; 554; 574; 613; 765; 780; 783; 894; 931; 933?. NTSŠ 114. WF 92-99; 99*; 100-104.
18 **Registers of equids**: TSŠ 1; 9+127; 14; 52; 64; 104; 106; 107; 115; 131; 134; 173; 222; 344; 362; 498; 532; 668; 704. NTSŠ 165; 169; 205; 211; 244; 444; 496. WF 1-28; 123; 124.
19 **Register of equids and parcels of land**: WF 29.
20 **Register of equids and oxen**: TSŠ 131.
21 **Registers of oxen**: CT 50, 23. WF 130.
22 **Registers of sheep**: CT 50, 19-22; 25. TSŠ 24; 28; 212?; 253; 385; 453; 499; 536; 548; 605; 662; 664; 679; 864; 895; 900; 906; 927; 929. WF 125-129; 131; 134.
23 **Register of fish**: TSŠ 44.
24 **Registers of SI.NU×ŠUŠ**: TSŠ 369; 415; 420; 424; 430; 627; 736; 748; 752; 969. WF 142; 144.
25 **Registers of carts**: TSŠ 2; 8; 15; 113; 181; 567; 618; 794. WF 105.
26 **Register of boats**: TSŠ 828.
27 **Lists of personal names**: HSS 3, 1. TSŠ 31; 70; 290; 522; 524; 622; 873; 936. NTSŠ 248; 254; 255; 258; 277. WF 35; 42; 108-111; 117; 119 - 122.
28 **Registers of unknown goods**: TSŠ 869; 878. NTSŠ 152. 282. WF 112; 113.
29 **Registers of unknown goods/lists of personal names**: TSŠ 4; 47. WF 114.
30 **Fragments**: TSŠ 43; 119; 307; 433; 644; 764; 820; 826.

Die am besten erschlossene[718] Textgruppe sind die Urkunden über Haus- und Feldkauf: WF 30-34; 36-40; TSŠ 66; x (Tf. XXXIIIf.); ArOr 39, 14; 15; DC 2, S. LIVf.; ELTS 107; 108; 133; 135; Gs.Unger, 29f.; 33f.; 37f.; 41f.; MVN 10, 82-86; NFT, S. 222; OECT 7, 149; OIP 14, 49; 51; OIP 97, 72 Nr. 1; Orient 19, 2f.; OrNS 44, 436 Nr. 1; PBS 9, 3; PBS 13, 24; RA 6, 143; 32, 126; 67, 96; RTC 13-15; SEL 3, 11; SR, S. 31; TMH 5, 71; 75; 78; UVB 10, Tf. 26b; WO 8, 180; ZA 72, 175 Nr. 14.
Auf der Grundlage prosopographischer Studien[719] haben Pomponio und Visicato die Verwaltungstexte auf Archivzusammenhänge und Verwaltungsstrukturen hin untersucht und einige Textgruppen unter diesen Aspekten bearbeitet: Getreidetexte[720], Feldertexte[721], Esel-

[718] Edzard 1968; Krecher 1973; Wilcke 1976-80, ; ELTS. Eine Übersicht über das Formular findet sich bei Krecher 1973, 172f. und in ELTS, S. 203f. Zu ELTS vergleiche Wilcke 1996.
[719] Pomponio 1983a; 1987.
[720] EDATS 1-67.
[721] EDATS 68-114.

texte[722], Wagentexte[723] und Personenregister[724]. Ihre wichtigsten Ergebnisse und Hypothesen seien im folgenden resümiert:

1 Bürokratie
Es werden drei Dokumenttypen eines bürokratischen Vorgangs unterschieden: "primary documents", "intermediate documents or partial summaries" und "Sammeltafeln"[725]. Letztere hatten Pomponio und Visicato bereits früher erkannt und bearbeitet[726].

2 Verwaltungsstruktur
Im Gegensatz zu der anfänglich verbreiteten Ansicht, daß die Fāra-Texte eine dezentrale, auf Privathaushalte gestützte Wirtschaftsform reflektieren, kommen die Autoren zu dem Schluß, daß fast alle Wirtschaftstexte Dokumente einer zentralen Verwaltung sind[727]. Die obersten Verwaltungeinheiten seien e_2-gal und e_2-uru, der Sitz der Zentralverwaltung wird im e_2-$geme_2$ vermutet[728]. Der Herrscher von Šuruppak sei hinter dem Titel $ENSI_2$.ĜAR(.GAL) zu suchen[729].

3 Interne Chronologie
Hatte man die Zeitspanne der Wirtschaftstexte früher noch auf mehrere Generationen geschätzt[730], so wird nun die Mehrzahl der Wirtschaftstexte in ein und dasselbe Jahr – das letzte vor der Zerstörung Šuruppaks – datiert[731].

4 Šuruppak und seine Nachbarn[732] (vgl. oben S. 242)
Šuruppak ist Glied einer "Hexapolis" (Uruk, Adab, Nippur, Lagaš, Šuruppak, Umma). Unter ki-en-gi dürfte eine für diese Städteliga zentrale Lokalität zu verstehen sein, die erst später namengebend für die Region ("Sumer") geworden sei. Zum Vergleich wird auf eine aus Territorien von Adab, Umma und Lagaš formierte Lokalität[733] mit dem sprechenden Namen Unken "Versammlung" hingewiesen. Mehrere Belege deuten enge Beziehungen zwischen Šuruppak und Kiš an, wo zur Zeit der Fāra-Archive oder kurz davor Mesilim regiert habe. Kiš habe vielleicht die Oberherrschaft über die "Hexapolis" ausgeübt. Zwischen der Zerstörung Šuruppaks und der etwa zur selben Zeit erfolgten Zerstörung des Palastes A in Kiš könnte ein Zusammenhang bestehen.

[722] EDATS 115-171.
[723] EDATS 172-180.
[724] BS 1-217.
[725] Visicato, EDATS, S. 21-23.
[726] Pomponio 1984a: WF 53; Pomponio 1991: WF 76; Visicato 1991a: WF 77; Visicato 1992a: TSŠ 627.
[727] Pomponio 1983; EDATS, S. 7; BS, S. 147.
[728] BS, S. 91-133; die vermutete Verwaltungsstrukur ist S. 138 graphisch dargestellt.
[729] EDATS, S. 17ff. Zur früheren Diskussion vgl. Edzard 1979, 162-167, der auf parallele Reihen von Amtsbezeichnungen hingewiesen hatte, an deren Spitze PA.PA, sa_{12}-sug_5, SANGA.ĜAR, $ENSI_2$.ĜAR-gal ... stehen.
[730] Edzard 1979, 155: "nicht mehr als zwei Generationen"; Pomponio 1987, XVf.: "nello spazio di circa 30 anni".
[731] Visicato 1991a, 347; EDATS, S. 8.
[732] EDATS, S. 10-20.
[733] Pettinato 1977.

8.2. Mathematische Texte

Eine Fāra-Tafel (SF 82), die in absteigender Größenordnung die Flächen zu Paaren jeweils gleicher Seitenlängen angibt, kann als bislang früheste Multiplikationtabelle bezeichnet werden[734].
Die beiden Texte TSŠ 50 und TSŠ 671 enthalten dieselbe Rechenaufgabe: 1 "Silo" (guru$_7$) Getreide soll durch 7 geteilt werden[735]. Der Divisor 7 ist offenbar deswegen gewählt, weil er als einziger zwischen 1 und 10 kein ganzzahliges Ergebnis liefert[736]. Die Ergebnisse differieren leicht, exakt ist nur das in TSŠ 50 ermittelte[737].
Übungstexte mathematischer Natur sind vielleicht[738]: TSŠ 51; 77[739]; 188; 190; 251[740]; 632; 926; 930; 969?.

8.3. Lexikalische und literarische Texte

In Deimels "Schultexten aus Fara" sind literarische Texte als selbständige Größe noch nicht erkannt, alle Texte sind als Zeichen- und Wortlisten aufgefaßt. Der erste Hinweis auf die Existenz literarischer Gattungen innerhalb der "Schultexte" ist wohl A. Falkenstein zu verdanken, der SF 71 als Beschwörung identifizierte[741]. Einen Überblick über die lexikalischen und literarischen Texte aus Fāra hat Biggs seiner Edition der TAS-Texte beigegeben[742].
Viele lexikalische und literarische Texte der Fāra-Zeit sind in mehreren Textzeugen überliefert. Duplikate wurden nicht nur jeweils am selben Ort, sondern in so weit auseinanderliegenden Grabungsstätten wie Fāra, TAS und Ebla gefunden[743]; von besonderem Interesse sind einige syllabisch geschriebene Duplikate aus Ebla[744].
Zwischen lexikalischen und literarischen Texten bestehen enge Beziehungen, die ihren gemeinsamen Sitz im Leben, nämlich die "Schule" als Ort der Schreiberausbildung und Gelehrsamkeit, reflektieren dürften. Diese Beziehungen manifestieren sich auf verschiedene Art:

734 Powell 1976, 430.
735 Formulierung: sila$_3$ 7 lu$_2$-1 šu ba-ti "7 Liter erhielt 1 Person".
736 Powell 1976, 433.
737 Einen Erklärungsversuch für das ungenaue Ergebnis bietet Friberg 1982, 116, der von einem ungenaueren, 2stelligen Reziprok von 7 (Powell: 4stellig) ausgeht .
738 Von Wirtschaftstexten, insbesondere kurzen Notizen schwer zu unterscheiden. Eine Liste möglicher mathematischer Texte hat Powell 1976, 436 Anm. 19, zusammengestellt. Hier sind jedoch nur die wahrscheinlichsten Fälle aufgeführt.
739 Nur geometrische Zeichnung erhalten. Powell 1976, 431, weist daraufhin, daß dieselbe Darstellung auch altbabylonisch bezeugt ist.
740 Oder Notiz? Zahlzeichen und Summierung unklar.
741 Falkenstein 1951, 19; vgl. Biggs, OIP 99, S. 29 mit Anm. 5 und 9.
742 OIP 99, S. 35-42.
743 Einen Katalog der lexikalischen und literarischen Fāra-Texte mit Angabe der Duplikate aus TAS hat Biggs in IAS 36-42, zusammengestellt. Ergänzungen bietet Krecher 1978b. Einen Überblick über die lexikalischen und literarischen Ebla-Texte mesopotamischen Ursprungs gibt Archi 1992.
744 MEE 3, 62 zu SF 81 und Dupl. (lex.); ARET 5, 23 und MEE 3, 63 zu SF 15 und Dupl. (lex.); ARET 5, 20 // 21 zu IAS 278 (lit.).

1 Eine Tafel aus Fāra enthält sowohl einen lexikalischen als auch einen literarischen Text (SF 18).

2 In vielen lexikalischen und literarischen Texten ist jedes Fach mit einem "Merkzeichen"[745] versehen, das gewöhnlich die Form des Zahlzeichens "1" (halbrunder Griffeleindruck), seltener des Zahlzeichens "10" (kleiner runder Griffeleindruck)[746] hat. Diese Markierung geht auf die ältesten lexikalischen Listen in Uruk zurück.

3 Viele der lexikalischen und literarischen Tafeln sind mit Kolophonen versehen. Sie sind meist vom vorhergehenden Text abgesetzt, zuweilen hat man den Eindruck, als seien sie von anderer Hand geschrieben als der Haupttext[747]. Ihre Zeilen haben kein "Merkzeichen" und beginnen in Fāra[748] meist mit dem Zeichen SANGA, dem ein Personenname folgt (selten zwei). Die Anzahl der Namen reicht von 1 (SF 57) bis 18 (SF 39). Viele Namen kommen mehrfach, und zwar in Kolophonen lexikalischer und literarischer Texte vor[749]. SANGA wird gewöhnlich als Titel mit der ungefähren Bedeutung "Schreiber" verstanden und umbisag[750] gelesen. Wie schon Deimel feststellte, (SF, S. 3*) können nicht einfach die Schreiber der jeweiligen Tafel gemeint sein, da einzelne Namen mit dem expliziten Zusatz dub mu-sar "hat die Tafel geschrieben" versehen sind. Ein anderer Zusatz ist dub šu mu-(na)-ĝal$_2$: "hat (ihm) die Tafel gehalten". Vielleicht sind die in den Kolophonen genannten Personen also primär die für den Text verantwortlichen Gewährsleute bzw. Autoren. Die gewöhnliche Berufsbezeichnung dub-sar "Schreiber" ist in den Wirtschaftstexten gut bezeugt. Sie findet sich auch bei einigen der aus den Kolophonen bekannten Namen, während andere stets ohne diese Berufsbezeichnung erwähnt werden. Die Kolophone der Fāra-Texte sind – um einigen Mängeln der Texteditionen abzuhelfen – in Kap. 8.3.3. in Umschrift zusammengestellt.

4 Ein auf den Textinhalt Bezug nehmendes Subskript ist auf zwei Exemplaren des "Atlante Geografico" erhalten: mu-uru-uru^{ki} "Namen von Städten"[751]. Möglicherweise sind manche Schlußdoxologien literarischer Texte ähnlich zu beurteilen, also nicht (nur) "Preis sei GN!", sondern (auch) "Preislied auf GN".

5 Beziehungen genetischer Art zwischen lexikalischen und literarischen Texten könnte der UGN-Text TSŠ 168 reflektieren, der nach Krecher[752] vielleicht "a learned composition compiling and combining names and epithets, standing between word-list and literary

[745] Deimel, SF, S. 2*; Biggs, OIP 99, S. 33: "line marker". Zu "Merkzeichen" und "Personenkeil" s. ausführlich Krecher 1973, 161-165.

[746] SF 20; 21; 22; 43; 74; IAS 34 (runde Eindrücke auf den Zeilenlinien).

[747] So z.B. nach Photo und Autopsie in SF 42 . Das Phänomen bedarf noch genauer Überprüfung.

[748] In TAS steht SANGA nur in den Kolophonen von IAS 132 und 255.

[749] Die Namen der Kolophone der Berliner Fāra-Tafeln hat Deimel in SF, S. 6*f. aufgelistet. Eine Tabelle der auf Fāra-Tafeln mehrmals bezeugten Namen und der entsprechenden Texten bietet MFara, 90. Eine Liste der in den Kolophonen der TAS-Texte enthaltenen Namen findet man in OIP 99, S. 34f. Die Kolophone der Texte aus Fāra, TAS und Ebla behandelt Mander 19?? mit dem Ziel, aus den verschiedenen Gruppen von Namen eine chronologische Abfolge zu rekonstruieren.

[750] Vgl. den Zeichennamen ⌜*ub*⌝-*bi$_2$-sa-ga-im* in der Zeichenliste aus Ebla, Z. 16 (Archi 1987, 93).

[751] IAS 91; 106.

[752] Krecher 1992, 293f.

composition proper" ist. Ein ähnliches, womöglich noch deutlicheres Beispiel findet sich in Ebla[753].

8.3.1. Lexikalische Texte

Dank der Edition der archaischen lexikalischen Listen aus Uruk (ATU 3; vgl. S. 90ff) lassen sich etliche frühdynastische Listen nun bis zu den Anfängen der Keilschrift zurückverfolgen[754]. Während die frühesten Listen einfach-thematisch strukuriert sind, treten in der Fāra-Zeit komplexere Typen in Erscheinung. Nach inhaltlich-strukturellen Gesichtspunkten kann man drei Haupttypen unterscheiden[755]:

1 Einfache thematische Listen: alle Einträge fallen unter einen gemeinsamen Oberbegriff.

1a Der Oberbegriff manifestiert sich graphisch bei allen Einträgen auf gleiche Weise wie z.B. durch das Zeichen AN in der Götterliste SF 1.

1b Der Oberbegriff ist gaphisch nicht einheitlich repräsentiert wie z.B. in der Tierliste SF 81.

2 Zusammengesetzte thematische Listen, bestehend aus einzelnen, meist größeren thematischen Abschnitten, die semantisch oft aneinander anknüpfen. Listen dieser Art sind - zumindest typologisch – Vorläufer der Serie Serie ḪAR-ra = *ḫubullu*. Zwei Tafeln enthalten zwei verschiedene Listen: SF 9 (Fische; Metallobjekte) und SF 58 (Ackerbau; Vögel). Es ist denkbar, daß auf diese Weise einige zusammengesetzte Listen entstanden sind. Nachweisbar ist ein solcher Prozeß bei der zweiteiligen Liste SF 23, die Städte- und Götternamen enthält (daß beide zusammengehören, zeigt ein altbabylonisches Duplikat): die Städteliste ist in Uruk noch ohne die Götterliste bezeugt. Andere zusammengesetzte Listen dürften schon von Hause aus als solche konzipiert sein. Im Hintergrund scheint die Intention zu stehen, wichtige Bereiche des täglichen Lebens lexikalisch zu erfassen, so daß man von "enzyklopädischen Listen" sprechen könnte.

3 Nicht-thematische Listen: die Einträge sind primär graphisch oder/und lautlich miteinander verknüpft (auch lautliche Verknüpfungen äußern sich oft auf graphischer Ebene)[756]. Die Listen bestehen aus unterschiedlich langen, oft nur wenige Zeilen umfassenden Abschnitten, die durch ein gemeinsames Element konstituiert werden. Manche Abschnitte lassen sich als Ansätze grammatischer Paradigmenbildung auffassen[757]. Listen dieses Typs dürften ad hoc zu Lehr- und Übungszwecken kompiliert worden sein. Dafür spricht, daß sie nur lokal – und meist nur in einem Exemplar[758] – vorkommen. SF 7 weist größere Abschnitte auf, die durch Doppellinien voneinander getrennt sind.

[753] ARET 5, 24-26, vgl. Krebernik 1997.
[754] Eine schrift- und geistesgeschichtlich orientierte Phänomenologie der frühesten lexikalischen Texte bietet Krispijn 1991.
[755] Vgl. die ähnliche Einteilung bei Cavigneaux 1980-83.
[756] Die Abfolge bzw. Verknüpfung einzelner Einträge gestattet oft Rückschlüsse auf die Lesung einzelner Zeichen. So dürfte z.B. die Folge KA.NI – KA.LAK85 (SF 63, iii 12f.) die Lesung LAK85 = $giri_x$ bestätigen, und ŠIR(LAK23).ŠIR – ŠIR.EZEN (SF 63, v 17f.) die Lesung EZEN = $šir_3$. Besonders ergiebig ist in dieser Hinsicht SF 77.
[757] Krispijn 1991, 18f.
[758] Ausnahme: SF 18/2; SF 41.

Im folgenden sind die lexikalischen Listen aus Fāra und TAS thematisch bzw. typologisch zusammengestellt. Falls Duplikate existieren, sind deren Herkunftsorte in Klammern vermerkt, nähere Angaben sind dem Textkatalog zu entnehmen. Die zahlreichen kleinen Fragmente aus TAS (IAS 398-471), deren Klassifizierung meist unsicher ist, bleiben unerwähnt.

Götterlisten: SF 1; 1*(+)3(+)4; 5 (// aus Fāra; ÜT); IAS 82 (// aus TAS).

Personen:

- Personennamen: SF 2 (theophore PN); 25.
- Berufe: SF 33 (ED Lu_2 A; // aus Adab, Ebla, Lagaš, Nippur, Susa, TAS, Ur, Uruk); 47 (ED Lu_2 C); 48 (ED Lu_2 D); 57 (Kultpersonal; // aus TAS); 59 (// aus Ebla, Uruk); 70 (ED Lu_2 B); IAS 54 (ED Lu_2 E).
- Personennamen und Berufe: SF 28 (// aus Fāra); IAS 61-81 ("Names and Professions List"; // aus Ebla).

Tiere:

- Fische: SF 9/1 (// aus Fāra, Ebla, TAS, Ur, Uruk).
- Vögel: SF 58/2 (// aus Ebla, Lagaš, Nippur, Uruk).
- Haustiere: SF 81 (Tierliste A; // aus Ebla, TAS, Uruk); IAS 27 (Tierliste B; // aus TAS, Ebla).

Holz: SF 68 (// aus Uruk); IAS 18+19 (// aus TAS).

Metall: SF 8 (// aus Fāra, Ebla, Kiš, Uruk, X).

Gefäße: SF 64 (// aus Ǧemdet Naṣr, TAS, Uruk).

Nahrungsmittel: SF 15 (// aus Fāra, Ebla, TAS, Uruk).

Gartenbau[759]: SF 58/1 (// aus Fāra, TAS, X).

Tribute[760]: SF 12 (Fāra, Ebla, Nippur, TAS, Uruk, X).

Geographie:

- Ortsnamen: IAS 91 (// aus TAS, Ebla).
- Gewässernamen: SF 72[761].

Zusammengesetzt-thematische Listen:

SF 20 (Arch. ḪAR-ra B; // aus Fāra, TAS); 23 (Ortsnamen, Götternamen; // aus Fāra, TAS, Ur, Uruk); 43 (Arch. ḪAR-ra C); 74.

[759] Die Liste endet mit zwei großen Abschnitten, die Pflanzennamen (Determinative SUM und SAR) enthalten; im ersten Teils finden sich verschiedene Lemmata (darunter Bezeichnungen für Lehmarten und Himmelsrichtungen), die man ebenfalls unter de Oberbegriff "Garten- oder Feldbau" subsummieren kann.

[760] Die Liste enthält verschiedene belebte und unbelebte Objekte, oft mit Zahlen. Die Interpretation als Tributliste wird aufgrund der eingeschobenen Zeile $ša_3$ gun_2 gi_4 (SF 12, 12) von Englund und Nissen (ATU 3, 25) vorgeschlagen.

[761] Ich fasse das in jeder Zeile vorkommende, wie MIN aussehende Zeichen als A auf, das anstelle von späterem ID_2 steht. In iv 13f. sind wohl Tigris ([IDIG]NA.A) bzw. Euphrat (AN.KIB.NUN.A) genannt.

Nicht-thematische Listen (Zeichen, Wörter):

SF 7; 18/2 (// aus Fāra); 32 (ÜT); 41 (// aus Fāra); 48 (ÜT); 53 (ÜT); 61; 62; 63 (auch PN); 66; 69; 77; 79 (ÜT); 80 (ÜT); TSŠ 67? (ÜT?); 712?; 835 (ÜT); 984?; 1003; IAS 29; 30; 31; 32; 33; 35; 36; 37; 38; 39 (// aus TAS und Fāra?); OSP 10.

8.3.2. Literarische Texte

Die literarischen Texte aus Fāra und TAS stehen für uns vorläufig am Beginn der keilschriftlichen literarischen Tradition. Umfang und Niveau, vor allem aber die Tatsache, daß viele Kompositionen sowohl in Fāra als auch in TAS und anderen frühdynastischen Orten vertreten sind, implizieren jedoch Vorstufen, die uns bislang noch nicht greifbar sind[762].
Nur für wenige literarische Texte der Fāra-Zeit ist eine direkte Überlieferung in spätere Epochen nachweisbar: am besten ist sie für den "Rat des Šuruppak" und die "Keš-Hymne" dokumentiert (beide Werke sind nur in TAS, nicht aber in Fāra vertreten), wesentlich spärlicher für die "Frühdynastische Sprichwortsammlung" (SF 26 und // aus TAS).
Das archaische, vielfach defektive Schriftsystem und die häufig verwendete UGN-Orthographie setzen dem Verständnis der literarischen Texte nach wie vor größte Schwierigkeiten entgegen. Auch ist damit zu rechnen, daß manche Texte abkürzend notiert sind. Hinzu kommt der schlechte Erhaltungszustand vieler Texte (insbesondere aus TAS). Somit ist es beim gegenwärtigen Stand der Dinge immer noch "impossible to classify the whole bulk of Fara time Sumerian literary texts in order to present a practical description"[763]. Diese Feststellungen mögen die folgende, notgedrungen summarische Darstellung rechfertigen.
Eine kurze systematische, primär auf orthographischen Kriterien basierende Übersicht über die literarischen Texte der Fāra-Zeit hat Krecher gegeben[764]; er unterscheidet neben den Texten in UGN-Orthographie zwei große Gruppen, nämlich Texte, deren Struktur durch Schreibung von Postpositionen und Verbalpräfixketten transparent ist, und solche, die kaum Morpheme notieren. Zu ersterer gehöre u.a. der "Rat des Šuruppak", die "frühdynastische Sprichwortsammlung", die Keš-Hymne und andere hymnische Texte (SF 36; IAS 278; IAS 329 als "Selbstpreis" Inannas vielleicht frühestes Beispiel dieser Gattung); zu letzterer die z a$_3$ - m e - Hymnen, NTSŠ 82 und NTSŠ 168.
Die in Fāra bezeugten literarischen Texte sind: SF 18/1 (// aus TAS; UGN); 26 (// aus Fāra und TAS); 36; 37 (// aus Fāra, TAS; UGN); 39 (// aus TAS); 40; 46; 54 (// aus Fāra); 56 (UGN); 60 (UGN); 71; TSŠ 46; TSŠ 79+80; NTSŠ 82; TSŠ 126?; NTSŠ 148; (N)TSŠ 168+; NTSŠ 229; TSŠ 271?; TSŠ 846!; TSŠ 972!. Dazu kommen noch folgende Übungstexte wenigstens teilweise literarischen Inhalts: SF 31; 45; 49*; 50; 51; 52; 78.
Die literarischen Texte aus TAS hat Biggs bereits in seiner Textpublikation zusammengefaßt: OIP 99, IAS 112-254). Unter ihnen sind zahlreiche – z.T. sehr kleine – Fragmente, die bisher

[762] Frühere literarische Texte sind vielleicht UVB 16, 58f. und UET 2, 69. Vgl. Biggs, IAS 29 mit Anm. 8.
[763] Krecher 1992, 290.
[764] Krecher 1992, 290-295.

erst zu einem geringen Teil den größeren Kompositionen zugewiesen werden konnten. Übungstafeln literarischen Inhalts sind: 253; 279-281(?); 318-321; 327; 330; 449(?). Bisher wurden eine Textgruppe und 6 einzelne Kompositionen vollständig bearbeitet:

1 Beschwörungen

Diese heben sich als eigene Gruppe von den anderen, in etwas engerem Sinne "literarischen", Texten ab. Sie sind anhand der auch später üblichen Einleitungsformel en$_2$-e$_2$-nu-ru sowie der Schlußformel KA+UD-du$_{11}$-ga ^{d}nin-girima$_x$ (A.ḪA.MUŠ.DU u. ä.) identifizierbar. Alle Beschwörungen sind in Normalorthographie (in Ebla auch syllabisch) geschrieben.

Unter den Fāra-Texten sind zwei sich duplizierende Sammeltafeln mit 8 bzw. 6 Beschwörungen (SF 54 // TSŠ 170), eine Sammeltafel mit 7 Beschwörungen (SF 46) und ein Fragment mit den Resten wohl nur einer Beschwörung (SF 71). Aus TAS ist bislang eine Beschwörungstafel sicher identifiziert (AbS.2714[765]), eine bereits länger bekannte, schlecht erhaltene Tafel (IAS 319) könnte eine Beschwörung enthalten[766].

4 der 5 Beschwörungstafeln aus Fāra und TAS haben die für Übungstafeln – aber auch für bestimmte Typen von Wirtschaftstexten – typische abgerundete Form (Ausnahme SF 46).

Die Entdeckung verwandter Beschwörungen in Ebla[767] war ausschlaggebend für den Versuch einer Gesamtbearbeitung durch den Verf.[768], deren vielleicht wichtigstes Ergebnis in dem Nachweis bestand, daß einigen Beschwörungen bereits das Schema des späteren "Marduk-Ea"-Formulars zugrundeliegt, allerdings mit Enlil anstelle von Enki/Ea[769]. Als Beschwörungsgottheit fungiert noch in erster Linie Ningirima, die ihre Bedeutung später Zeit mehr und mehr an Asarluḫi/Marduk abtrat. Weitere Parallelen in späteren Beschwörungen haben P. Michalowski[770] und A. Cavigneaux[771] nachgewiesen. Eine Kultmittelbeschwörung mit Ritualanweisung ist vielleicht SF 30 ii 2 - iii 3 // SF 50*[772].

[765] Iraq 52, 101 mit Pl. XV.

[766] Anfang: [e]n$_2$-[e$_2$-nu-ru?]; iii: ^{d}n[in]-⌜A⌝.MU[Š?.ḪA.DU].

[767] Mander 1979; Pettinato 1979.

[768] Krebernik 1984.

[769] Krebernik 1984, 211-225. Das in der Botenformel a(-ni) ^{d}en-lil$_2$ (-še$_3$) PA.LU$_2$ mu-da(-ra)-gi$_4$ "zu seinem/ihrem Vater Enlil sandte er/sie ..." auftretende PA.LU$_2$ ist wohl mit TSŠ 126, Rs. iii 19 zu verbinden, wo PA.LU$_2$ inmitten anderer mit PA gebildeter Personenbezeichnungen erscheint, desweiteren vielleicht mit Proto-Lu$_2$ 191 (MSL 12, 39) und PA.LU$_2$ = *tīrum* (MSL 2, 149).

[770] Michalowski, 1985, 222f.

[771] Cavigneaux 1995, 80-84.

[772] Entweder ist SF 50* (= SF 30, ii 2 - iii 3) ein Exzerpt aus SF 30, oder SF 30 besteht aus (mindestens) drei, nicht voneinander abgesetzten Teilen. Der Passus gi-šul-ḫi gi-šul-ḫi gi-diri ama-ušumgal-an gi-šul-ḫi gi-diri bir$_5$-bir$_5$ zal-la gemahnt an spätere Kultmittelbeschwörungen, in denen gi-šul-ḫi ein wichtigens Ingrediens ist. Der Schluß ama (Variante AN.LAGAB) a ĝiš-gi DU.DU lu$_2$ ka si könnte eine Ritualanweisung beinhalten.

2 "Frühdynastische Sprichwortsammlung"

Diese Komposition (SF 26 + TSŠ 124; // aus Fāra, TAS, Ur, X) vertritt eine in späterer Zeit gut dokumentierte, jedoch noch nicht vollständig erschlossene Gattung[773]. Auf spätere Parallelen zu SF 26 haben als erste Th. Jacobsen[774] und W.G. Lambert[775] hingewiesen. Ein zweisprachiges Fragment als altbabylonischer Zeit wurde von M. Civil und Biggs[776] publiziert. Schließlich konnte B. Alster, gestützt auf Kopien von Westenholz, eine Bearbeitung der gesamten Komposition vorlegen[777].
In dem Fragment TSŠ 194 vermutet Alster einen Textzeugen für eine ähnliche Sammlung[778].

3 "Rat des Šuruppak"

Dies ist eine Sammlung von Lebensregeln in Spruchform, die ein knapper mythologischer Rahmen, der einige Male refrainartig wiederholt wird, als Ratschläge des Šuruppak an seinen Sohn[779] ausgibt. Ein Vorläufer der in altbabylonischer Zeit gut dokumentierten Komposition fand sich in TAS (IAS 256) und wurde von Biggs zusammen mit der Photographie eines schon länger bekannten frühdynastischen Textzeugen aus Adab[780] publiziert und bearbeitet[781]. Beide frühdynastischen Vorläufer konnte Alster in seine Edition[782] einbeziehen, zu der C. Wilcke wichtige Alternativen und Ergänzungen lieferte[783]. Später identifizierte Civil ein weiteres, zu IAS 256 gehöriges Fragment (IAS 323)[784].

4 "za$_3$-me-Hymnen"

Diese nur in TAS bezeugte Dichtung (IAS 257-277; ibd. S. 45-56) könnte man formal als Spruchsammlung auffassen, inhaltlich und funktional stellt sie aber eher eine Hymne dar. Sie gliedert sich in 70 oft sehr kurze – z.T. möglicherweise elliptisch notierte – "Strophen", die jeweils einen Ort und dessen Gottheit erwähnen und mit der Doxologie GN za$_3$-me schließen. Die einzelnen "Strophen" werden durch die Einleitung vielleicht in folgenden mythologischen Rahmen gestellt: Enlil setzte die Götter in ihre Kultorte ein, und diese priesen ihn von dort aus[785]. Falls die Deutung zutrifft, würde es sich um eine

773 Übersicht und Lit.: Edzard – Röllig 1987-90, 46.
774 Jacobsen apud Gordon 1959, 550.
775 W.G. Lambert 1963.
776 Civil – Biggs 1966, 5f.
777 Alster 1992-92.
778 Alster 1991-92, 34f.
779 Ich sehe keine Möglichkeit, UR$_2$×AŠ bzw. UR$_2$.AŠ, mit späterem zi-u$_4$-sud-ra$_2$ zu verbinden. Es handelt sich wohl um ein Epitheton Šuruppaks, nicht um den Namen seines Sohnes, vgl. Anm. 45. UR$_2$.AŠ kommt auch in einem anderen literarischen Text vor: TSŠ 126, Rs. ii 3 // IAS 325, iii' 5.
780 OIP 14, 55f.; vgl. Civil – Biggs 1966, 1-5.
781 OIP 99, S. 57-62.
782 Alster 1974.
783 Wilcke 1978.
784 Civil 1984b.
785 Krebernik 1994; die Doxologie am Strophenende wird als elliptische Schreibweise für "(in ON) pries GN ihn (Enlil)" interpretiert..

den Göttern in den Mund gelegte Hymne auf Enlil handeln, andernfalls um eine der späteren Tempelhymnen-Sammlung[786] vergleichbare Dichtung, in der die einzelnen Götter an bzw. zusammen mit ihren Kultorten gepriesen werden.

5 "Keš-Hymne"

Eine frühdynastische Version der aus altbabylonischer Zeit bekannten Hymne auf das Heiligtum der Muttergöttin in Keš[787] wird durch einige Fragmente aus TAS repäsentiert (IAS 307-311), die Biggs schon vor der Gesamtpublikation der TAS-Texte veröffentlichte und bearbeitete[788].

6 Die akkadische "Šamaš-Hymne"

Den fragmentarischen Text IAS 326 erkannte Biga als Duplikat eines vollständig erhaltenen Textes aus Ebla[789]. Ein weiteres Bruchstück aus TAS (IAS 342) identifizierte Civil[790]. Bearbeitungsversuche stammen von W.G. Lambert und Krebernik[791]. Der bislang älteste literarische Text in einer semitischen Sprache handelt von Šamaš und mit ihm assoziierten mythischen Wesen ($EREN_2$+X, wahrscheinlich Stiermenschen[792]). Soweit erkenntlich, ist der Text über weite Strecken hin narrativ, doch dürfte es sich, wie Einleitung und Schluß nahelegen, um eine Hymne handeln. Am Ende wird wahrscheinlich Sippar, die Kultstadt des Šamaš, genannt[793]. Die Komposition – vielleicht sogar der in TAS gefundene Textzeuge selbst[794] – könnte von dort stammen.

7 "Lugalbanda und Ninsun"

Von Lugalbanda und seiner Mutter Ninsun handelt eine Übungstafel aus TAS (IAS 327). Der narrative Text ist vielleicht ein Exzerpt aus einer längeren – mündlich tradierten? – Dichtung. Bearbeitungsversuche haben J.D. Bing, Wilcke und Jacobsen unternommen[795].

Nur wenige der restlichen – größtenteils fragmentarischen – Texte geben ihr Thema preis. Häufige oder auschließliche Nennung einer Gottheit, insbesondere aber die Schlußdoxologie, lassen den Schluß zu, daß eine Dichtung hauptsächlich von ebendieser Gottheit handelt. Folgende Gottheiten scheinen demnach im Mittelpunkt einer oder mehrerer Dichtungen zu stehen:

[786] Edition: Sjöberg – Bergmann 1969. Neuere Lit. s.u. im Textkatalog 10.4. unter IAS 307.
[787] Edition: Gragg 1969.
[788] Biggs 1971.
[789] ARET 5, 6. Vgl. Biga apud Edzard, ARET 5, S. 30.
[790] Civil 1984c, 163 Anm. 8: IAS 342.
[791] W.G. Lambert 1989; 1992; Krebernik 1992.
[792] Steinkeller 1992b, 258-265 mit Lit.
[793] Krebernik 1992, 81; 86; 100.
[794] Die Tafel stammt vielleicht von auswärts: Biggs, OIP 99, S. 91, weist darauf hin, daß sie sich physisch von den sonstigen TAS-Tafeln unterscheidet.
[795] Bing 1977; Wilcke 1987-90, 130f.; Jacobsen 1989b.

Amaušum(galanna)
und Inanna: SF 31; IAS 278 (// aus Ebla).
Ašgi: IAS 254.
Ašnan und ihre 7 Kinder: IAS 231 (// Dupl. aus TAS)[796].
Enki: IAS 141?[797]
Enlil: IAS 129 (// aus TAS)[798]; 346[799].
Inanna: SF 18/1 (// aus TAS); IAS 130?; 329(+)388.
Iškur: IAS 377?
Muttergöttin: IAS 298[800].
Nisaba: SF 56.
PA.NUN.UD: SF 39 (// aus TAS)[801].
Sud: SF 36; 40[802].
Utu/Šamaš: IAS 326 (akkadisch; // aus Ebla); IAS 389[803]?
UD: SF 37 (// aus Fāra, TAS)[804].

Wenn auch die meisten Dichtungen noch nicht zusammenhängend übersetzt werden können, so gewähren doch einzelne verständliche Passagen Einblicke in Mythologie und Religion der frühdynastischen Zeit. Es seien hier nur einige wenige auch aus der späteren Literatur bekannte Motive herausgegriffen: Trennung von Himmel und Erde durch Enlil[805]; Götter-

[796] Berichtet von der Zeugung der 7 Kinder Ašnans und deren Taten. S.u. Anm. 808 Ende.

[797] Fragment, Schluß: [^{UD}NUN].UNU za$_3$-⌜me⌝.

[798] Die Komposition scheint vom Bau des Hauses Enlils zu handeln, an dem vor allem Zababa mitwirkt. Der Schluß lautet (UGN-Orthographie): eš$_3$ ^{UD}GAL-NUN al-du$_3$ "Das Heiligtum Enlils ist erbaut!". Ein Mythos vom Bau des Hauses Enlils ist auch in Ebla überliefert (ARET 5, 3).

[799] Fragment, Textende, nur ^{d}en-l[il$_2$] z[a$_3$]-me erhalten.

[800] Daß die Muttergöttin im Mittelpunkt der Komposition steht, legen zahlreiche Epitheta nahe: ⌜ama?⌝ sig$_4$-tu "Mutter des Geburtsziegels(?)" (i 11), ama kalam tu-tu "Mutter, die das Land gebiert", nin ki tu-tu "Herrin, die die Erde gebiert" (ii 6f.), ama kur mud "Mutter, die das Fremdland(?) gebiert" (iii 13) nahe. Ihr Name nin-[ḫur?]-⌜saĝ?⌝ steht vielleicht in iii 12. In ii 19 wird ihre Stadt Keš erwähnt.

[801] Für die auch anderswo belegte UGN-Schreibung PA.NUN.UD gibt es mehrere Lesungsmöglichkeiten: an lugal; ^{d}LUGAL; utu lugal; lugal-kur. Am Ende von SF 39 erscheint PA.NUN.UD mit einem "Raben" (buru$_4$-gi^{mušen}) assoziiert, was aber keinen eindeutigen Rückschluß auf PA.NUN.UD erlaubt (in Frage kommen in erster Linie Enlil und Enki).

[802] Im Mittelpunkt der Dichtung scheint das eingangs und öfter genannte "Haus von Šuruppak" oder "Haus der Sud" zu stehen: mar-uru$_5$-gin$_7$ zi-ga an-ša$_3$ la$_2$ e$_2$-SU.KUR.RU "Haus der Sud, sich wie eine Flut erhebend, das Himmelsinnere erreichend".

[803] In Kol. ii ist von Utu und nin-bara$_2$, seinem GAL.UNKEN (ii 5; 7f.), die Rede, aus dem später sein "Wesir" ^{d}nin-piriĝ wird.

[804] Am Ende der Dichtung steht eine lange, in den einzelnen Textzeugen etwas variierende "Litanei" der Form A UD-kam$_4$/kam, B UD-kam$_4$/kam ..., wobei A, B, sowohl Begriffe wie Personen sind. Es ist also zu vermuten, daß sich hinter UD die Hauptgestalt der Dichtung verbirgt: Utu oder (UGN-orthographisch) An? In der TAS-Version werden aufgezählt (IAS 248, RS.): GAG.KAD$_4$.DI UNU(=ki)-bala; NI$_3$.KI.KUD; PA.UTUL "Rinderhirt"; PA.UDU = sipa "Schafhirt"; ^{usan_3}MUŠEN-du$_3$ "Vogler"; PA.LUL "Lügner(?)"; nu-zuḫ "Dieb".

[805] IAS 113, ii 5-9: ^{UD}KIŠ.NUN GAL nu-nam$_2$- NAGAR GAL du$_{11}$-TUKU DU$_6$-GAG-GAG UD UNU-ta LAGAB ki UD-ta LAGAB (= ^{d}en-lil$_2$ en nu-nam-nir en du$_{11}$-ga nu-gi$_4$-gi$_4$ an ki-ta bad ki an-ta bad) "Enlil, der Herr Nunamnir, der Herr, dessen Wort unabänderlich ist, der Himmel von der Erde getrennt hat, der die Erde vom Himmel getrennt hat". Parallel sind IAS 136, iii: ^{UD}GAL.NUN an UNU-ta bad ki an-ta bad und IAS 203, ii 3'-5': [^{UD}KIŠ].NUN [U]D [k]i-ta [LAGAB] ⌜ki⌝ UD-⌜ta⌝ LAGAB.

genealogie (Enki – Ninki als Vorfahren Enlils, Enlil als Vater Nannas[806], Inanna als Tocher Nannas[807]); Beilager (von Gottheiten)[808]; Hervorsprießen von Pflanzen[809]; die 50 "Me" (und Inanna)[810]; Utu als oberster Richter[811]; Opferschau[812]; Tempel[813]; Einschenken von Wein und Bier[814]; der En von Aratta[815]. Obwohl Gilgameš ebenso wie Lugalbanda in die große Götterliste aus Fāra aufgenommen ist[816], erscheint er – im Gegensatz zu seinen Eltern Ninsun und Lugalbanda – bislang in keiner der Fāra-zeitlichen Dichtungen[817].

Abschließend sei auf einige formale Aspekte der literarischen Texte hingewiesen. Sie enthalten eine Vielzahl formelhafter Elemente, die sich z.T. auch in späterer Zeit wiederfinden. Beispielsweise werden Beschwörungen bereits durch die später übliche Formel en$_{2}$-e$_{2}$-nu-ru eingeleitet. Mehrere vermutlich mythologische Texte beginnen mit archaischen Varianten einer ebenfalls aus späterer Zeit gut bekannten Formel "in fernen Tagen war es, in fernen Nächten war es, in fernen Jahren war es"[818]:

TSŠ 79:

ud-ri ud-ri-še$_{3}$
ĝi$_{6}$-ri ĝi$_{6}$-ri-še$_{3}$ na$_{5}$-nam$_{2}$
mu-ri mu-ri-še$_{3}$ na$_{5}$-nam$_{2}$

806 IAS 114, i 9-11: ^{UD}GAL-NUN (= ^{d}en-lil$_{2}$) ama a ^{d}GAL-UNU (= ^{d}en-ki) ^{UD}NIN.KI (= ^{d}nin-ki) "Enlil – (seine) Eltern, die Enki und Ninki". 14-16: ^{UD}nanna ama a ^{UD}KIŠ-NUN ^{UD}nin-lil$_{2}$ "Nanna – (seine) Eltern Enlil und Ninlil".

807 IAS 388, iv' 3: (Inanna) ša$_{3}$ ^{d}nanna-ta e$_{3}$.

808 Der fragmentarische Text IAS 174 läßt leider nicht klar erkennen, wer die Gottheiten sind, deren Beilager in den auch später üblichen Wendungen geschildert wird: [ne N]UN(=mu)-ni-sub$_{5}$ ki-nu$_{2}$ NUN(=mu)-GAL(=da)-AK ĝeš$_{3}$-du$_{10}$ NUN-ŠID (= mu-du$_{11}$) a MAR(=ša$_{3}$) [N]UN(=mu)-[n]a$_{5}$-ru. In der nächsten Kolumne heißt es, daß sich im Leib von ^{d}nin-gal Schlangen regen. Wegen der Ähnlichkeiten mit dem präsargonischen Nippur-Zylinder (Barton, MBI 1; Alster – Westenholz 1994), der von der kosmischen Vereinigung Enlils(?) mit Ninḫursaĝa erzählt, ist ^{d}nin-gal hier vielleicht nicht als Name der Gattin des Mondgottes Nanna, sondern als Titel der Muttergöttin aufzufassen. – IAS 283 ii 10'-13': [...] [U]D ^{d}ašnan-ra ĝeš$_{x}$(MI$_{2}$.UŠ) mu-du$_{11}$ ne mu-ni-sub$_{5}$. Ob [U]D der Name des Vaters ist (Utu), oder Konjunktion, ist unsicher.

809 IAS 131, ii 3'-5': ĝiš-li gi ukuš$_{2}$ UNU(=ki)-ta nam$_{2}$-ma-ta-LAGAB "Wacholder, Schilf und Gurken kamen aus der Erde hervor".

810 SF 18, v 5: UB(=me) 50 ŠU SAĜ // IAS 152, iii 7: me 50 ME(=šu) nam$_{2}$-ŠID; IAS 113, vi: [...] UD-UD (= kur-kur?) NUN(=mu)-keš$_{2}$-keš$_{2}$ me 50 šu nam$_{2}$-[ŠID?] ^{d}inanna ⌜x⌝ [...]; IAS 224, iii' 3'f.: me 50 ⌜šu⌝ ⌜nam$_{2}$⌝-ŠID (im selben Fragment kommt auch Inanna vor). Vielleicht ist auch in der Ašgi gewidmeten Dichtung IAS 254 von den 50 me die Rede (iii' 3'): [m]e? - NUN 50.

811 IAS 113, ii 3: ^{d}utu an-UNU (= ki) KU NUN-KAD$_{4}$ (= si mu-sa$_{2}$).

812 Mehrmals in SF 37 und Dupl., z.B. IAS 114, iii 14f.: ^{UD}GAL-UNU (= ^{d}en-ki) maš ME(=šu) NUN(=mu)-gid$_{2}$; iv 13': maš ME(=šu) TUKU(=ga)-na$_{5}$-gid$_{2}$ LAK369(=maš) ḫe-pa$_{3}$; SF 40, v 11: maš-maš-nu$_{2}$ šu mu-gid$_{2}$; IAS 142, vi 3': LAK369(=maš) ḫe-pa$_{3}$.

813 Keš-Hymne. Ferner: IAS 129 und Dupl.: Tempel Enlils; SF 60: Tempel Inannas und anderer Gottheiten?

814 SF 39, vi 14f. // IAS 163, vii 19-22: UD NUN-DUR$_{2}$ kaš NUN-na$_{5}$-de$_{2}$ UD NUN(=mu)-DUR$_{2}$ TIN NUN(=mu)-na$_{5}$-de$_{2}$; IAS 167, v': kaš NUN(=mu)-na$_{5}$-de$_{2}$ TIN NUN(=mu)-na$_{5}$-de$_{2}$. IAS 393, ii' 3'f.: idigla kaš <mu->de$_{2}$ buranun ĝeštin mu-de$_{2}$.

815 Zu IAS 247, ii' 5' s. Anm. 60. Weitere Belege: SF 39, xvii 19 // IAS 163, x 2' und 4'; NTSŠ 82, ix 13.

816 SF 1, vii 15 bzw. xiii 7'.

817 Auch nicht in der von Pettinato einst "Gilgameš ed Aratta" betitelten Dichtung IAS 278 // ARET 5, 20 // 21, vgl. Edzards Kommentar in ARET 5, S. 39.

818 Vgl. van Dijk 1964, 16-34; Biggs 1966a, 81; Black 1992, 93-95.

IAS 280:
ud-[IGI?.]ḪU ud-⸢IGI[!?]⸣.ḪU na-nam
ĝi$_6$-IGI.ḪU ĝi$_6$-IGI.ḪU na-nam
⸢mu⸣-IGI.RI[?] [m]u-[IGI.]ḪU [na-nam]

IAS 283:
⸢ud-ri⸣ ud-⸢ri⸣ na-nam
ĝi$_6$-ri ĝi$_6$-ri na-nam
mu-ri mu-ri na-nam

IAS 389:
[ud-ri ud-ri-še$_3$ na-na]m
[ĝi$_6$-ri ĝi$_6$]-ri-še$_3$ [na]-nam
[mu-ri mu]-ri-⸢še$_3$⸣ [na-n]am

In vielen Texten begegnet die Doxologie GN za$_3$-me "Preis sei GN". In den "za$_3$-me-Hymnen" (s. o.) beschließt sie die einzelnen Abschnitte und macht so die strophische Struktur des Textes sichtbar. In Zusammenhang mit der Schlußdoxologie hat Krecher einige weitere, vorwiegend im Schlußabschnitt hymnischer(?) Texte auftretende Wendungen beobachtet[819]:

a: GN PA NU SI.A NU GAL.DI$_x$
b: (MEN ...) MEN TUKU.TA/TA$_x$(LAK654).NISABA.LUL
c: ... EZEN×AN ...
d: MUL AN ...
e: (freier Teil)
f: GN za$_3$-me (Doxologie-Formel)

Sie erscheinen in verschiedenen Kombinationen:

SF 18/1:	?-b-c-d-e-f
SF 39:	a-e-f
SF 55:	a-b-c-d
SF 56:	f-b-c-d-f
NTSŠ 82:	a(verkürzt)-b-c-d
NTSŠ 168+:	b-c-[
IAS 123:	]-c-d
IAS 128:	a-f-e
IAS 130:	f-b-?-[
IAS 132+:	?-c-e-[
IAS 199:	?-c-e-[
IAS 388:	b!?-c-e-f

[819] Krecher 1978b, 158 mit Belegen. Zuvor hatten schon Biggs, OIP 99, S. 42, und Cohen 1976a, 88ff.; 1976b, 116f. auf die Schlußdoxologien hingewiesen.

Im "Rat des Šuruppak" (s.o.) wird ein Teil der Einleitung mehrmals refrainartig wiederholt und strukturiert so den aus einer Aneinanderreihung von Sprüchen bestehenden Text:

> šuruppak dumu na na-mu-ri
> dumu-mu na ga-ri
> ĝeštug$_2$ ḫe$_2$-ma-AK
>
> Šuruppak gab seinem Sohn Rat:
> 'Mein Sohn, Rat will ich dir geben,
> höre mir zu! ... '

Die "Keš-Hymne" (s.o.) wird durch einen Refrain in strophenartige Abschnitte unterschiedlicher Länge gegliedert:

> keš$_3$-gin$_7$ rib-ba lu$_2$ an-ga-DU
> ur-saĝ ^{d}aš$_8$-gi$_4$-gin$_7$ rib-ba ama an-ga-tu
>
> Stellte je einer Größeres hin als Keš?
> Gebar je eine Mutter einen größeren Helden als Ašgi?

In SF 40 wiederholen sich mehrmals die Sätze si KA ba-ra "stieß ins Horn"[820] und zi ba-gar "stellte ein Aufgebot".
Für SF 55 (// aus TAS) ist der oft wiederkehrende Ausdruck SUG/MAR.URU-TA*gunû* (UGN für e$_2$-ša$_3$-ta) "aus der Tempelzella ..." charakteristisch.
In den beiden zusammengehörigen Texten IAS 329 und 388 erscheint mehrmals der Ausdruck MU.NE. Er dürfte als mu-ne "ihr Name" zu verstehen sein und sich auf Inanna, der die Komposition gewidmet ist, beziehen, wie folgende Beispiele zeigen:

> ⌜munus⌝ sa$_6$-ga mu-ne[821]
> schöne Frau (ist) ihr Name
>
> ša$_3$ ^{d}nanna-ta e$_3$ mu-ne[822]
> aus Nanna Hervorgegangene (ist) ihr Name
>
> me ḫul$_2$-ḫul$_2$ DUR$_2$ DU mu-ne[823]

Da der Ausdruck schon zu Beginn auftritt, ist wohl die ganze Komposition als Katalog von "Namen" Inannas stilisiert.
Litaneiartige Abschnitte der Struktur A GN-kam$_4$/kam "A ist GN's" treten am Ende von SF 36 und SF 37 (// aus Fāra und TAS) auf:

[820] Diese Wendung kommt auch mehrmals in IAS 282, viii vor (si KA ba$_4$-ra).
[821] IAS 329, i 5.
[822] IAS 388, iv' 3.
[823] IAS 388, iv 4. Mir im einzelnen unklar, beachte aber die Assoziation mit den "Me".

maš$_2$ DA DIB	^{d}sud$_3$-kam$_4$
gug$_2$-KALAG-gal-gal	^{d}sud$_3$-kam$_4$
banšur-gal-gal	^{d}sud$_3$-kam$_4$
za$_3$-me du$_{11}$ -ga	^{d}sud$_3$-kam$_4$
nun-zu$_5$-še$_3$	e$_2$-^{d}en-lil$_2$-še$_3$[824]

Für Sud ist das ... Böckchen,
für Sud sind die großen ...-(Opfer-)Kuchen,
für Sud sind die großen (Opfer-)Tische,
für Sud ist das Loblied!
Zu deinem Fürsten <?>, zum Haus Enlils <?>.

Eine Reihe auf -kam$_4$ endender Ausdrücke bildet auch den nur in Ebla erhaltenen Beginn[825] der Amaušumgalanna-Dichtung (s.o.), doch liegt dort sicherlich eine kompliziertere Struktur vor:

gu$_4$ AN.ĜIR$_2$ šur$_x$(ḪI×MAŠ) mi-nu	-kam$_4$
gu$_4$ šu šeg$_9$	-kam$_4$
aš$_2$ -za-na	-kam$_4$
an nu-gal uru-ga	-kam$_4$
a LAK262 i ama ^{d}TU	-kam$_4$
an uri$_3$-ne ^{d}inanna	-kam$_4$
[...]⌜x⌝ [g]u$_2$ -ra	-kam$_4$
gu$_4$ inda u$_2$ ur$_2$-ma	-kam$_4$
dur$_2$-kug	-kam$_4$
^{d}nanna	-kam$_4$
ti-maš (AN) gu$_2$-nu ^{d}en-lil$_2$	-kam$_4$
lugal UMBIN a-SAL-a-SAL AN.AMA.UŠUM ti-ri$_2$-ti-ra	-kam$_4$

In IAS 298 beginnen sämtliche Zeilen der letzten (fragmentarisch erhaltenen) Kolumne mit ša$_3$ "Herz", "Inneres", verbunden mit negative Begriffen wie (ša$_3$-)gi[g] "Krankheit", a-ni[r] "Klage", nam-tar "(Todes-)schicksal". Man fühlt sich an spätere Klagelieder erinnert.
Die mittlere Kolumne des Fragments IAS 340 enthält in den Zeilen 1, 3 und 5 den Ausdruck ŠE$_3$ mu nam-ti-la ŠE$_3$, die Zeilen dazwischen variieren.

8.3.3. Die Kolophone der lexikalischen und literarischen Fāra-Texte[826]

Die Transliteration gibt die Zeichenanordnung ungefähr wieder, die für den anschließenden Index relevante Lesung ist nötigenfalls in Klammern beigefügt.

[824] SF 36, vii 4-12.
[825] ARET 5, 20, i 1 - ii 6 // 21, i 1 - ii 7. Mir nur partiell verständlich, Syntax unklar: an nu-gal uru-ga-kam$_4$ "An ist König von Uruk" (?); an uri$_3$-ne ^{d}inanna-kam$_4$ "Ans 'Standarte' ist Inanna" (?); gu$_4$-inda u$_2$ ur$_2$-ma-kam$_4$ dur$_2$-kug-kam$_4$ ^{d}nanna-kam$_4$ "der ... Bulle gehört Ur, gehört der 'reinen Hürde', gehört Nanna" (?).
[826] Die Berliner Texte sowie TSŠ 46 wurden kollationiert.

SF 1. Kolophonreste auf der Rs. am Ende von Kol. xvi, xvii und xx, ganz erhalten ist nur (unter Kol. xvii):

SANGA ḪAR.TU-^{d}sud$_3$

SF 8. Durch Doppellinie eingerahmte Kolumne auf der Rs.

1 SANGA alim
2 SANGA AN AMAR MUD (amar-^{d}MUD)
3 SANGA BU ⌜RA.X⌝
4 SANGA ⌜ZU ZU⌝ [X].
5 ⌜SANGA⌝ [...]
(abgebrochen)

SF 12. Vom Textende nicht abgesetzt.

1 SANGA du$_{11}$-g[a]
2 ⌜SANGA⌝ ⌜X⌝ [...]

SF 13. Durch Doppellinie eingerahmtes Fach auf der Rs.

1 TUM
AN-nu-me U$_2$

Unterhalb des Faches:

2 RI.GA

SF 16. Unmittelbar auf das Textende folgend, ohne SANGA, lediglich durch das Fehlen des "Merkzeichens" vom Text unterschieden.

1 lum-ma
2 DA AD (ad-da)
3 AN ME NU (AN-nu-me)
4 MEN$_x$(GA$_2$×EN) LUGAL (lugal-men$_x$)

SF 18. Die letzten beiden Zeilen sind nicht vom vorhergehenden Text abgesetzt. Sie sind durch einen senkrechten Keil in zwei Hälften geteilt. Ob es sich um einen Kolophon handelt, ist unsicher.

1 ḪUB$_2$.E$_2$$^{?}$.NUN | GAL.SANGA
2 AŠ.AB.⌜AB$^{?}$⌝ | GAL.SANGA

SF 20. Auf dem rechten Rand befinden sich zwei ornamentale Zeichenkombinationen: TUM+TUM*inversum* bzw. UMBIN+UMBIN*inversum*[827]. Darunter bzw. daneben, etwa in einer Reihe:

SANGA ad-da; ⌜NAM$_2$.AMAR$^{?}$⌝; AN.⌜X⌝.IGI.⌜X⌝.

[827] Ornamentales, übergroßes UMBIN findet sich auch auf dem Rand eines unpublizierten literarischen Fāra-Fragments in Berlin.

SF 27. Auf der Rs. Rest eine eingerahmten Kolophons[828].

1' [...]⌜X⌝
[... l]G
2' [SANGA lug]al-
[ki-DUR$_2$]-dug$_3$
3' [SANGA l]ugal-
[a$_2$?-m]aḫ$_2$

SF 29. Unmittelbar an das Textende anschließend.

1 SANGA NAM$_2$ AMAR (amar-NAM$_2$)
2 SANGA AN SAĜ (AN-saĝ-tuku$_x$)
ḪUB$_2$
3 SANGA ⌜NIN⌝ UR (ur-nin)

SF 33. Vom Textende durch Doppellinie mit Grätenmuster abgesetzt.

1 SANGA E$_2$ (e$_2$-gal-NIDBA$_2$-BI)
BI MUŠ$_3$ PAD
GAL
2 SANGA NAM$_2$ AMAR (amar-NAM$_2$)
3 SANGA du$_{11}$-ga
4 SANGA SAĜ (AŠ-ur-saĝ)
AŠ UR
5 SANGA ⌜NU⌝ (AN-nu-me)
⌜AN⌝ [ME]

Links oben ist ein mit Doppellinie begrenztes Fach angefügt, das in zwei Zeilen unterteilt ist.

6 SAĜ×ḪA
TI
7 ŠUBUR

Unterhalb, in der Mitte der Tafel, steht in einem einfach gerahmten, überproportional großen Fach:

8 ⌜TA!?⌝ ZA$_3$ ḪAR TU (za$_3$-ta; ḪAR.TU)

SF 36. Kolumne ganz links auf der Rs., vom Textende durch Zwischenraum getrennt.

1 SANGA men$_x$(ĜA$_2$×EN)-ud-gid$_2$
2a SANGA gissu-še$_3$
2b dub mu-sar
3 SANGA ASAR (ur-^{d}asar)
AN UR
4 SANGA SAĜ (AN-saĝ-tuku$_x$)
AN ḪUB$_2$

828 In SF nicht als Kolophon erkannt, dortige Kopie z.T. falsch.

5 SANGA du_{11} -ga
6 SANGA amar-NAM_2
7 [SAN]GA AŠ-ur-saĝ
8 SANGA PAD E_2 (e_2 -gal-$NIDBA_2$-BI)
[BI] $MUŠ_3$ GAL

SF 37. Vom Textende durch Doppellinie mit Grätenmuster abgesetzt.
1 [SANGA MU]$Š_3$ ZA AMAR (amar-$ŠUBA_3$)
2 SAN[GA U]Š
3 SANGA KA-zi
[d]ub mu-[s]ar
4 ⌜SANGA⌝ AŠ S[AĜ] (AŠ-ur-saĝ)
UR
[dub?] m[u-sar?]
(abgebrochen)

SF 39. Kolumne ganz links auf der Rs., vom Textende durch großen Zwischenraum getrennt, in der Mitte Zeichnung.
1 [SANGA... dub mu]-sar
2 [SANGA ...]
3 [SANGA ...]-IM.MI^{mušen}
4 [SANGA ...] AB
5 SAN[GA ^{d}]sud_3 - IM.MI^{mušen}
6 SANGA UR.UR
7 SAN[GA Š]UL UD AK (AK-ŠUL.UD oder ŠUBUR; AK-utu)
8 [SANGA l]u_2-lum-ma
9 [SANGA S]AG? SI [...]
10 [SANGA] ⌜lugal?⌝-[...]
11 [SANGA ...]
12 [SANGA ur] -⌜^{d}⌝sud_3
13 [SANGA ...] ⌜X⌝ TUR ⌜X⌝
14 [SANGA ...] $BULUĜ_3$ ⌜X?⌝
15 [SANG]A ⌜E_2?⌝ [...] DUG_3
16 [SANGA] AN-⌜nu⌝-[me]
17 [SANGA] nam-⌜maḫ⌝-$^{d}sud_3$ -da
18 [SANGA ⌜SAĜ⌝ NAR PA
19 [?]

SF 42. Am Textende, äußerlich nicht abgehoben.
1 SANGA AŠ(auf getilgtem UR) UR (AŠ-ur-saĝ)
SAĜ
2 amar-NAM_2
3 du_{11} -ga

4 SAĜ AN (AN-saĝ-tuku$_x$)
ḪUB$_2$

SF 55. Durch Doppellinie eingerahmte Kolumne ganz links auf der Rs., vom Textende durch großen Zwischenraum getrennt.

1 [SANGA ...]
2 SANGA ⌜NAM$_2$⌝ AMAR (amar-NAM$_2$)
3 SANGA E$_2$ MUŠ$_3$ (e$_2$-gal-NIDBA$_2$-BI)
GAL PAD BI
4 SANGA AN-saĝ-(AN-saĝ-tuku$_x$)
dub!(MES) ḪUB$_2$
mu-sar
5 SANGA NIN UR (ur-nin dub šu mu-na-ĝal$_2$)
šu dub!(MES) ĜAL$_2$
NA MU

SF 57. Vom Textende durch Doppellinie mit Grätenmuster abgesetzt.

1 SANGA TUR$_3$ (amar-tur$_3$)
AMAR

SF 58. Vom Textende nicht abgesetzt, im Gegensatz zum Text aber ohne "Merkzeichen".

1 SANGA SAĜ (AN-saĝ-tuku$_x$)
AN ḪUB$_2$

SF 59. Vom Textende durch Doppellinie mit Grätenmuster abgesetzt.

1 SANGA GA (du$_{11}$-ga)
KA
2 SANGA NAM$_2$ AMAR (amar-NAM$_2$)
3 SANGA AN ŠE (an-ur$_3$-še$_3$)
UR$_2$
4 SANGA AN-saĝ-ḪUB$_2$
5 SANGA NIN (ur-nin)
UR
6 SANGA NIM
7 SANGA PA UD DU (ur-saĝ-pa-e$_3$)
UR SAĜ
8 SANGA UR (AŠ-ur-saĝ)
AŠ SAĜ
9 SANGA B[I ...] (e$_2$-gal-NIDBA$_2$-BI)
MUŠ$_3$ ⌜PAD⌝ [...]

SF 60. Kolumne ganz links auf der Rs., vom Textende durch Zwischenraum getrennt.

1 SANGA GA (du$_{11}$-ga)
KA

2 SANGA NAM_2 AMAR (amar-NAM_2)
3 SANGA NIN UR (ur-nin)
4 SANGA UR (ur-saĝ-pa-e_3)
SAĜ
⸢PA UD DU⸣

SF 62. Ob die beiden nach langer Lücke am Textende erhaltenen PN (ohne "SANGA") zu einem Kolophon gehören, ist nicht ganz sicher.

1 lugal-maš
2 LUGAL (lugal-ki-DUR_2-dug_3)
DUR_2 KI ⸢DUG_3⸣

SF 63. Vom Textende nicht abgesetzt.

1 SANGA NAM_2 AMAR (amar-NAM_2)
2 SANGA AN-⸢saĝ⸣-$tuku_x$
3 SANGA NIN UR (ur-nin)

SF 64. Vom Textende nicht abgesetzt.

1 SANGA ⸢X X⸣
2 NAM_2 AMAR (amar-NAM_2)
3 SANGA [A]N $ŠE_3$ (an-ur_2-$še_3$)
UR_2

Zwei eingerahmte Zeilen mitten auf dem restlichen, unbeschriebenen Teil der Rs.:

4 SANGA NIN UR (ur-nin)
5 SANGA SAĜ AN $ḪUB_2$ (AN-saĝ-$tuku_x$)

SF 69. Kolumne links auf Rs., an die letzte Textkolumne, deren unterer Teil leer ist, anschließend.

1 ⸢SANGA⸣ men_x($ĜA_2$×EN)-ud-gid_2
2a SANGA gissu-$še_3$
2b dub mu-sar
3 SANGA AN ASAR (ur-^{d}asar)
UR
4 SANGA AN-saĝ-$tuku_x$($ḪUB_2$)
5 SANGA du_{11}-ga
6 SANGA amar-NAM_2
7 SANGA AŠ-ur-saĝ

SF 73. Fragment mit Rest einer abgesetzten Kolumne (rechts davon Leerraum).

1 SANGA du_{11} -ga
2 SANGA amar-NAM_2
3 [SANGA ⸢AN?⸣ ⸢X⸣
(abgebrochen)

SF 74. Vom Textende nicht abgesetzt[829].

1 SANGA [DA A]D (ad-da)
2 SANGA [amar]-⌜IN⌝
3 ⌜SANGA⌝ ⌜NAM_2⌝ ⌜AMAR⌝ (amar-NAM_2)
(abgebrochen)

SF 75. Vom Textende durch Doppellinie mit Grätenmuster abgesetzt.

1 SANGA ⌜X⌝[...]
2 SANGA NA[M_2 AMAR] (amar-NAM_2)
3 SANGA AN ḪU[B_2]
SAĜ .
4 SANGA NIN (ur-nin)
UR
5 SANGA SAĜ (ur-saĝ-pa-e_3)
UR
PA UD DU
6 SANGA AŠ
SAĜ UR
7 SANGA ⌜X⌝
SAĜ×ḪA
TI

SF 77. Rechts und unten durch Doppellinie mit Grätenmuster begrenzte Kolumne ganz links auf der Rs., daneben Zeichnungen.

1 SANGA UD $ĜA_2$×EN (men_x-ud-gid_2)
BU
2 SANGA ASAR (ur-^{d}asar)
AN UR
3 SANGA utu-šita
4 SANGA za_3-ta
5 SANGA SUD_3 DUL_3 (<d>sud_3-an-dul_3)
AN
6 SANGA DA (ad-da-da)
AD
DA

TSŠ 46. Kolumne ganz links auf der Rs., vom Textende durch Zwischenraum getrennt.

1 [S]ANGA PAP GIŠ [NE] (bil_x-a_2-nu-$kuš_2$)
$KUŠ_2$
NU A_2
[ ]

[829] In SF nicht vollständig wiedergegeben.

2 [SAN]GA AN EN E_2 (ur-^{d}en-lil_2, ZAR.LA)
ZAR.LA UR
3 SANGA LUGAL
ZI DA
KA AN SUD_3 UR (KA-lugal-da-zi, ur-$^{d}sud_3$)
4 SANGA GA.RI (RI.GA)
5 SANGA AN SUD_3 A_2 ($^{d}sud_3$-a_2-$maḫ_2$, ⌜X⌝.URU×UD)
⌜X?⌝ URU×UD AL
6 SANGA lugal-zi-kalam dub mu-sar
7 SANGA INANNA UR (ur-^{d}inanna, <ur->$^{d}gibil_6$)
AN
AN GI NE
8 SANGA AŠ AL (aš-$maḫ_2$)
9 SANGA e_2-ki-ba
10 SANGA AN.EN.NU.$KUŠ_2$
11 [SANGA? ...] IG
D[UB?] ⌜X⌝ M[U]
12 SANG[A *d*]*u-du* UR.UR

TSŠ 80. In der Mitte der Rs. durch Doppellinie mit Grätenmuster eingerahmtes Fach.
1 LAK175-$še_3$

Kolumne ganz links auf der Rs.
2 SANGA LUGAL (KA-lugal-da-zi dub mu-sar)
KA ZI
DUB MU DA
SAR
3 SANGA LAL_3 (lu_2-lal_3)
LU_2
4 SANGA KA-zi
5 [SANGA ...]⌜X⌝
(abgebrochen)

TSŠ 124. Vom Textende durch Doppellinie mit Grätenmuster abgesetzt.
1 SANGA NAM_2 AMAR (amar-NAM_2)
2 SANGA AN-sağ-$tuku_x$($ḪUB_2$)
3 SANGA NIN UR (ur-nin)
4 SANGA SAĜ! (ur-sağ-pa-e_3)
UR
PA UD DU

TSŠ "973" (= 972). Kolumne ganz links auf der Rs., rechts durch Doppellinie mit Grätenmuster begrenzt, vom Textende durch Zwischenraum (mit Zeichnungen) getrennt.
1 [SANGA ...]

2 [SANGA ...] IGI
[...] ⌜X⌝
3 [SANGA [utu?-]šita?
4 [SANGA za_3 ?]-ta
5 [SANGA] TUR+ŠEŠ (šeš-tur)

NTSŠ 229. Fragment, Kolumne links auf Rückseite, rechts daneben Leerraum.
1 [...]
⌜MES⌝ ⌜IL⌝ (mes-lam-*il* oder *iš-dub*!-*il*)
2 [SANGA] KALAM TAR (mes-kalam-[x], ur-saĝ-TAR)
[?] MES S[AĜ?] UR
3 [SANG]A DA AD (ad-da [dub] šu mu-$ĝal_2$)
[DUB?] MU ŠU IG
4 [SANG]A a-ĜEŠTIN MUNUS.NAM_2!?
5 [SANGA] NAM NIR AMAR (amar-nam-nir)
6 [SAN]GA IN AMAR (amar-IN)
7 [SANGA] ⌜X⌝ ⌜E_2?⌝ ⌜X⌝
8 [SANGA ...]
9 [SANGA ...]
10 [SANGA NAM_2 ?] AMAR (amar-NAM_2)
(abgebrochen)

NTSŠ 294. Fragment, Kolumne ganz links auf der Rs., rechts davon Leerraum.
1 [SANGA ...] ⌜X⌝
2 SANGA! LUGAL (KA-lugal-da-zi)
KA ZI DA
3 SANGA nam-$maḫ_2$-$^{d}sud_3$-da
4 SANGA lum-ma dub mu-s[ar!?]
5 SANGA lug[al]-ki-DUR_2-[dug_3]
6 SANGA GAL [...]
DA ⌜X⌝ [...]
(abgebrochen)

Namensindex zu den Kolophonen[830]:

a-ĜEŠTIN (dub-sar): NTSŠ 229.
ad-da: SF 16; 20; 74; NTSŠ 229.
ad-da-da: SF 77.
alim: SF 8.

[830] In Klammern ist vermerkt, wenn ein Name in den Wirtschaftstexten mit dem Titel dub-sar vorkommt, für Belege s. Pomponio 1987.

AK-[Š]UL$^{?}$.UD (?): SF 39.
ama-⌜X⌝: SF 73.
amar-^{d}MUD: SF 8.
amar-isin$_{2}$(IN): SF 74; NTSŠ 229.
amar-nam-nir: NTSŠ 229.
amar-NAM$_{2}$: SF 20; 29; 33; 36; 42; 55; 59; 60; 63; 64; 69; 73; 74; 75; TSŠ 124; NTSŠ 229.
amar-ŠUBA$_{3}$ (dub-sar): SF 37.
amar-tur$_{3}$: SF 57.
AN.EN.NU.KUŠ$_{2}$: TSŠ 46.
AN-nu-me: SF 13; 16; 39; TSŠ 294.
AN-saĝ-tuku$_{x}$(ḪUB$_{2}$) (dub-sar): SF 29; 36; 42; 55; 58; 59; 63; 64; 75; TS 124.
an-ur$_{2}$-še$_{3}$ (dub-sar): SF 59; 64.
AŠ.AB.⌜AB$^{?}$⌝: SF 18.
aš-maḫ$_{2}$(?): TSŠ 46.
AŠ-ur-saĝ: SF 33; 36; 37; 42; 59; 69; NTSŠ 229.
bil$_{x}$(GIŠ.PAP.NE)-a$_{2}$-nu-kuš$_{2}$ (dub-sar): TSŠ 46.
BU.⌜RA.X⌝: SF 8.
du-du: TSŠ 46.
du$_{11}$-ga: SF 12; 33; 36; 42; 59; 60; 69; 73.
e$_{2}$-gal-NIDBA$_{2}$-BI[831]: SF 33; 36; 55; 59; 73.
e$_{2}$-ki-ba: TSŠ 46.
e$_{2}$$^{?⌝}$-[...]-dug$_{3}$: SF 39.
GAL.[X].DA.⌜X⌝.[X]: TSŠ 294.
gissu-še$_{3}$ (dub-sar): SF 36; 69.
ḪAR.TU: SF 33.
ḪAR.TU-^{d}sud$_{3}$ (dub-sar): SF 1.
ḪUB$_{2}$.E$_{2}$$^{?}$.NUN: SF 18.
[*iš*?]-*dub*!-⌜*il*⌝: NTSŠ 229.
KA-lugal-da-zi: TSŠ 46; 80; 294.
KA-zi: SF 37; TSŠ 80.
LAK175-še$_{3}$: TSŠ 80.
lu$_{2}$-lal$_{3}$: TSŠ 80.
lu$_{2}$-lum-ma: SF 39.
[l]ugal-[a$_{2}$?-m]aḫ$_{2}$: SF 27.
lugal-ki-DUR$_{2}$-dug$_{3}$ (dub-sar): SF 27; 62; TSŠ 294.
lugal-maš: SF 62.
lugal-men$_{x}$(ĜA$_{2}$×EN): SF 16.
lugal-zi-kalam: TSŠ 46.

[831] Pomponio 1987, 78 liest e$_{2}$-gal-nidba$_{2}$-bi. Reihenfolge der Elemente und Lesung sind jedoch unsicher.

lum-ma (dub-sar, dub-sar-anše, dub-sar e$_2$-geme$_2$): SF 16; TSŠ 294.
men$_x$(ĜA$_2$×EN)-ud-gid$_2$ [832]: SF 36; 69; 77.
mes-kalam-[x]: NTSŠ 229.
mes-[lam?]-⸢*i*⸣: NTSŠ 229.
MUNUS.NAM$_2$?: NTSŠ 229.
nam-maḫ$_2$-^{d}sud$_3$-da: SF 39; TSŠ 294.
NIM: SF 59.
RI.GA: SF 13; TSŠ 46.
⸢SAĜ⸣.NAR.PA: SF 39.
[S]AĜ?.SI.[...]: SF 39.
SAĜ×ḪA.TI: SF 33.
SAĜ×ḪA.TI.⸢X⸣: SF 75.
^{d}sud$_3$-a$_2$-maḫ$_2$: TSŠ 46.
<d>sud$_3$-an-dul$_3$ [833]: SF 77.
^{d}sud$_3$-IM.MI^{mušen} (dub-sar, dub-sar ni$_3$-kas$_7$): SF 39.
šeš-tur (dub-sar): TSŠ 973.
ŠUBUR (dub-sar, dub-sar ni$_3$-kas$_7$): SF 33; SF 39?.
U$_2$.TUM: SF 13.
<ur>-^{d}gibil$_6$: TSŠ 46.
ur-^{d}asar: SF 36; 69; 77.
ur-^{d}en-lil$_2$: TSŠ 46.
ur-^{d}inanna: TSŠ 46.
ur-nin: SF 29; 55; 59; 60; 63; 64; 75; TSŠ 124.
ur-saĝ-pa-e$_3$: SF 59; 60; 75; TSŠ 124.
ur-^{d}sud$_3$: SF 39; TSŠ 46.
UR.UR (dub-sar): SF 39; TSŠ 46.
UŠ: SF 37.
utu-šita (dub-sar): SF 77; TSŠ 973.
za$_3$-ta (dub-sar ni$_3$-kas$_7$): SF 33; 77; TSŠ 973.
ZAR.LA [834]: TSŠ 46.
⸢ZU.ZU⸣.[X]: SF 8.
⸢X⸣.NUN?.E$_2$?.X⸣: NTSŠ 229.
⸢X⸣.URU×UD: TSŠ 46.
...].AB: SF 39.
...].BULUĜ$_3$.⸢X?⸣: SF 39.
...].IGI.⸢X⸣: TSŠ 973.
...]-IM.MI^{mušen}: SF 39.
...].⸢X⸣.TUR.⸢X⸣: SF 39.

832 Oder utu-men$_x$-gid$_2$ (so Pomponio 1987, 274).
833 Pomponio 1987 liest ^{d}sud$_3$-KUŠ$_2$.
834 Wohl bul$_5$-la zu lesen. Pomponio 1987, 62, wo dieser Beleg nachzutragen wäre, verzeichnet als einzigen HSS 3, 1 vi 1; vgl. aber häufigeres bul$_5$-la-bi.

8.4. Bau-, Weihinschriften u. ä.

Diese Gruppe umfaßt außer der Ur III-zeitlichen Inschrift des Ḫala'adda (s.o. S. 238) drei Inschriften auf Stein: auf einem Statuettenfragment (F.817: HFara, 54 mit Taf. 24,b), auf zwei Gefäßfragmenten (F.456: HFara, 75 mit Taf. 13,k; F.556: HFara, 75 mit Taf. 13,n); und auf einem eiförmigen Steingewicht[835] (F.987: HFara, 75 mit Taf. 35,i).
Inhalt und Zweck zweier "plankonvexer, rechteckiger Täfelchen" mit "napfartiger Vertfiefung", auf denen sich 1 bzw. 2 Zeichen befinden, sind unklar (F.520; 521: HFara, 74 mit Taf. 35,f).

8.5. Siegellegenden

Viele Siegel(abrollungen) aus Fāra tragen Legenden. Der Erhaltungszustand wie auch die Abbildungen erlauben oft nur partielle und unsichere Lesungen. H.P. Martins Katalog[836] enthält folgende beschrifteten Siegel: Nr. 131[837]; 362; 363; 365; 386[?]; 421; 422; 425[?]; 427[?]; 438; 440; 441; 444[?]; 446; 448; 451[?]; 454; 495; 525[?]; 561; 563; 565; 573; 577[?]
Beschriftete Siegel aus TAS wurden bislang nicht veröffentlicht.

9. Zeichnungen

In Fāra wurden zahlreiche – unbeschriftete und beschriftete – Tontafeln mit Ritzzeichnungen gefunden[838]. Auch einige TAS-Tafeln tragen Zeichnungen[839]: während in Fāra abstrakte und figürliche Darstellungen (Menschen, Tiere, Pflanzen) vorkommen, finden sich in TAS nur abstrakte Motive. Auch Keilschriftzeichen werden dekorativ ausgestaltet oder in Zeichnungen einbezogen[840]. Eine Neubearbeitung des gesamten Materials von archäologischer Seite wäre sicherlich lohnend.
Die beschrifteten Tafeln mit Zeichnung enthalten meist lexikalische, seltener literarische Texte: SF 20 (lex.); 34 (lex.); 39 (lit.); 61 (lex.); 62 (lex.); 75 (lex.); 77 (lex.); TSŠ 712 (lex.); 972[!] (lit.); IAS 2[841] (lex.); 47 (lex.); 60 (lex.) 282 (lit.).

835 Die in FAOS 5/2, 204, nicht richtig gelesene Inschrift ist ein Besitzervermerk und lautet: e_2-ezen-du_{10} dam-$gara_3$. Der Personenname ist auch sonst in Fāra gut bezeugt, s. Pomponio 1987, 777 (wo der Beleg nachzutragen wäre). Das Fundstück ist wohl kein Streitkolben, sondern ein Gewicht, .

836 MFara, 225-281.

837 FD I? Dekorative Schrift; ähnlich den "Städtesiegeln".

838 Publikationen: Weber 1920; HFara, S. 61-69.

839 S. OIP 99, S. 30f.

840 SF 20; 39; 76; 78; AbS.2545 (Iraq 52, Pl. XV). Die Köpfe der Schlangen auf der Rs. von SF 75 sind wie komplexe Keilschriftzeichen gestaltet. Das HFara, Tf. 26,m abgebildete Täfelchen scheint abstrakte Motive mit Keilschriftzeichen zu enthalten.

841 Photo: OIP 99, S. 31.

10. Textkatalog

Der Katalog umfaßt alle Texte aus Fāra (10.1-3) und TAS (10.4), die aus den regulären Grabungen stammen und in den einschlägigen Editionen (HFara; SF; WF; TSŠ, NTSŠ; OIP 99; Iraq 40, 101-118) veröffentlicht wurden.
Unter 10.5 sind publizierte oder in der Literatur erwähnte Texte zusammengestellt, die als Fāra-zeitlich eingestuft wurden - und zwar insbesondere solche, deren Herkunft aus Fāra mehr oder weniger wahrscheinlich ist. Nicht berücksichtigt sind Bau-, Weih- und Siegel-inschriften.
Die Texte sind innerhalb der einzelnen Abschnitte nach Publikationen bzw. deren interner Numerierung geordnet. Die Duplikate lexikalischer und literarischer Kompositionen sowie die zugehörigen bibliographischen Angaben sind unter dem zuerst eingeordneten Text versammelt. Lokale Duplikate stehen jeweils an erster Stelle, sonstige sind nach Herkunftsorten geordnet (X = unbekannter Herkunft); alle Texte aus Fāra und TAS sind – mit entsprechenden Verweisen – auch einzeln katalogisiert.
Jeder Text ist unter der Rubrik TXT stichwortartig nach Gattung (IN = Inschrift; L = lexikalisch oder literarisch; LEX = lexikalisch; LIT = literarisch; MATH = mathematisch; W = Wirtschaftstext) und weiter evt. nach Inhalt charakterisiert. Gegebenenfalls folgen unter der Rubrik BIB bibliographische Angaben, die allerdings keine Vollständigkeit anstreben (bei Wirtschaftstexten ist stets auf die Klassifizierungen von Edzard bzw. Visicato hingewiesen). Runde Tafeln lex. oder lit. Inhalts sind mit "ÜT" (Übungstafel) gekennzeichnet.

10.1. Aus der D.O.G.-Grabung stammende Texte in Berlin

HFara, S. 54; 75 Abb. 46; Tf. 24,b (VA.6789 = F.817).
TXT: IN auf Statuettenfragment.
BIB: Braun-Holzinger 1977, 68. – FAOS 5/2, 204f.

HFara, S. 74; Tf. 35,f (VA.10005 = F.520).
TXT: IN auf "plankonvexem Täfelchen" (2 Zeichen).

HFara, S. 74 (VA.10004 = F.521).
TXT: IN auf "plankonvexem Täfelchen" (1 Zeichen ?).

HFara, S. 75 Abb. 46; Tf. 13,k (VA.6798 = F.456).
TXT: IN auf Gefäßfragment.
BIB: FAOS 5/2, 205, AnFara 4.

HFara, S. 75; Tf. 13,n (VA.6755 = F.556).
TXT: IN auf Gefäßfragment.
BIB: FAOS 5/2, 204, AnFara 2.

HFara, S. 75 Abb. 46; Tf. 35,i (VA.6731 = F.987).
TXT: IN auf Steingewicht(?).
BIB: FAOS 5/2, 205. – S.o. S. 336 mit Anm. 835.

MDOG 16, 13 (F.450).
TXT: IN auf Tonnagel (Ḫala'adda).
BIB: HFara, 4f. – FAOS 9/2, 342.

SF 1[842] (VAT.12760 = F.2212 + 2224 + VAT.12762 + VAT.12776).
TXT: LEX: Große Götterliste aus Fāra.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 36. – Mander 1986, 77–102. – Krebernik 1986. – Selz 1992, 212–225. – S.o. S. 326.

SF 1* (VAT.12638 = F.653) (+) 3 (VAT. 12561) (+) 4 (VAT.12562).
TXT: LEX: Götterliste.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 36. – Mander 1986, 102f. – Krebernik 1986. – Selz 1992, 212–225.

SF 2 (VAT.12642 = F.963). ÜT?
TXT: LEX: theophore PN.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 36. – Krebernik 1986.

SF 3 s. **SF 1***.

SF 4. s. **SF 1***

SF 5[843] (VAT.12626 = F.2307). ÜT.
SF 6[844] (VAT.12644 = F.2074). ÜT.
TXT: LEX: Liste "fischessender" Gottheiten.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 36. – Mander 1978. – Krebernik 1986. – Selz 1992, 212–225.

SF 6 s. **SF 5**

SF 7 (VAT.12761 = F.2199).
TXT: LEX.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 36.

SF 8 (VAT.9104 = F.998).
SF 9/2: iv 13ff. (VAT.12751 = F.2197 + VAT.12775 = F.2205).
Ebla: MEE 3, 26+76.
Kiš: Iraq 31, Pl. I.
Nippur: N.5034[845]
TAS: IAS 13-17.
Uruk: Sumer 33, 115 Nr. 12,c; ATU 3, 134-141 (55 Textzeugen).
X: A.3670; CBS.14182[846]; RIAA, 46.
TXT: LEX: Metallobjekte.
BIB: Kramer 1932, 119. – Gurney 1969. – OIP 99, S. 36; 80. – MEE 3, S. 73-90 ("Nagar"). – ATU 3, 32-34 ("Metall"). – S.o. S. 326.

SF 9/1: iv 13ff. (VAT.12751 = F.2197 + VAT.12775 = F.2205).
SF 10 (VAT.12693 = F.2157).
SF 11 (VAT.12771).
Ebla: MEE 3, 27-38.
TAS: IAS 10-12.
Ur: UET 2, 234.
Uruk: ATU 3, 93-98 (15 Textzeugen).
TXT: LEX: Fische.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 36; 80. – MEE 3, S. 91-104. – Englund 1984. – ATU 3 (1993), 22 ("Fische").

SF 9/2 s. **SF 8**

SF 10 s. **SF 9/1**

SF 11 s. **SF 9/1**

SF 12 (VAT.12653 = F.2183).
SF 13 (VAT.12547 = F.2167) + TSŠ 264.
SF 14 (VAT.13001)?[847]
Ebla: MEE 3, 47.
Nippur: SLT 42.
TAS: IAS 402; 459; 465; Iraq 52, Tf. XV,c: AbS.2545.
Uruk: ATU 3, 112-120 (57 Textzeugen).
X: MVN 3, 15.
TXT: LEX: Tribute?
BIB: Civil/Biggs 1966, 11f. – OIP 99, S. 36; 41. – MEE 3, S. 155-165 ("Wortliste C"). – ATU 3, 25-29 ("Tribut"). – S.o. S. 326.

SF 13 s. **SF 12**

SF 14 s. **SF 12**

SF 15 (VAT.12770 = F.2182).
SF 16 (VAT.12421 = F.2179).
SF 17 (VAT.12616).
Ebla: ARET 5, 23 (syll.); MEE 3, 48+49; 63 (syll.).

[842] Photo: SF, Tf. 2f.; Mander 1986, Tf. IXf. Das Fragment rechts unten wurde inzwischen gemäß dem Vorschlag von Krebernik 1986, 163, um eine Kolumne nach rechts versetzt.
[843] Photo: SF, Tf. 1.
[844] Photo: SF, Tf. 1.
[845] ATU 3, 32 Anm. 59.
[846] ATU 3, 32 Anm. 59 (beide).
[847] Entgegen der Beschreibung als "Fragment" in SF handelt es sich um ein vollständiges Täfelchen. Der Text weicht von dem der Liste ab; Umschrift: ⌜6?⌝ uz_3, 6 ⌜LAK777?⌝, 2 $maš_2$, 9 ⌜u_8⌝, 3 NITA.UDU, 3 MI_2.$SILA_4$. Es scheint sich eher um einen Wirtschaftstext (Übungstafel?) als um ein Exzerpt aus der Liste zu handeln.

TAS: IAS 5-6.
Uruk: ATU 3, 142-145 (9 Textzeugen).
TXT: LEX: pflanzliche und tierische Nahrungsmittel.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 36; 79. – MEE 3 (1981) 165-175 (Lista di parole sumeriche D). – Civil 1982 ("Word List D"). – Krispijn 1981-82. – Civil 1984. – ATU 3, 34f. ("Nahrung"). – S.o. S. 326.

SF 16 s. **SF 15**

SF 17 s. **SF 15**

SF 18 [848]**/1: i - vii 9** (VAT. 12426 = F.2141).
TAS: IAS 132+153+208; 152+162?.
TXT: LIT (UGN): Inanna.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 36f.; 85; 86. – Alster 1976b, 116; 117. – Cohen 1976, 88f. – Krecher 1978b, 157. – Krecher 1992, 303. – S.o. Anm. 810.

SF 18/2: vii 10 - Ende (VAT. 12426 = F.2141).
SF 19[849] (VAT. 12777 = F.2160).
TXT: LEX.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 36f. – Krecher 1978b, 157f. – SF 18 und SF 19 haben unterschiedliche Zeilenfolge: SF 18, vii 10 (dort Textanfang) – viii 4 = SF 19, vii 8 – viii 11 (dort Textende); SF 18, viii 5 - ix 21 = SF 19, vi 6 - vii 7; SF 18, ix 1-18 = SF 19, v 3 - vi 5; SF 18, ix 20 - x xi 17 = SF 19, iv 1 - v 4; SF 18 x 17 - xi 10 = SF 19, iii 3-17; SF 18, xi 11 - xii 8 = SF 19, ii 1-17; SF 18, xii 9 - xiii 4 = SF 19, i 17-1 (sic!). – S.o. S. 326.

SF 19 s. **SF 18/2**

SF 20 [850] (VAT. 12625 = F.2120 + VAT. 12781).
SF 21 (VAT. 12649 + VAT. 12724 = F.924 + VAT. 12769).
SF 22 (VAT. 12768).
TAS: IAS 34.
TXT: LEX: Arch. ḪAR - r a B.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 37; 81. – Pettinato 1972, 149. – Civil 1987. – S.o. S. 326.

SF 21 s. **SF 20**

SF 22 s. **SF 20**

SF 23 (VAT. 12573 = F.2154 + F.2212).
SF 24 (VAT. 12763 = F.928).
TAS: IAS 21-22.
Ur: UET 7, 80.
Uruk: ATU 3, 145-150 (16 Textzeugen).
TXT: LEX: Städte, Götter.
BIB: van Dijk 1964, 7f. – OIP 99, S. 37; 80. – Green 1977. – Mander 1980. – ATU 3, 35 ("Städte"). – Mander 1986, 108-110.

SF 24 s. **SF 23**

SF 25 (VAT. 12614 = F.869). ÜT.
TXT: LEX: PN.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 37.

SF 26 (VAT. 12655 = F.2220) + TSŠ 124.
SF 27 (VAT. 12764 = F.2165) + TSŠ 327 + NTSŠ 294.
SF 65 (VAT. 12555 = F.302).
OSP 1, 2 = FP.512 .
TAS: IAS 255.
Ur: UET 6, 197.
X: OECT 1, 13 (W.B. 169); RA 60, 5 (UM 29-15-174).
TXT: LIT: Frühdynast. Sprichwortsammlung.
BIB: M. Lambert 1953a, 86. – Jacobsen apud Gordon 1959, 550. – W.G. Lambert 1963. – Civil - Biggs 1966, 5f. – OIP 99, S. 37; 39; 88. – Alster 1991-92. – S.o. S. 319; 327; 332; 334.

SF 27 s. **SF 26**

SF 28 (VAT. 12531 = F.300).
SF 29 (VAT. 12759 = F.2200).
SF 44 (VAT. 12560 = F.293). ÜT.
TXT: LEX: Berufe und PN.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 37. – S.o. S. 327.

SF 29 s. **SF 28**

SF 30 (VAT. 12639 = F.961). ÜT.
SF 50* (VAT. 12749 = F.960). ÜT.
TXT: LIT: Kultmittelbeschwörung?
BIB: OIP 99, S. 37; 38. – S.o. S. 318 mit Anm. 772.

SF 31 (VAT. 12639 = F.964). ÜT.
TXT: LIT: Amaušumgalanna, Inanna.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 37.

SF 32 (VAT. 12564). ÜT.
TXT: LEX.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 37.

848 Photo: SF, Tf. 4.
849 Photo: SF, Tf. 5
850 Dekorative Zeichen (IL, UMBIN) auf dem linken Rand.

SF 33 (VAT.12652 = F.2162).
SF 34[851] (VAT.12615).
SF 35 (VAT.12675 = F.2416).
SF 75[852] (VAT.9130 = F.2166).
SF 76[853] (VAT.12772 = F.934).
Adab: Ad.746[854].
Ebla: MEE 3, 1; 2+5; 3+4.
Lagaš: DP 337; ZA 29, 79.
Nippur: SLT 112-113; YOS 1, 12; Ni.1600+ 2528[855].
Susa: MDP 14, 88.
TAS: IAS 1-3.
Ur: UET 2, 14; 264; 299-301.
Uruk: UVB 16, Tf. 33,g (W.19296); ATU 3, 69-85 (mindestens 163 Textzeugen).
TXT: LEX: Berufe (ED Lu$_2$ A).
BIB: Shileico 1914-15. – Kramer 1932, 119f. – van Dijk 1960, 59. – MSL 12, 4-12; pl. I-II. – OIP 99, S. 37; 79. – MEE 3, S. 3-25. – Arcari 1982. – Arcari 1983. – Green 1984. – ATU 3, 17f. – S.o. S. 327; 331.

SF 34 s. **SF 33**

SF 35 s. **SF 33**

SF 36 (VAT.9076 = F.2256).
TXT: LIT: Sud.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 37. – S.o. S. 325; 327.

SF 37 (VAT.12680 = F.932).
SF 38 (VAT.12766).
NTSŠ 117+314.
TAS: IAS 114; 248.
TXT: LIT (UGN): UD?
BIB: Biggs 1970, 1f. – OIP 99, S. 37; 41; 88. – Alster 1976b, 117; 120f. – Krecher 1978b, 157. – W.G. Lambert 1981, 83-85. – Krebernik 1994, 278; 308. – Krecher 1992, 303. – S.o. Anm. 804; 806; 812; S. 328.

SF 38 s. **SF 37**

SF 39[856] (VAT.12606).
TAS: 118; 163-164; 182?
TXT: LIT (UGN): PA.NUN.UD.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 37; 85; 86. – Alster 1976a, 20f. – Alster 1976b, 115f. – Cohen 1976, 86. – Krecher 1978b, 157. – S.o. Anm. 801; S. 328f.

SF 40 = VAT.12575 = F.1265.
TXT: LIT: Sud und ihr Tempel?
BIB: M. Lambert 1953, 143f. – OIP 99, S. 37. – Alster 1976a, 21f. – S.o. Anm 802; S. 324.

SF 41 (VAT.12773 = F.2322).
SF 42 (VAT.12643 = F.2181).
SF 49 (VAT.12525 = F.306).
TSŠ 193.
TXT: LEX.
BIB: M. Lambert 1953, 142. – OIP 99, S. 37; 41. – S.o. S. 328.

SF 42 s. **SF 41**

SF 43 (VAT.12650 = F.2164 + VAT.12765).
TXT: LEX: Arch. ḪAR-ra C.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 37. – Civil 1987, 133.

SF 44. s. **SF 28.**

SF 45 (VAT.12737 = F.962). ÜT.
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 37.

SF 46 = C (VAT.12524 = F.304+305+310).
SF 54[857] = A (VAT.12597 = F.2306).
SF 71 = D (VAT.12684).
TSŠ 170= B.
Ebla: ARET 5, 8 = c; ARET 5, 10 = e.
TAS: Iraq 52, Tf. XV,d (AbS.2714).
TXT: LIT: Beschwörungen (en$_2$-e$_2$-nu-ru).
1 (BFE Nr. 1): A i 1-9 // c i 1 - ii 5 // e i 1 - iii 1.
2 (BFE Nr. 2): A ii 1-9 // B i 1'-4'.
3 (BFE Nr. 3): A iii 1-11 // B ii 1'-3'.
4 (BFE Nr. 4): A iv 1 - v 1 // B iii 1 - iv 5.
5 (BFE Nr. 5): A v 1-8 // B vii 4 - viii 5.

851 Rest einer Zeichnung auf der Rs.
852 Zeichnung (Schlangen) auf der Rs. Photo: HFara, Tf. 28.
853 Zeichnug (Linien) auf der Rs. Photo: SF, Tf. 8; HFara, Tf. 32.
854 MSL 12, 9.
855 MSL 12, 10.
856 Zeichnung (Rosette) auf der Rs. Vgl. dazu B. Böck apud Moortgat-Correns 1994, 361f. mit Photo. Eine ähnliche Zeichnung befindet sich auf dem Fragment F.908 = VA.10075 (Photo: HFara, Tf. 32).
857 Vs. und Rs. in SF vertauscht.

	6	(BFE Nr. 6): A vi 1 - viii 4//B iv 6 - vii 3.
	7	(BFE Nr. 7): A viii 5 - ix 7.
	8	(BFE Nr. 8): A ix 8 - x 6.
	9	(BFE Nr. 11): C i' 1' - iv' 5.
	10	(BFE Nr. 12): C iv' 6 - v' 7.
	11	(BFE Nr. 13): C v' 8 - vi' 4.
	12	(BFE Nr. 14): C vi' 5 - vii' 3.
	13	(BFE Nr. 15): C vii' 4 - [.
	14	(BFE Nr. 16): D i 1 - [.
	15:	Iraq 52, 101; Tf.XV (AbS.2714).
	16:	IAS 319?

BIB: Falkenstein 1951, 19. – Biggs 1966, 41. – van Dijk 1967, 238. – OIP 99, S. 37; 38; 40f.; 91. – Mander 1979. – Pettinato 1979. – Krebernik 1984. – Michalowski 1985, 222f. – Cavigneaux 1995, 80-84. – S.o. S. 318.

SF 47[858] (VAT.12619 = F.696).
TXT: LEX: Berufe (ED Lu_2 C).
BIB: M. Lambert 1953a, 142. – MSL 12 (1969) 14f. – OIP 99, S. 37.

SF 48 (VAT.12558 = F.971). ÜT.
TXT: LEX.
BIB: MSL 12, 15f. ("Sum. Wortliste D"). – OIP 99, S. 38.

SF 49 s. **SF 41**.

SF 49* (VAT.12647 = F.957). ÜT.
TXT: LIT?
BIB: OIP 99, S. 38.

SF 50[859] (VAT.12747 = F.967). ÜT.
TXT: LIT.?
BIB: OIP 99, S. 38.

SF 50* s. **SF 30**.

SF 51 (VAT.12754 = F.973). ÜT.
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 38.

SF 52[860] (VAT.12758). ÜT.
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 38.

SF 53 (VAT.12612). ÜT.
TXT: LEX.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 38.

SF 54 s. **SF 46**.

SF 55 (VAT.9112 = F.2142).
TAS: IAS 157-161.
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 38; 86. – Cohen 1976a, 89. – Alster 1976b, 116. – Krecher 1978b, 157. – S.o. S. 324; 329.

SF 56 (VAT.12582 = F.2163).
TXT: LIT (UGN): Nisaba.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 38. – Alster 1976b, 116. – Cohen 1876, 89.

SF 57 (VAT.9108 = F.2168).
TAS: IAS 44-53.
TXT: LEX: Kultpersonal.
BIB: Edzard 1965, 102. – OIP 99, S. 38; 81. – Mander 1986, 103-108. – J. Westenholz 1992, 300. – S.o. S. 329.

SF 58/1: i 1 - vi 10 (VAT.9124 = F.2161).
SF 67 (VAT.12594).
NTSŠ 123.
Nippur: 6N-T933[861].
TAS: IAS 23+24.
Uruk: ATU 3, 120-122 (4 Textzeugen)?
X: CBS 7094 (RA 60, 8f.).
TXT: LEX: Gartenbau.
BIB: Civil - Biggs 1966, 8-11. – OIP 99, S. 38; 41f.; 80. – ATU 3, 29 ("Pflanzen"). – S.o. Anm. 759.

SF 58/2: vi 11 - Ende (VAT.9124 = F.2161).
Ebla: MEE 3, 39.
Lagaš: ITT 2, 5898 + 5, 9251.
Nippur: A.31247 (6N-T681) + A.31249 (6.N-T685)[862].
Uruk: ATU 3, 98-100 (5 oder 6 Textzeugen).
TXT: LEX: Vögel.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 38. – Pettinato 1978a. – MEE 3, S. 105-120; 275-277. – ATU 3, 22 ("Vögel"). – S.o. S. 329.

SF 59 (VAT.12425 = F.2040).
Ebla: MEE 3, 50.
Uruk: ATU 3, 86-89 (13 Textzeugen).
TXT: LEX: Berufe.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 38. – MEE 3 (1981) 176-185 ("Sum. Wortliste E"). – ATU 3, 19-22 ("Officials"). – S.o. S. 329.

[858] Vs. und Rs. in SF vertauscht.
[859] Photo: SF, Tf. 8.
[860] Photo: SF, Tf. 6.
[861] ATU 3, 29 Anm. 52.
[862] Civil, MEE 3, S. 275.

SF 60 (VAT.12503 = F.2128).
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 38. – Krebernik 1984, 282f. – S.o. Anm. 670; S. 329f.

SF 61[863] (VAT.12556 = F.301)
TXT: LEX.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 38.

SF 62[864] (VAT.12526 = F.303).
TXT: LEX.
BIB: M. Lambert 1953a, 86. – OIP 99, S. 38. – S.o. S. 330.

SF 63[865] (VAT.12574 = F.2041).
TXT: LEX: z.T. PN.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 38. – S.o. S. 330.

SF 64 (VAT.12587 = F.2139).
ǦN: OECT 7, 193f. = MSVO 1, 242.
TAS: IAS 4; 7-9.
Uruk: ATU 3, 123-134 (92 Texzeugen).
TXT: LEX: Gefäße.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 38; 79f. – ATU 3 (1993) 29-32 ("Gefäße"). – S.o. S. 330.

SF 65 s. **SF 26**.

SF 66 (VAT.12558 = F.291).
TXT: LEX.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 38.

SF 67 s. **SF 58/1**.

SF 68 (VAT.12628 = F.1775).
Uruk: ATU 3, 103-112 (30 Textzeugen).
TXT: LEX: Holz.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 38. – Civil 1987, 134 ("arch. ḪAR - r a"). – ATU 3, 23 ("Holz").

SF 69 (VAT.12645 = F.2140).
TXT: LEX.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 38. – S.o. S. 330.

SF 70 (VAT.12617).
TXT: LEX: Berufe (ED Lu_2 B).
BIB: MSL 12, 13f. – OIP 99, S. 38.

SF 71 s. **SF 46**.

SF 72 (VAT.12778 = F.2101).
TXT: LEX: Gewässer.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 38. – S.o. Anm. 761.

SF 73 (VAT 12782).
TXT: L: Kolophon.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 39. – S.o. S. 330.

SF 74 (VAT.12657).
TXT: LEX.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 39. – Civil 1987, 134 ("Archaic ḪAR - r a"). – S.o. S. 331.

SF 75 s. **SF 33**.

SF 76 s. **SF 33**.

SF 77[846] (VAT.9128).
TXT: LEX.
BIB: M. Lambert 1953, 84-86. – Jestin 1955. – OIP 99, S. 39. – S.o. S. 331.

SF 78 (VAT.12748). ÜT.
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 39.

SF 79 (VAT.12515). ÜT.
TXT: LEX.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 39.

SF 80 (VAT.17750 = F.1122). ÜT.
TXT: LEX.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 39.

SF 81[867] (VAT.12806 = F.2180).
Ebla: MEE 3, 12-17; 62 (syll.).
TAS: IAS 25-26.
Uruk: ATU 3, 89-93 (24 Textzeugen).
TXT: LEX: Haustiere (Tierliste A).
BIB: Biggs 1966, 84 Anm. 78. – OIP 99, S. 39; 80. – MEE 3, S. 47-56; 251f. – Krecher 1983. – ATU 3, 22 ("Rinder").

SF 82 (VAT.12593 + VAT.12783)[868].
TXT: MATH.
BIB: MKT I, 92. – OIP 99, S. 39. – Powell 1976, 430f. – Friberg 1987-90, 540.

863 Rest einer Zeichnung auf der Rs.
864 Zeichnung (Mann mit Becher) auf der Rs. Photo: HFara, Tf. 27.
865 Photo: SF, Tf. 6f.
866 Zeichnung (Capride mit Baum; Muster) auf der Rs. Photo: HFara, Tf. 28.
867 Photo: SF, Tf. 7.
868 Photo: Neugebauer 1934, 51 Fig. 18.

WF 1 (VAT.12735 = F.2284).
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 182. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 144.

WF 2
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 182. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 166.

WF 3 (VAT.12745 = F.2030).
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 182. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 145.

WF 4 (VAT.9123 = F.2257).
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 183. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 164.

WF 5 (VAT.12436 = F.2020).
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 183. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 127.

WF 6 (VAT.9072 = F.2018).
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 183. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 128.

WF 7 (VAT.12424 = F.2094).
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 183. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 122.

WF 8 (VAT.12435 = F.2350).
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 183. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 165.

WF 9[869] (VAT.12433 = F.2114).
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 183. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 124.

WF 10
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 183. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 167.

WF 11 (VAT.12634 = F.2051).
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 183. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 156.

WF 12 (VAT.12489 = F.2065).
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 183. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 140.

WF 13 (VAT.12559 = F.2015).
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 183. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 125.

WF 14 (VAT.12609 = F.2032).
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 183. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 155.

WF 15 (VAT.12627 = F.2143).
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 183. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 134.

WF 16 (VAT.12621 = F.2048).
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 183. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 146.

WF 17
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 183. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 130.

WF 18 (VAT.9070 = F.2083).
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 183. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 132.

WF 19 (VAT.9071 = F.2131).
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 183. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 150.

WF 20 (VAT.9084 = F.2134).
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 183. – Edzard 1979, 159f. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 163.

WF 21
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 183. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 157.

WF 22 (VAT.9078 = F.1981).
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 183. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 115.

WF 23 (VAT.9083 = F.2103).
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 184. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 170.

WF 24 (VAT.9081 = F.1989).
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 184. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 129.

[869] Photo: SF, Tf. 2.

WF 25[870] (VAT.9079 = F.1980).
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 184. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 116.

WF 26 (VAT.9116 = F.1986).
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 184. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 141.

WF 27 (VAT.9126 = F.2159).
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 184. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 147.

WF 28 (VAT.9132 = F.1988).
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 184. – Edzard 1979, 159. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 142.

WF 29
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 184. – EDATS, S. 4 (19); Nr. 162.

WF 30 (VAT.12608 = F.547).
TXT: W: Hauskauf.
BIB: SR 22. – ELTS 100.

WF 31
TXT: W: Hauskauf.
BIB: SR 31. – ELTS 101.

WF 32
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: SR 9. – ELTS 114.

WF 33[871] (VAT.9122).
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: SR 2. – ELTS 115.

WF 34[872] (VAT.12437).
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: SR 3. – ELTS 116.

WF 35 (VAT.12443 = F.233).
TXT: W: Kauf?
BIB: Edzard 1976, 184. – EDATS, S.4 (27).

WF 36 (VAT.12523 = F.375).
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: SR 4. – ELTS 117.

WF 37
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: SR 5. – ELTS 118.

WF 38 (VAT.12605 = F.538).
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: SR 13. – ELTS 128.

WF 39 (VAT.12607 = F.542).
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: SR 12. – ELTS 134.

WF 40 (VAT.12589 = F.787?).
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: SR 11. – ELTS 129.

WF 41
TXT: W: Getreide; Vertrag?
BIB: Edzard 1976, 184. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 36.

WF 42 (VAT.12661 = F.2133).
TXT: W: Personen (Zeugenliste).
BIB: Edzard 1976, 184. – EDATS, S.4 (27).

WF 43 (VAT.12427 = F.2028).
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 185. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 78.

WF 44 (VAT.12432 = F.2011).
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 185. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 79.

WF 45 (VAT.9131 = F.1984).
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 185. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 74.

WF 46 (VAT.12481 = F.2151).
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 185. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 96.

WF 47 (VAT.12490 = F.1494).
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 185. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 97.

WF 48 (VAT.12567 = F.2064).
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 185. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 95.

WF 49 (VAT.12583 = F.2054).
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 185. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 106.

[870] Photo: WF, Tf. 3.
[871] Photo: WF Tf. 1 unten (oben ist 9122 Fehler für 12437); Tf. 4 oben (12437 ist falsch).
[872] Photo: WF, Tf. 1 oben (9122 ist falsch); Tf. 4 unten.

WF 50 (VAT.12585 = F.20449.
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 185. – Visicato 1991a, 355f. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 77.

WF 51 (VAT.12604 = F.2008).
TXT: W: Felder; vgl. WF 53.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 185. – Pomponio 1984a. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 71.

WF 52 (VAT.12622 = F.2063).
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 185. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 89.

WF 53
TXT: W: Felder; Sammeltafel zu TSŠ 102; WF 58; 51; TSŠ 100.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 185. – Pomponio 1984a. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 68.

WF 54
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 185. – Edzard 1979, 164. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 93.

WF 55 (VAT.12610 = F.2013).
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 185. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 59.

WF 56 (VAT.9082 = F.1987).
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 185. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 73.

WF 57 (VAT.9119 = F.1990).
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 185. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 81.

WF 58 (VAT.9127 = F.1985).
TXT: W: Felder; vgl. WF 53.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 185. – Pomponio 1984a. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 70.

WF 59 (VAT.12425 = F.2040).
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 185. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 102.

WF 60 (VAT.12603 = F.1996+2038).
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 185. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 80.

WF 61 (VAT.12440 = F.2124).
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 186. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 16.

WF 62
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 186. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 26.

WF 63 (VAT.12618 = F.968).
TXT: W: Getreide, Kupfer.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 186. – EDATS, S. 3 (15).

WF 64 (VAT.12478 = F.2150).
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 186. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 49.

WF 65
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 186. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 2.

WF 66 (VAT.12784 = F.2119).
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 186. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 3.

WF 67 (VAT.12586 = F.2117).
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 186. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 23.

WF 68 (VAT.9080 = F.2116).
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 186. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 24.

WF 69 (VAT.9125 = F.2086).
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 186. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 25.

WF 70 (VAT.12654 = F.2118).
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 186. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 4.

WF 71 (VAT.12646 = F.2078).
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 186. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 11.

WF 72 (VAT.12814 = F.2087).
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 186. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 12.

WF 73.
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 186. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 5.

WF 74 (VAT.12511 = F.2092).
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 186. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 6.

WF 75 (VAT.12674 = F.2089).
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 186. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 13.

WF 76 (VAT.12497 = F.2338).
TXT: W: Getreide; Sammeltafel zu WF 106; TSŠ 570.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 187. – Pomponio 1991. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 14.

WF 77 (VAT.9109 = F.2115).
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 187. – Visicato 1991a. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 19.

WF 78 (VAT.12729 = F.2082).
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 187. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 29.

WF 79
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 187. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 51.

WF 80 (VAT.12576 = F.1552).
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 187. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 50.

WF 81
TXT: W: Getreideprodukte.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 187. – EDATS, S. 3 (3).

WF 82 (VAT.12738 = F.1116?).
TXT: W: Getreideprodukte u.a.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 187. – EDATS, S. 3 (15).

WF 83
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 187. – EDATS, S. 3 (2).

WF 84 (VAT.12629 = F.1737).
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 187. – Visicato 1991a, 352f. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 38.

WF 85 (VAT.12651 = F.1711).
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 187. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 40.

WF 86
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 187. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 39.

WF 87 (VAT.9077 = F.2129)
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 187. – Visicato 1991a, 352f. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 22.

WF 88 (VAT.09097 = F.428).
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 187. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 65.

WF 89
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 187. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 62.

WF 90
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 187. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 61.

WF 91 (VAT.9129 = F.2084).
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 188. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 27.

WF 92 (VAT.12454 = F.1663).
TXT: W: Personen (ĝuruš).
BIB: Edzard 1976, 188. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 197.

WF 93 (VAT.12590 = F.1703).
TXT: W: Personen: Brotzuteilung.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 188. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 200.

WF 94 (VAT.12736 = F.1663?).
TXT: W: Personen (ĝ u r u š).
BIB: Edzard 1976, 188. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 198.

WF 95 (VAT.9117 = F.1662?).
TXT: W: Personen (ĝuruš-me$_3$).
BIB: Edzard 1976, 188. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 187.

WF 96
TXT: W: Personen (ĝuruš).
BIB: Edzard 1976, 188. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 208.

WF 97
TXT: W: Personen (ĝuruš).
BIB: Edzard 1976, 188. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 196.

WF 98 (VAT.12455 = F.1702).
TXT: W: Personen (ĝuruš, Mehlzuteilung).
BIB: Edzard 1976, 188. – EDATS, S. 3 (17); 4f. – BS 192.

WF 99 (VAT.12537 = F.1669).
TXT: W: Personen (ĝ u r u š, Mehlzuteilung).
BIB: Edzard 1976, 188. – EDATS, S. 3 (17); 4. – BS 182.

WF 99*.
TXT: W: Personen (ĝuruš).
BIB: Edzard 1976, 188. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 217.

WF 100 (VAT.9107 = F.1661).
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 188. – EDATS, S. 3 (17); 5. – BS 195.

WF 101 (VAT.12631 = F.1725).
TXT: W: Personen (guruš-me$_3$): Brotzuteilung.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 188. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 199.

WF 102 (VAT.12534 = F.1688).
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 188. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 193.

WF 103 (VAT.12544 = F.1679).
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 188. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 215.

WF 104 (VAT.12549 = F.1662?).
TXT: W: Personen (dumu-dumu).
BIB: Edzard 1976, 189. – EDATS, S. 3 (17); 4. – BS 184.

WF 105.
TXT: W: Personen (engar).
BIB: Edzard 1976, 189. – Visicato 1991a, 357f. – EDATS, S. 4 (25); Nr. 173.

WF 106 (VAT.9074 = F.2095).
TXT: W: Personen; vgl. WF 76.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 189. – Pomponio 1991. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 15.

WF 107 (VAT.9111 = F.2085).
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 189. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 35.

WF 108 (VAT.12486 = F.2314).
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 189. – EDATS, S.4 (27).

WF 109 (VAT.12611 = F.2043).
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 189. – EDATS, S.4 (27).

WF 110.
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 189. – EDATS, S.4 (27).

WF 111.
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 189. – EDATS, S.4 (27).

WF 112
TXT: W.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 189. – EDATS, S.4 (28).

WF 113.
TXT: W.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 189. – EDATS, S.4 (28).

WF 114.
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 189.- EDATS, S. 4 (29).

WF 115 (VAT.9095 = F.1010).
TXT: W: Sklavinnen, Kupfer, Getreide (Quittung?).
BIB: Edzard 1976, 189. – EDATS, S. 3 (15).

WF 116 (VAT.12623 = F.2447).
TXT: W: Brot.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 189. – EDATS, S. 3 (3).

WF 117 (VAT.12641 = F.983).
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 189. – EDATS, S.4 (27).

WF 118 (VAT.12449 = F.1664?).
TXT: W: Verschiedenes.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 189. – EDATS, S. 3 (15).

WF 119 (VAT.12660 = F.2029).
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 189. – EDATS, S.4 (27).

WF 120 (VAT.12662 = F.2047).
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 189. – EDATS, S.4 (27).

WF 121 (VAT.12434 = F.2031).
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 189. – EDATS, S.4 (27).

WF 122 (VAT.12514 = F.342).
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 189. – EDATS, S.4 (27).

WF 123.
TXT: W: Esel?
BIB: Edzard 1976, 189. – Visicato 1991a, 353. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 160.

WF 124 (VAT.9075 = F.2017).
TXT: W: Esel?
BIB: Edzard 1976, 189. – Edzard 1979, 164.- Visicato 1991a, 352f. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 143.

WF 125
TXT: W: Kleinvieh.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 190. – EDATS, S. 4 (22).

WF 126 (VAT.12483 = F.2219).
TXT: W: Kleinvieh.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 190. – EDATS, S. 4 (22)

WF 127
TXT: W: Kleinvieh.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 190. – EDATS, S. 4 (22).

WF 128 (VAT.12568 = F.2418).
TXT: W: Kleinvieh.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 190. – EDATS, S. 4 (22).

WF 129 (VAT.12545 = F.1673).
TXT: W: Kleinvieh?
BIB: Edzard 1976, 190. – EDATS, S. 4 (22).

WF 130 (VAT.12552 = F.1630?).
TXT: W: Rinder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 190. – EDATS, S. 4 (21).

WF 131 (VAT.12563 = F.2434).
TXT: W: Kleinvieh.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 190. – EDATS, S. 4 (22).

WF 132 (VAT.12538 = F.1686).
TXT: W: Wolle.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 190. – EDATS, S. 3 (7).

WF 133 (VAT.12572 = F.2397).
TXT: W: Textilien.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 190. – EDATS, S. 3 (9).

WF 134 (VAT.12630 = F.1730).
TXT: W: Kleinvieh.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 190. – EDATS, S. 4 (22).

WF 135
TXT: W: Textilien.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 190. – EDATS, S. 3 (8).

WF 136 (VAT.12451 = F.195).
TXT: W: Textilien.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 190. – EDATS, S. 3 (8).

WF 137 (VAT.9110 = F.2236).
TXT: W: Kupfer, Textilien.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 190. – Visicato 1991a, 354f. – EDATS, S. 3 (14).

WF 138
TXT: W: Verschiedenes.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 190. – EDATS, S. 3 (15).

WF 139
TXT: W: Silber, Textilien; Urkunde?
BIB: Edzard 1976, 190f. – EDATS, S. 3 (15).

WF 140 (VAT.12584 = F.2056).
TXT: W: Öl.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 191. – EDATS, S. 3 (5).

WF 141 (VAT.12438 = F.1658).
TXT: W: Käse (LAK490).
BIB: Edzard 1976, 191. – EDATS, S. 3 (6).

WF 142
TXT: W: Fischfanggeräte.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 191. – Visicato 1992a. – EDATS, S. 4 (24).

WF 143 (VAT.12428 = F.2015).
TXT: W: Hölzer.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 191. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 104.

WF 144 (VAT.12632 = F.1723).
TXT: W: Fischfanggeräte.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 191. – EDATS, S. 4 (24).

WF 145 (VAT.12637 = F.1175).
TXT: W: Feigen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 191. – EDATS, S. 3 (6).

WF 146 (VAT.12624 = F.1894).
TXT: W: Schilfrohr.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 191. – EDATS, S. 3 (11).

WF 147[873] (VAT.12444 = F.1670).
TXT: W: Kupfer.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 191. – EDATS, S. 3 (14).

WF 148 (VAT.12429 = F.2027).
TXT: W: Kupfer.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 191. – EDATS, S. 3 (14).

[873] Photo: WF, Tf. 4.

WF 149
TXT: W: Kupfer.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 191. – EDATS, S. 3 (14)

WF 150 (VAT.12441 = F.1695).
TXT: W: Silber, Bronze.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 191. – EDATS, S. 3 (15).

WF 151
TXT: W: Kupfer.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 191. – EDATS, S. 3 (14).

WF 151*
TXT: W: Verschiedenes.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 191. – EDATS, S. 3 (15).

WF 152 (VAT.12620 = F.1615).
TXT: W: Verschiedenes.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 192. – EDATS, S. 3 (15).

WF 153 (VAT.12756 = F.976).
TXT: W: Getreide (Opferliste).
BIB: Edzard 1976, 192. – EDATS, S. 3 (2).

10.2. Aus der D.O.G.-Grabung stammende Texte in Istanbul

Die Texte sind nach den Museumsnummern (Š) geordnet, die auch den Nummern in Jestins Texteditionen TSŠ und NTSŠ zugrundeliegen[874].

Fs. Limet, 149-159. s. **Š 1006**.

IstMit 43, 17-27. s. **Š 243**; **768**; **935**; **954**.

TSŠ 1
TXT: W: Esel?
BIB: Edzard 1976, 169. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 121.

TSŠ 2
TXT: W: Wagen, Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 169. – Visicato 1991a, 357f. – EDATS, S. 4 (25); Nr. 176.

TSŠ 4
TXT: W.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 169. – EDATS, S. 4 (29).

TSŠ 3
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 169. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 63.

TSŠ 7
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 169. – Visicato 1991a, 352f. – EDATS Nr. 9.

TSŠ 8
TXT: W: Wagenteile?
BIB: Edzard 1976, 169. – Visicato 1991a, 357f. – EDATS, S. 4 (25); Nr. 174.

TSŠ 9+127
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 169; 172. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 136.

TSŠ 14
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 169. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 123.

TSŠ 15
TXT: W: Wagen(teile)?
BIB: Edzard 1976, 169. – EDATS, S. 4 (25); Nr. 179.

TSŠ 24
TXT: W: Kleinvieh.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 169. – EDATS, S. 4 (22).

TSŠ 28
TXT: W: Rinder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 169. – EDATS, S. 4 (22).

[874] Ein Text wurde doppelt publiziert: TSŠ 292 = NTSŠ 292. In einem Falle finden sich unter derselben – offenbar fehlerhaften – Nummer in beiden Bänden verschiedene Texte: TSŠ 258 ≠ NTSŠ 258!

TSŠ 31
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 169. – EDATS, S.4 (27).

TSŠ 38
TXT: W: Getreideprodukte.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 169. – EDATS, S. 3 (3)

TSŠ 40
TXT: W: Verschiedenes.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 169. – EDATS, S. 3 (15).

TSŠ 43
TXT: W.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 169. – EDATS, S. 4 (30).

TSŠ 44
TXT: W: Wassertiere.
BIB: Farber 1974, 196. – Edzard 1976, 169. – EDATS, S. 4 (23).

TSŠ 45
TXT: W: Personen?
BIB: Edzard 1976, 169. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 181.

TSŠ 46
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 39. – S.o. S. 331f.

TSŠ 47
TXT: W.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 169. – EDATS, S. 4 (29).

TSŠ 48
TXT: W: Öl.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 170. – EDATS, S. 3 (5).

TSŠ 49
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 170. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 212.

TSŠ 50
TSŠ 671.
TXT: MATH.
BIB: Gelb 1960. – Guitel 1963. – Edzard 1976, 170; 179. – Powell 1976, 432ff. – Friberg 1982, 116f.

TSŠ 51. ÜT
TXT: MATH.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 170. – Powell 1976, 436 Anm. 19.

TSŠ 52
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 170. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 158.

TSŠ 53
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 170. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 88.

TSŠ 56
TXT: W: Bier.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 170. – EDATS, S. 3 (4).

TSŠ 58
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 170. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 17.

TSŠ 59
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 170. – EDATS, S. 3 (2).

TSŠ 60
TXT: W: Verschiedenes.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 170. – EDATS, S. 3 (15).

TSŠ 64
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 170. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 118.

(N)TSŠ 65+159+178+974.
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 165; 170. – Visicato 1991a, 348ff.. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 20-21.

TSŠ 66
TXT: W: Hauskauf.
BIB: SR 24. – ELTS 102.

TSŠ 67. ÜT.
TXT: LEX?
BIB: Edzard 1976, 171.

TSŠ 70
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 171. – EDATS, S.4 (27).

TSŠ 77
TXT: MATH: geometrische Darstellung ohne Text.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 171. – Powell 1976, 431f.

TSŠ 78
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 171. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 46.

TSŠ 79+80
TAS: IAS 116-117; 135; 146; 151; 165-166; 211; 244; 246; 318.
Nippur: OSP 3, 2.
TXT: LIT (UGN).

BIB: van Dijk 1964, 34. – OIP 99, S. 39; 84; 85; 86; 91. - Krecher 1978b, 157. – Lambert 1991, 305. – S.o. S. 322; 332.

TSŠ 80 s. **TSŠ 79**

TSŠ 81
TXT: W: Getreideprodukte.
BIB: Powell 1976, 436 Anm. 19. – EDATS, S. 3 (3).

NTSŠ 82
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 41. – Alster 1976b, 117. – Cohen 1976, 88. – Krecher 1978b, 157. – Krecher 1992, 303.

TSŠ 86
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 171. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 1.

TSŠ 89
TXT: W: Verschiedenes.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 171. – EDATS, S. 3 (15).

TSŠ 90
TXT: W: Kupfer
BIB: Edzard 1976, 171. – EDATS, S. 3 (14).

TSŠ 91
TXT: W: Feld.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 171. – Powell 1976, 436 Anm. 19. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 108.

NTSŠ 92
TXT: W: Textilien.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 165. – EDATS, S. 3 (9).

TSŠ 93
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 171. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 47.

TSŠ 98
TXT: W.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 171. – EDATS, S. 3 (15).

TSŠ 100
TXT: W: Felder; vgl. WF 53.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 171. – Pomponio 1984a. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 72.

TSŠ 101
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 171. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 82.

TSŠ 102
TXT: W: Felder; vgl. WF 53.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 171. – Pomponio 1984a. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 69.

TSŠ 104
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 171. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 133.

TSŠ 106
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 171. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 154.

TSŠ 107
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 171. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 120.

TSŠ 112
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 171. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 92.

TSŠ 113
TXT: W: Wagenzubehör.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 172. – Edzard 1979, 164. – Visicato 1991a, 357f.- EDATS, S. 4 (25); Nr. 175.

NTSŠ 114
TXT: W: Personen (ĝ u r u š).
BIB: Edzard 1976, 165. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 189.

TSŠ 115
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 172. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 137.

NTSŠ 117+314. s. **SF 37**.

NTSŠ 118
TXT: W: Öl.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 165. – EDATS, S. 3 (5).

TSŠ 119
TXT: W.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 172. – EDATS, S. 4 (30).

TSŠ 119bis (pl. LX).
TXT: W: Öl.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 172.

TSŠ 124 s. **SF 26**.

TSŠ 126
TAS: IAS 119-121; 201; 299; 324-325.
TXT: LIT (UGN)?

BIB: OIP 99, S. 39f.; 84; 91. – Krecher 1978b, 157. – Krecher 1992, 303.

TSŠ 127 s. **TSŠ 1**.

TSŠ 130
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 172. – Visicato 1991a, 356f. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 30.

TSŠ 131
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 172. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 171.

TSŠ 133
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 172. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 110.

TSŠ 134
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 172. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 169.

TSŠ 135
TXT: W: Bier.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 172. – EDATS, S. 3 (4).

NTSŠ 140
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 166. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 60.

NTSŠ 141
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 166. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 42.

NTSŠ 147
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 166. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 94.

NTSŠ 148
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 42.

TSŠ 150
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 172. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 10.

NTSŠ 152
TXT: W.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 172. – EDATS, S. 4 (28).

NTSŠ 154
TXT: W: Verschiedenes.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 172. – EDATS, S. 3 (15).

NTSŠ 157
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 166. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 43.

TSŠ 158
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 172. – Visicato 1991a, 350ff. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 28.

TSŠ 159 s. **(N)TSŠ 65++**.

TSŠ 160
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 172. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 54.

NTSŠ 162
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 166. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 107.

TSŠ 164
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 172. – Visicato 1991a, 353. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 33.

NTSŠ 165
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 166. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 135.

(N)TSŠ 168+269+300+328+978+979+980.
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 42. – Alster 1976b, 117. – Cohen 1976, 88[875]. –

NTSŠ 169
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 166. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 119.

TSŠ 170 s. **SF 46**.

TSŠ 173.
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 172. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 151.

Š 178 s. **(N)TSŠ 65++**.

[875] Dort fälschlich als "TSŠ 169" zitiert.

TSŠ 181
TXT: W.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 172. – EDATS, S. 4 (25); Nr. 172.

TSŠ 188. ÜT.
TXT: MATH.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 172. – Powell 1976, 436 Anm. 19.

TSŠ 190. ÜT.
TXT: MATH.
Ebla: MEE 3, 72.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 172. – Damerow - Englund 1987, 149 Anm. 15.

TSŠ 193 s. **SF 41**.

TSŠ 194
TXT: LIT: ED Proverb Collection 2.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 41. – Alster 1991-92.

NTSŠ 205
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 166. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 126.

NTSŠ 207
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 166. – EDATS, S. 3 (14).

TSŠ 209
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 172. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 52.

TSŠ 210
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 173. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 53.

NTSŠ 211
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 166. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 153.

TSŠ 212
TXT: W: Kleinvieh.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 173. – EDATS, S. 4 (22).

NTSŠ 213
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 166. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 84.

TSŠ 222
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 173. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 138.

NTSŠ 229
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 42. – S.o. S. 333.

TSŠ 230
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 173. – Visicato 1991a, 352f. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 98.

NTSŠ 234
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 167. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 85.

TSŠ 237
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 173. – Visicato 1991a, 352; 356f. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 31.

NTSŠ 238
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 167. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 105.

TSŠ 242
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 173. – Powell 1976, 436 Anm. 19. – Pettinato 1977. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 113.

Š 243
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Steible - Yıldız 1993, 21f.

NTSŠ 244
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 167. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 161.

TSŠ 245
TXT: W: Personen (d u m u - d u m u).
BIB: Edzard 1976, 173. – Powell 1976, 436 Anm. 19. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 185.

TSŠ 247
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 173. – EDATS, S. 3 (2).

NTSŠ 248
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 167. – EDATS, S.4 (27).

TSŠ 249
TXT: W: Personen (ĝ u r u š).
BIB: Edzard 1976, 173. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 194.

NTSŠ 250
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 167. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 91.

TSŠ 251
TXT: MATH?
BIB: Edzard 1976, 173. – Powell 1976, 436 Anm. 19. – EDATS, S. 3 (9).

TSŠ 253
TXT: W: Kleinvieh.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 173. – EDATS, S. 4 (22).

NTSŠ 254
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 167. – EDATS, S.4 (27)

NTSŠ 255
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 167. – EDATS, S.4 (27).

NTSŠ 256
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 167. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 86.

TSŠ 258
TXT: W: Frg. mit nur einem "neuen" Zeichen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 173.

NTSŠ 258
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 167. – EDATS, S.4 (27).

TSŠ 260
TXT: W: Kupfer.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 173. – Powell 1976, 436 Anm. 19. – EDATS, S. 3 (14).

TSŠ 261
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 174. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 34.

NTSŠ 262
TXT: W.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 167.

TSŠ 263
TXT: W: Öl.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 174. – EDATS, S. 3 (5).

TSŠ 264 s. **SF 12**.

TSŠ 269 s. **(N)TSŠ 168++**.

TSŠ 271
TXT: LIT?
BIB: OIP 99, S. 41.

NTSŠ 272
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 167. – EDATS, S. 3 (2).

NTSŠ 273
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 167. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 58.

TSŠ 274
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 174. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 111.

NTSŠ 276
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 167. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 44.

NTSŠ 277
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 167. – EDATS, S.4 (27).

NTSŠ 280
TXT: W: Kupfer.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 167. – EDATS, S. 3 (14).

TSŠ 290
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 174. – EDATS, S.4 (27).

TSŠ 292 = **NTSŠ 292**.
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 167; 174. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 209.

TSŠ 294 s. **SF 26**.

NTSŠ 296
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 167. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 45.

Š 300 s. **(N)TSŠ 168++**

TSŠ 302
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 174. – EDATS, S. 3 (17); 14.

TSŠ 303
TXT: W: Textilien.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 174. – EDATS, S. 3 (9).

TSŠ 307
TXT: W.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 174. – EDATS, S. 4 (30).

TSŠ 308
TXT: W: Bier?
BIB: Edzard 1976, 174. – EDATS, S. 3 (4).

Š 314 s. **SF 37**.

TSŠ 327 s. **SF 26**.

Š 328 s. **(N)TSŠ 168++**.

TSŠ 344
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 174. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 131.

TSŠ 348
TXT: W: Textilien.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 174. – EDATS, S. 3 (8).

TSŠ 362
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 174. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 168.

TSŠ 363
TXT: W: Feigen?
BIB: Edzard 1976, 174. – EDATS, S. 3 (6).

TSŠ 368
TXT: W: Textilien.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 174. – EDATS, S. 3 (9).

TSŠ 369
TXT: W: Fischfanggeräte; vgl. TSŠ 627.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 174. – Visicato 1992a. – EDATS, S. 4 (24).

TSŠ 382
TXT: W: Getreideprodukte.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 174. – EDATS, S. 3 (3).

TSŠ 385
TXT: W: Kleinvieh.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 174. – EDATS, S. 4 (22).

TSŠ 387
TXT: W.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 174. – EDATS, S. 3 (15).

TSŠ 395
TXT: W: Mehl.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 174. – EDATS, S. 3 (3).

TSŠ 400
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 175. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 8.

TSŠ 401
TXT: W: Textilien.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 175. – EDATS, S. 3 (8).

TSŠ 411
TXT: W: Wolle.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 175. – EDATS, S. 3 (7).

TSŠ 415
TXT: W: Fischfanggeräte; vgl. TSŠ 627.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 175. – Visicato 1992a. – EDATS, S. 4 (24).

TSŠ 420
TXT: W.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 175.

TSŠ 422
TXT: W: Feigen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 175. – EDATS, S. 3 (6).

TSŠ 423
TXT: W: Textilien.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 175. – EDATS, S. 3 (9).

TSŠ 424
TXT: W: Fischfanggeräte.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 175. – EDATS, S. 4 (24).

TSŠ 430
TXT: W.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 175. – EDATS, S. 4 (24).

TSŠ 433
TXT: W.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 175. – EDATS, S. 4 (30).

TSŠ 442
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 175. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 41.

NTSŠ 444
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 168. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 139.

TSŠ 453
TXT: W: Kleinvieh.
BIB: EDATS, S. 4 (22).

TSŠ 456
TXT: W: Bier.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 175. – EDATS, S. 3 (3).

TSŠ 463
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 175. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 99.

TSŠ 465.
TXT: W: Verschiedenes.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 175. – EDATS, S. 3 (15).

TSŠ 467
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 175. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 216.

TSŠ 479
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 175. – EDATS, S. 3 (2).

TSŠ 480
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 176. – EDATS, S. 3 (2).

TSŠ 482
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 176. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 101.

TSŠ 483
TXT: W: Getreideprodukte.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 176. – EDATS, S. 3 (3).

TSŠ 484
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 176. – EDATS, S. 3 (2).

TSŠ 486
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 176. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 87.

TSŠ 494
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 176. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 7.

NTSŠ 496
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 168. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 117.

TSŠ 498
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 176. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 159.

TSŠ 499
TXT: W: Kleinvieh.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 176. – EDATS, S. 4 (22).

TSŠ 501
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 176. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 206.

TSŠ 503
TXT: W: Textilien.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 176. – EDATS, S. 3 (9).

TSŠ 506
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 176. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 109.

TSŠ 515
TXT: W: verschiedene Lebensmittel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 176. – EDATS, S. 3 (15).

TSŠ 521
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 177. – Visicato 1991a, 355f. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 75.

TSŠ 522
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 177. – EDATS, S. 4 (27).

TSŠ 524
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 177. – EDATS, S. 4 (27).

TSŠ 525
TXT: W.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 177. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 214.

TSŠ 526
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 177. – Visicato 1991a, 355f. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 76.

TSŠ 532
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 177. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 152.

TSŠ 536
TXT: W: Kleinvieh.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 177. – EDATS, S. 4 (22).

TSŠ 548
TXT: W: Kleinvieh.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 177. – EDATS, S. 4 (22).

TSŠ 554
TXT: W: Personen (ĝ u r u š).
BIB: Edzard 1976, 177. – Powell 1976, 436 Anm. 19. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 203.

TSŠ 557
TXT: W: Feigen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 177. – EDATS, S. 3 (6).

TSŠ 558
TXT: W: Feigen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 177. – EDATS, S. 3 (6).

TSŠ 567
TXT: W.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 177. – EDATS, S. 4 (25); Nr. 178.

TSŠ 568
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 177. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 100.

NTSŠ 569
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 168. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 37.

TSŠ 570
TXT: W: Getreide; vgl. WF 76.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 177. – Pomponio 1991. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 18.

TSŠ 572
TXT: W: Getreideprodukte.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 177. – EDATS, S. 3 (3).

TSŠ 574
TXT: W: Personen (d u m u-d u m u).
BIB: Edzard 1976, 177. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 183.

TSŠ 597
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 177. – EDATS, S. 3 (15).

TSŠ 604
TXT: W: Bier.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 178. – EDATS, S. 3 (4).

TSŠ 605
TXT: W: Kleinvieh.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 178. – EDATS, S. 4 (22).

TSŠ 613
TXT: W: Personen (ĝ u r u š).
BIB: Edzard 1976, 178. – Powell 1976, 436 Anm. 19. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 205.

TSŠ 614
TXT: W: Getreide(produkt)?
BIB: Edzard 1976, 178. – EDATS, S. 3 (3).

TSŠ 615
TXT: W: Mehl.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 178. – EDATS, S. 3 (3).

TSŠ 618
TXT: W: Wagen(zubehör).
BIB: EDATS, S. 4 (25); Nr. 180.

TSŠ 619
TXT: W: Textilien.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 178. – Powell 1976, 436 Anm. 19. – EDATS, S. 3 (9).

TSŠ 622
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 178. – EDATS, S. 4 (27).

TSŠ 627
TXT: W: Fischfanggeräte; Sammeltafel zu TSŠ 415; WF 142; TSŠ 369; 736.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 178. – Visicato 1992a. – EDATS, S. 4 (24).

TSŠ 629
TXT: W: Textilien.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 178. – EDATS, S. 3 (9).

TSŠ 630
TXT: W: Textilien.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 178. – EDATS, S. 3 (9).

TSŠ 632
TXT: MATH.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 178.

TSŠ 635
TXT: W: Häute.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 178. – EDATS, S. 3 (10).

TSŠ 644
TXT: W.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 178. – EDATS, S. 4 (30).

TSŠ 645
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 178. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 83.

TSŠ 648
TXT: W: Personen: Brotzuteilung.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 178. – Powell 1976, 436 Anm. 19. – Damerow - Englund 1987, 151 Anm. 33. – EDATS, S. 3 (3).

TSŠ 649
TXT: W: Rohr.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 178. – Powell 1976, 436 Anm. 19. – EDATS, S. 3 (11).

TSŠ 662
TXT: W: Ziegen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 178. – EDATS, S. 4 (22).

TSŠ 664
TXT: W: Kleinvieh.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 178. – EDATS, S. 4 (22).

TSŠ 667
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 178. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 32.

TSŠ 668
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 178. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 148.

TSŠ 671 s. **TSŠ 50**.

TSŠ 679
TXT: W: Kleinvieh?
BIB: Edzard 1976, 179. – EDATS, S. 4 (22).

TSŠ 684
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 179. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 55.

TSŠ 704
TXT: W: Esel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 179. – EDATS, S. 4 (18); Nr. 149.

TSŠ 712 [876]
TXT: LEX?
BIB: Edzard 1976, 179.

TSŠ 715
TXT: W: Getreideprodukte (Opferliste).
BIB: Edzard 1976, 179. – EDATS, S. 3 (3).

TSŠ 723
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 179. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 64.

TSŠ 725
TXT: W: Wolle.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 179. – Powell 1976, 436 Anm. 19. – EDATS, S. 3 (7).

TSŠ 732
TXT: W: Textilien.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 179. – EDATS, S. 3 (8).

TSŠ 736
TXT: W: Fischfanggeräte; vgl. TSŠ 627.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 179. – Visicato 1992a. – EDATS, S. 4 (24).

TSŠ 748
TXT: W: Fischfanggeräte.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 179. – Powell 1976, 436 Anm. 19. – EDATS, S. 4 (24).

TSŠ 750
TXT: W: Feigen?
BIB: Edzard 1976, 179. – EDATS, S. 3 (6).

TSŠ 751
TXT: W: Wolle.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 179. – EDATS, S. 3 (7).

TSŠ 752
TXT: W: Fischfanggeräte.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 179. – EDATS, S. 4 (24).

TSŠ 753
TXT: W: Textilien.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 179. – EDATS, S. 3 (9).

TSŠ 757
TXT: W: verschiedene Lebensmittel.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 179. – EDATS, S. 3 (15).

TSŠ 758
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1979. – Powell 1976, 436 Anm. 19. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 114.

TSŠ 763
TXT: W: Textilien.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 180. – EDATS, S. 3 (8).

TSŠ 764
TXT: W.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 180. – EDATS, S. 4 (30).

TSŠ 765
TXT: W: Personen
BIB: Edzard 1976, 180. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 210.

Š 768
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Steible - Yildiz 1993, 23f. – BS 201.

TSŠ 775
TXT: W: Getreideprodukte.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 180. – Powell 1976, 436 Anm. 19. – EDATS, S. 3 (3).

TSŠ 780
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 180. – Powell 1976, 436 Anm. 19. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 204.

TSŠ 782
TXT: W: Verschiedenes.
BIB: Jacobsen 1957, 121 Anm. 67. – Edzard 1976, 180. – EDATS, S. 3 (15).

876 Rest einer Zeichnung links neben der Kolumne (offenbar Rs.).

TSŠ 783
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 180. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 191.

TSŠ 794
TXT: W: Wagenzubehör?
BIB: Edzard 1976, 180. – Visicato 1991a, 357f. – EDATS, S. 4 (25); Nr. 177.

TSŠ 820
TXT: W.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 180. – EDATS, S. 4 (30).

TSŠ 821
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 180. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 48.

TSŠ 823
TXT: W.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 180.

TSŠ 826
TXT: W.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 180. – EDATS, S. 4 (30).

TSŠ 827
TXT: W: Bier.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 180. – EDATS, S. 3 (4).

TSŠ 828
TXT: W: Boote.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 180. – Powell 1976, 436 Anm. 19. – EDATS, S.4 (26).

TSŠ 832
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 180. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 90.

TSŠ 834
TXT: W: Kupfer?
BIB: Edzard 1976, 180. – Visicato 1991a, 354f. – EDATS, S. 3 (14).

TSŠ 835 ÜT.
TXT: LEX.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 181.

TSŠ 837
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 181. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 66.

TSŠ 842
TXT: W: Getreideprodukte.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 181. – EDATS, S. 3 (3).

[TSŠ 845] s. Anm. zu **TSŠ 846**.

TSŠ 846(!)[877].
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 41.

TSŠ 860
TXT: W: Getreideprodukte.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 181. – EDATS, S. 3 (3).

TSŠ 861
TXT: W: Textilien.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 181. – EDATS, S. 3 (9).

TSŠ 864
TXT: W: Kleinvieh.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 181. – EDATS, S. 4 (22).

TSŠ 869
TXT: W.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 181. – EDATS, S. 4 (28).

TSŠ 873
TXT: W.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 181. – EDATS, S. 4 (27).

TSŠ 876
TXT: W.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 181.

TSŠ 877
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 181. – EDATS, S. 3 (3).

TSŠ 878
TXT: W.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 181. – EDATS, S. 4 (28).

TSŠ 881
TXT: W: Verschiedenes
BIB: Edzard 1976, 181. – EDATS, S. 3 (15).

TSŠ 882
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 181. – EDATS, S. 3 (2).

TSŠ 886
TXT: W: Textilien (Opferliste).
BIB: Edzard 1976, 181. – EDATS, S. 3 (9).

[877] Trägt in TSŠ die falsche Nummer "845".

TSŠ 894
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 181. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 190.

TSŠ 895
TXT: W: Kleinvieh.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 181. – Edzard 1979, 164. – EDATS, S. 4 (22).

TSŠ 897
TXT: W: Brot.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 181. – EDATS, S. 3 (3).

TSŠ 900
TXT: W.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 181. – EDATS, S. 4 (22).

TSŠ 903
TXT: W: Getreideprodukte.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 181. – EDATS, S. 3 (3).

TSŠ 906
TXT: W: Kleinvieh.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 181. – EDATS, S. 4 (22).

TSŠ 924
TXT: W: Textilien u.a.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 182. – EDATS, S. 3 (8).

TSŠ 925
TXT: W: Textilien.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 182. – EDATS, S. 3 (8).

TSŠ 926
TXT: MATH?
BIB: Edzard 1976, 182. – Powell 1976, 436 Anm. 19.

TSŠ 927
TXT: W: Kleinvieh.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 182. – EDATS, S. 4 (22).

TSŠ 928
TXT: W: Getreide?
BIB: Edzard 1976, 182. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 67.

TSŠ 929
TXT: W: Kleinvieh.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 182. – EDATS, S. 4 (22).

TSŠ 930
TXT: MATH?
BIB: Edzard 1976, 182. – Powell 1976, 436 Anm. 19. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 112.

TSŠ 931
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 182. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 211.

TSŠ 933
TXT: W: Personen (ĝuruš).
BIB: Edzard 1976, 182. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 207.

Š 935
TXT: W: Personen (ĝuruš).
BIB: Steible - Yildiz 1993, 22f. – BS 202.

TSŠ 936
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 182. – EDATS, S. 4 (27).

Š 954
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Steible - Yıldız 1993, 22.

TSŠ 960
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 182. – EDATS, S. 3 (2).

TSŠ 962
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 182. – EDATS, S. 3 (16); Nr. 103.

TSŠ 964
TXT: W: Textilien.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 182. – EDATS, S. 3 (8).

TSŠ 969
TXT: W oder M: Fischfanggeräte.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 182. – Powell 1976, 436 Anm. 19. – Damerow - Englund 1987, 151 Anm. 33. – EDATS, S. 4 (24).

TSŠ 972 (!)[878].
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 41. – S.o. S. 332f.

[S 973] s. Anm. zu **TSŠ 972**

[878] Trägt in TSŠ die falsche Nummer "973". Zeichnung (Linien) auf der Rs.

Š 974 s. (N)**TSŠ 65++**.

Š 978 s. (N)**TSŠ 168++**.

Š 979 s. (N)**TSŠ 168++**.

Š 980 s. (N)**TSŠ 168++**.

TSŠ 984
TXT: LEX.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 41.

TSŠ 1003
TXT: LEX.
OIP 99, S. 41.

Š 1006.
TXT: W: Kupfer.
BIB: Steible - Yildiz 1996.

TSŠ x (pl. XXXIIIf.).
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: SR 1. – ELTS 119.

10.3. Aus der U.M.-Grabung stammende Texte in Philadelphia

JAOS 52, 112 (FP.13).
TXT: W: Kleinvieh?

JAOS 52, 112 (FP.483).
TXT: W: Mehl.

JAOS 52, 112f. (FP.602).
TXT: W: Silber.

JAOS 52, 113 (FP.974). Sargonisch.
TXT: W: Getreide.

JAOS 52, 113f. (FP.973).
TXT: W: Personen (ĝuruš).

OSP 1, 2 (FP.512). s. **SF 26**.

10.4. Die Texte aus TAS

Die Nummern IAS 1-515 sind publiziert in OIP 99.
Die Nummern IAS 516-532 sind publiziert in Iraq 40 (1977), 101-117; Tf. XVIIf. Noch nicht endgültig publizierte Texte ohne IAS-Nummer sind am Ende des Abschnittes zusammengestellt.

IAS 1-3 s. **SF 33**

IAS 4 s. **SF 64**

IAS 5-6 s. **SF 15**

IAS 7-9 s. **SF 64**

IAS 10-12 s. **SF 9/1**

IAS 13-17 s. **SF 8**

IAS 18+19, 20
TXT: LEX: ĜIŠ.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 80.

IAS 21-22 s. **SF 23**

IAS 23+24 s. **SF 58/1**

IAS 25-26. s. **SF 81**

IAS 27-28
Ebla: MEE 3, 18-25; 75.
TXT: LEX: Haustiere (Tierliste B).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 80. – MEE 3, S. 57-72.

IAS 29
TXT: LEX.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 80.

IAS 30
TXT: LEX.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 80.

IAS 31
TXT: LEX.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 80.
Kom: Vgl. VE 1015f. zu Z. 2'f.

IAS 32
TXT: LEX.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 80.

IAS 33
Ebla: MEE 3, 45-46; 61.
BIB: Biggs 1966, 83. – OIP 99, 81. – Civil 1987c, 140-158.

IAS 34 s. **SF 20**

IAS 35
TXT: LEX.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 81.

IAS 36
TXT: LEX.
BIB: OIP 99, S 81.

IAS 37
TXT: LEX.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 81.

IAS 38
TXT: LEX.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 81.

IAS 39-43
Fāra(?): OSP 1, 9.
TXT: LEX.
BIB: OSP 1, S. 13. – OIP 99, S. 81.

IAS 44-53 s. **SF 57**

IAS 54-60
Ebla: MEE 3, 6-11.
Gasur: HSS 10, 222.
Kiš: MAD 5, 35.
TXT: LEX: Berufe (ED Lu_2 E).
BIB: MSL 12, 16-21. – OIP 99, 82. – Pettinato 1976. – MEE 3, S. 27-46.

IAS 61-81; 421
Ebla: MEE 3, 43 (+ Archi 1981 + Archi 1984).
X: JEOL 26, Pl. III.
TXT: LEX: Namen, Berufe ("Names and Professions List").
BIB: Biggs 1966, 82f. – OIP 99, 62-71; 82f. – MEE 3, S. 125-134. – Archi 1981. – Archi 1984. – Fales - Krispijn 1989-90.

IAS 82-90[879]
TXT: LEX: Götterliste.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 83. – Alberti 1985. – Mander 1986. – Selz 1992, 212-225.

IAS 91-111; 331
Ebla: MEE 3, 56.
TXT: LEX: Ortsnamen ("Atlante Geografico").
BIB: Biggs 1966, 84. – OIP 99, 83f.; 91. – MEE 3, S. 217-241. – Pettinato 1978b. – Pomponio 1983b. – Frayne 1992.

IAS 112+143+189?; 175
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 84; 87. – Krecher 1978b, 157. – S.o. Anm. 213.

IAS 113
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: Krebernik 1994, 115. – 199. – S.o. Anm. 657; 805; 811.

IAS 114 s. **SF 37**

IAS 115+188?; 178; 427
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 84. – Krecher 1978b, 157; 158.

IAS 116-117 s. **TSŠ 79+80**

IAS 118 s. **SF 39**

IAS 119-121 s. **TSŠ 126**

IAS 122+156?
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 86.

IAS 123; 131; 134; 185-186
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 85. – Alster 1976b, 117. – Cohen 1976, 84 Anm. 14; 85; 87. – Krecher 1978b, 157. – S.o. Anm. 809.

IAS 124
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 85. – Cohen 1976, 85.

IAS 125; 127-128; 236?; 455?
BIB: OIP 99, S. 85; 88; 95. – Krecher 1978b, 157.

IAS 126
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 85.

IAS 127-128 s. **IAS 125**

IAS 129+306; 142; 214; 237
TXT: LIT (UGN): Enlil.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 85. – Cohen 1976, 85. – W.G. Lambert 1976, 431. – Krecher 1978b, 157. – W.G. Lambert 1981, 85; 91. – S.o. Anm. 798.

IAS 130
TXT: LIT (UGN): Inanna?
BIB: OIP 99, S. 85.

[879] Photos: Mander 1986, Tf. I-VIII.

IAS 131 s. **IAS 123**

IAS 132 s. **SF 18/1**

IAS 133+167; 194
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 86. – Cohen 1976, 84 Anm. 14. – Krecher 1978b, 157. – Lambert 1981, 91; 97.

IAS 134 s. **IAS 123**

IAS 135 s. **TSŠ 79+80**

IAS 136
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 85. – S.o. Anm. 805.

IAS 137
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 138
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 139
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 140
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 85.

IAS 141
TXT: LIT (UGN): Enki?
BIB: OIP 99, S. 85.

IAS 142 s. **IAS 129**

IAS 143 s. **IAS 112**

IAS 144
TXT: LIT (UGN?).

IAS 145
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 146 s. **TSŠ 79+80**

IAS 147
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 148
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 149
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 150
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 151 s. **TSŠ 79+80**

IAS 152-153 s. **SF 18/1**

IAS 154
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 86.

IAS 155
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 86.

IAS 156 s. **IAS 122**

IAS 157-161 s. **SF 55**

IAS 162 s. **SF 18/1**

IAS 163-164 s. **SF 39**

IAS 165-166 s. **116**

IAS 167 s. **IAS 133**

IAS 168
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 169
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 170
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 171
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 172
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 173
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 174
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 86. – S.o. Anm. 808.

IAS 175
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 86. – Krecher 1978b, 158.

IAS 176
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 177
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 178
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: Krecher 1978b, 158.

IAS 179
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 180
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: Cohen 1976, 84.

IAS 181
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 86.

IAS 182 s. **SF 39**

IAS 183
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 184
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 185-186 s. **IAS 123**

IAS 188 s. **IAS 115**

IAS 189 s. **IAS 112**

IAS 190
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 191
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 192
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 87.

IAS 193
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 194 s. **IAS 133**

IAS 195
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 87.

IAS 196
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 87.

IAS 197
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 198
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OPI 99, S. 87.

IAS 199
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 87. – Krecher 1992, 303.

IAS 200
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 201 s. **TSŠ 126**

IAS 202
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 203
TXT: LIT (UGN). – S.o. Anm. 805.

IAS 204
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 87.

IAS 205
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 87.

IAS 206
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 207
TXT: LIT (UGN?).

IAS 208 s. **SF 18/1**

IAS 209
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 210
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 211 s. **TSŠ 79+80**

IAS 212
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 213
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 214 s. **IAS 129**

IAS 215
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 216
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 217
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 218
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 87.

IAS 219
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 220
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 221
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 222 s. **TSŠ 79+80**

IAS 223
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 224
TXT: LIT (UGN). – S.o. Anm. 810.

IAS 225-226
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 87.

IAS 227
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 87.

IAS 228
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 229
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 88.

IAS 230
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 231; 283-287; 288-296
TXT: LIT: Ašnan und ihre 7 Kinder.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 88; 90. Alster 1976b, 124f. – S.o. Anm. 796; 808; S. 323.

IAS 232
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 233
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 234
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 88.

IAS 235
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 88.

IAS 236 s. **IAS 125**

IAS 237 s. **IAS 129**

IAS 238; 239?; 243?
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 88.

IAS 240
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 241
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 242
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 243 s. **IAS 238**

IAS 244 s. **TSŠ 79+80**

IAS 245
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 246 s. **TSŠ 79+80**

IAS 247
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: Krebernik 1984, 280. – S.o. Anm. 60.

IAS 248 s. **SF 37**

IAS 249
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 250
TXT: LEX ?
BIB: OIP 99, S. 88.

IAS 251-252
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 88.

IAS 253 ÜT.
TXT: LIT (UGN?).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 88. – Krecher 1978b, 158.

IAS 254+323?
TXT: LIT (UGN): Ašgi.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 88; 91.

IAS 255 s. **SF 26**

IAS 256+323
Adab: OIP 14, 55+56[880].
Spätere Textzeugen: Alster 1974, 26f.; neue Texte: s. BIB.
TXT: LIT: Rat des Šuruppak.
BIB: Biggs 1966, 78. – Civil - Biggs 1966, 5ff. – OIP 99, S. 88. – Alster 1974. – Alster 1975, 137-144 (neue Texte). – Wilcke 1978. – Alster 1982 (neue Texte). – Civil 1984 (neue Texte). – Alster 1987 (neue Texte). – Civil 1987 (neue Texte). – Alster 1991-1992, 32-34 (Kollationen zu IAS 256+)

IAS 257-277
TXT: LIT: "za$_3$-me - Hymnen".
BIB: OIP 99, S. 45-56; 89. – Cohen 1976, 91f. – Alster 1976b, 121f. – W.G. Lambert 1976, 430 Anm. 1. – d'Agostino 1988. – Krecher 1992, 292f. – Krebernik 1994. – Selz 1992, 212-225. – S.o. S. 240 mit Anm. 23; S. 319f.

IAS 278
Ebla: ARET 5, 20-21.
TXT: LIT: Amaušumgal - Inanna.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 89. – Krebernik 1984, 203-205. – Bonechi-Durand 1992, 155f. – S.o. S. 325.

IAS 279+280?+281?
TXT: LIT.
BIB: Biggs 1966, 81. – OIP 99, S. 89. – S.o. S. 323.

IAS 282
TXT: LIT.
BIB: Biggs 1966, 81. – OIP 99, S. 90. – Alster 1976b, 123f.

IAS 283-297 s. **IAS 231**

IAS 298
TXT: LIT: Muttergöttin.
BIB: OIP 99, 90. – S.o. Anm. 800.

[880] Photo: OIP 99, S. 58.

IAS 299 s. **TSŠ 126**

IAS 300
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, 90.

IAS 301
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, 90.

IAS 302
TXT: LIT.

IAS 303
TXT: LIT.

IAS 304
TXT: LIT.

IAS 305 s. **IAS 307**

IAS 306 s. **IAS 129**

IAS 307-311; 305?; 314?; 341?
TXT: LIT: Keš-Hymne.
Spätere Textzeugen: Gragg 1969, 65f.; Edzard 1976-80, 572; Attinger, 1993, 45f.; Geller 1996.
BIB: Gragg 1969. – Biggs 1971. – OIP 99, 90f. – Edzard 1974. – Edzard 1976-80, 572. – Wilcke 1991, 275f.; 283. – Geller 1996.

IAS 312
TXT: LIT.

IAS 313
TXT: LIT.

IAS 314 s. **IAS 307**

IAS 315
TXT: LIT.

IAS 316
TXT: LIT.

IAS 317
TXT: LIT.

IAS 318 ÜT. s. **TSŠ 79+80**

IAS 319 ÜT. s. **SF 46**

IAS 320 ÜT.
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, 91.

IAS 321. ÜT.
TXT: LEX.
BIB: OIP 99, 91.

IAS 322
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, 91. – S.o. S. 217 mit Anm. 414.

IAS 323 s. **IAS 254**

IAS 324-325 s. **TSŠ 126**

IAS 326+342
Ebla: ARET 5, 6.
TXT: LIT: Šamaš.
BIB: Civil - Biggs 1966, 175f. mit Anm. 6. – OIP 99, S. 91; 92. – Civil 1984a, 163 Anm. 8. – W.G. Lambert 1989; 1992. – Krebernik 1992. – S.o. S. 320.

IAS 327 ÜT.
TXT: LIT: Lugalbanda und Ninsun.
BIB: Biggs 1966, 85. – OIP 99, S. 91. – Bing 1977. – W.G. Lambert 1981, 87. – Wilcke 1987-90, 130f. – Alster 1992, 63.

IAS 328
TXT: LEX.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 91.

IAS 329; 371; 376; 388
TXT: LIT: Inanna.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 91; 92; 93. – Alster 1976b, 126. – Krecher 1994, 291 mit Anm. 22. – S.o. Anm. 438; S. 324.

IAS 330 ÜT.
TXT: LEX?

IAS 331 s. **IAS 91-111**

IAS 332-333; 423
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 91.

IAS 334
TXT: LIT.

IAS 335
TXT: LIT.

IAS 336
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 92.

IAS 337
TXT: LIT.

IAS 338+339?
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 92.

IAS 340
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 92. – S.o. S. 325.

IAS 341 s. **IAS 307**

IAS 342 s. **IAS 326**

IAS 343

TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 92.

IAS 344
TXT: LIT (UGN).

IAS 345
TXT: LIT.
BIB: Biggs 1966, 84 Anm. 85.

IAS 346
TXT: LIT: Enlil.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 92.

IAS 347
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 92.

IAS 348
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 92.

IAS 349
TXT: LIT.

IAS 350
TXT: LIT.

IAS 351
TXT: LIT (UGN?).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 92.

IAS 352
TXT: LIT.

IAS 353
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 92.

IAS 354
TXT: LIT.

IAS 355
TXT: LIT.

IAS 356
TXT: LIT. – S.o. S. 240 mit Anm. 24.

IAS 357
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 92.

IAS 358
TXT: LIT.

IAS 359
TXT: LIT.

IAS 360
TXT: LIT.

IAS 361
TXT: LIT.

IAS 362
TXT: LIT.

IAS 363
TXT: LIT.

IAS 364
TXT: LIT.

IAS 365
TXT: LIT (UGN?).

IAS 366
TXT: LIT.

IAS 367
TXT: LIT (UGN?).

IAS 368
TXT: LIT.

IAS 369
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 92.

IAS 370
TXT: LIT.

IAS 371 s. **IAS 329**

IAS 372
TXT: LIT.

IAS 373
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 92.

IAS 374
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 92.

IAS 375
TXT: LIT.

IAS 376 s. **IAS 329**

IAS 377
TXT: LIT: Iškur?
BIB: OIP 99, S. 93.

IAS 378
TXT: LIT.

IAS 379
TXT: LEX?
BIB: OIP 99, S. 93.

IAS 380
TXT: L.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 93.

IAS 381
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 93.

IAS 382
TXT: LIT.

IAS 383
TXT: L.

IAS 384
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 93.

IAS 385
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 93.

IAS 386
TXT: LIT.

IAS 387
TXT: LIT.

IAS 388 s. **IAS 329**

IAS 389
TXT: LIT: Utu.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 93. – S.o. Anm 803; S. 323.

IAS 390
TXT: LIT.

IAS 391
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 93.

IAS 392-397
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: Biggs 1966, 79. – OIP 99, 93.

IAS 398
TXT: L: Kolophon?
BIB: OIP 99, S. 93.

IAS 399
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 93.

IAS 400
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 93.

IAS 401
TXT: LIT.

IAS 402 s. **SF 12**

IAS 403
TXT: L.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 93.

IAS 404
TXT: LEX?
BIB: OIP 99, S. 93.

IAS 405
TXT: L.

IAS 406
TXT: LIT (UGN?).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 93.

IAS 407
TXT: LIT.

IAS 408
TXT: LIT.

IAS 409
TXT: LIT.

IAS 410
TXT: L.

IAS 411
TXT: LIT.

IAS 412
TXT: LIT.

IAS 413
TXT: L.

IAS 414
TXT: L.

IAS 415
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 94.

IAS 416
TXT: LIT.

IAS 417
TXT: LIT (UGN).
BIB: OIP 99, S. 94.

IAS 418
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 94.

IAS 419
TXT: L.

IAS 420
TXT: L: Kolophon?
BIB: OIP 99, S. 94.

IAS 421 s. **IAS 61**

IAS 422
TXT: L.

IAS 423 s. **IAS 332**

IAS 424
TXT: L.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 94.

IAS 425
TXT: LIT.

IAS 426
TXT: LEX?
BIB: OIP 99, S. 94.

IAS 427 s. **IAS 115**

IAS 428
TXT: L.

IAS 429
TXT: LIT.

IAS 430
TXT: L.

IAS 431
TXT: LEX?
BIB: OIP 99, S. 94.

IAS 432
TXT: L.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 94.

IAS 433
TXT: L.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 94.

IAS 434
TXT: LEX?

IAS 435
TXT: L.

IAS 436
TXT: LIT.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 94.

IAS 437
TXT: LIT.

IAS 438
TXT: L.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 94.

IAS 439
TXT: LEX.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 94.

IAS 440
TXT: L.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 94.

IAS 441
TXT: LEX?

IAS 442
TXT: L.

IAS 443
TXT: L.

IAS 444
TXT: L.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 94.

IAS 445
TXT: LEX.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 94.

IAS 446
TXT: L.

IAS 447
TXT: L.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 94.

IAS 448
TXT: LIT.

IAS 449 ÜT?
TXT: L.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 95.

IAS 450
TXT: L.

IAS 451
TXT: LIT (UGN?).

IAS 452
TXT: L.

IAS 453
TXT: L.

IAS 454
TXT: L.

IAS 455 s. **IAS 125**.

IAS 456
TXT: L.

IAS 457
TXT: L.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 95.

IAS 458 ÜT.

IAS 459 ÜT. s. SF 12.

IAS 460 ÜT.
TXT: L.

IAS 461 ÜT.
TXT: LEX.

IAS 462 ÜT.
TXT: LEX.

IAS 463 ÜT.
TXT: LEX.
BIB: Biggs 1966, *77* Anm. 32. – 1974, 23f.; 95. – S.o. s. 242 mit Anm. 54.

IAS 464 ÜT.
TXT: L.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 95.

IAS 465. Frg s. **SF 12**

IAS 466 ÜT.
TXT: LEX.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 95.

IAS 467 ÜT.
TXT: L.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 95.

IAS 468 ÜT.
TXT: L.

IAS 469 UT.
TXT: L.

IAS 470 ÜT.
TXT: LEX.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 95.

IAS 471 ÜT.
TXT: L.

IAS 472
TXT: L: Kolophon.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 95.

IAS 473
TXT: L: Kolophon.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 95.

IAS 474
TXT: L: Kolophon.

IAS 475
TXT: L: Kolophon.

IAS 476
TXT: L: Kolophon.

IAS 477
TXT: L: Kolophon.

IAS 478
TXT: L: Kolophon.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 95.

IAS 479
TXT: L: Kolophon.

IAS 480
TXT: L: Kolophon.

IAS 481
TXT: L: Kolophon.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 95.

IAS 482
TXT: L: Kolophon.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 96.

IAS 483
TXT: L: Kolophon.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 96.

IAS 484
TXT: L: Kolophon.

IAS 485
TXT: L: Kolophon.

IAS 486
TXT: L: Kolophon.

IAS 487
TXT: L: Kolophon.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 96.

IAS 488
TXT: L: Kolophon.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 96.

IAS 489
TXT: L: Kolophon.

IAS 490
TXT: W: Personen (ĝuruš).
BIB: Biggs 1966a, 85 ff. – OIP 99, S. 96. – Edzard 1976, 161.

IAS 491
TXT: W: Pflugrinder, -esel.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 96. – Edzard 1976, 161.

IAS 492
TXT: W: Getreide?
BIB: OIP 99, S. 96. – Edzard 1976, 161.

IAS 493
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 96. – Edzard 1976, 161.

IAS 494
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Biggs 1966a, 86ff. – OIP 99, S. 96. – Edzard 1976, 161.

IAS 495
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 96. – Edzard 1976, 161.

IAS 496
TXT: W.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 96. – Edzard 1976, 162.

IAS 497
TXT: W.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 96.- Edzard 1976, 162.

IAS 498
TXT: W: Personen?
BIB: OIP 99, S. 96.- Edzard 1976, 162.

IAS 499
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 96.- Edzard 1976, 162.

IAS 500
TXT: W.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 96.- Edzard 1976, 162.

IAS 501
TXT: W: Kupfer.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 96.- Edzard 1976, 162.

IAS 502
TXT: W: Verschiedenes.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 96.- Edzard 1976, 162.

IAS 503
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 96.- Edzard 1976, 162.

IAS 504
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 96. – Biggs - Postgate 1978, 115.

IAS 505
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 96. – Biggs - Postgate 1978, 116.

IAS 506
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 96. – Biggs - Postgate 1978, 116.

IAS 507
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 96.- Edzard 1976, 162.

IAS 508
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 96. – Biggs - Postgate 1978, 116.

IAS 509
TXT: W.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 96.- Edzard 1976, 162.

IAS 510
TXT: W: Rinder.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 97.- Edzard 1976, 162.

IAS 511
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 97. – Biggs - Postgate 1978, 116. – Steinkeller 1986.

IAS 512
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 97.- Edzard 1976, 162.

IAS 513
TXT: W: Rinder?
BIB: OIP 99, S. 97.- Edzard 1976, 162.

IAS 514
TXT: W.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 97.- Edzard 1976, 163.

IAS 515
TXT: W.
BIB: OIP 99, S. 97.

IAS 516
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Biggs - Postgate 1978, 104f.

IAS 517
TXT: W.
BIB: Biggs - Postgate 1978, 105.

IAS 518
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Biggs - Postgate 1978, 105f.

IAS 519
TXT: W: Kleinvieh.
BIB: Biggs - Postgate 1978, 106f.

IAS 520
TXT: W.
BIB: Biggs - Postgate 1978, 107.

IAS 521
TXT: W.
BIB: Biggs - Postgate 1978, 107.

IAS 522
TXT: W.
BIB: Biggs - Postgate 1978, 107.

IAS 523
TXT: W.
BIB: Biggs - Postgate 1978, 108.

IAS 524 ÜT? IAS 525.
TXT: LEX.
BIB: Biggs - Postgate 1978, 108.

IAS 525 s. **IAS 524**

IAS 526
TXT: L.
BIB: Biggs - Postgate 1978, 108.

IAS 527
TXT: LEX.
BIB: Biggs - Postgate 1978, 108.

IAS 528
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Biggs - Postgate 1978, 108f.

IAS 529
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Biggs - Postgate 1978, 109.

IAS 530
TXT: W: Kleinvieh.
BIB: Biggs - Postgate 1978, 110.

IAS 531
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Biggs - Postgate 1978, 110.

IAS 532
TXT: W: Personen?
BIB: Biggs - Postgate 1978, 110.

AbS.1739
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Postgate 1980, 93; 104; Tf. XIa. – ASE 4, 135; Abb. 7.722.

AbS.1740
TXT: W?
BIB: ASE 4, 135; Abb. 7.722.

AbS.1885
TXT: W?
BIB: ASE 4, 135; Abb. 7.722.

AbS.2488
TXT: W.
BIB: Matthews - Postgate 1987, 100f. mit Pl. XXIV.

AbS.2513
TXT: W.
BIB: Matthews - Postgate 1987, 100f. mit Pl. XXIV.

AbS.2545.s. **SF 12**

AbS.2714.s. **SF 46**

10.5. Sonstige als Fāra-zeitlich eingestufte Texte[881]

A.33676 s. **ELTS 133**

ArOr 39, 14 Fāra?
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: Matouš 1971, 4-6. – Krecher 1973, 5. – Pomponio 1987, XV. – ELTS 125.

ArOr 39, 15 Fāra?
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: Matouš 1971, 6-8. – Yoshikawa, BAOM 5, 21-28. – Krecher 1973, 4. – ELTS 126.

ʿAtiqot 4, Nr.1
TXT: W.
BIB: Krecher 1978b, 155 Anm. 2.

BAOM 5. s. **ArOr 39, 15**

BIN 8, 15 Fāra?
TXT: W: Feldschenkung.
BIB: Edzard 1967. – SR 63. – Krecher 1978b, 155 Anm. 2.

BIN 8, 384 Fāra?
TXT: W: Textilien.
BIB: Krecher 1978b, 155 Anm. 2. – Pomponio 1987, XIII. – EDATS, S. 3 (9).

CBS 7273; 7936; 7937; 7939; 7941; 7981A; 7981B; 19839. Nippur/Fāra?
TXT: W.
BIB: Westenholz, OSP 1, S. 1f.

CT 50, 1 Fāra?
TXT: W: Personen (ĝ u r u š).
BIB: Powell 1973, 100. – Edzard 1976, 163. – Pomponio 1987, XIII. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 188.

CT 50, 2 Fāra?
TXT: W: Personen (ĝ u r u š).
BIB: Powell 1973, 100. – Edzard 1976, 163. – Pomponio 1987, XIII. – EDATS, S. 3 (17).

CT 50, 3 Fāra?
TXT: W: Personen (ĝ u r u š).
BIB: Powell 1973, 100. – Edzard 1976, 163. – Pomponio 1987, XIII. – EDATS, S. 3 (17). – BS 213.

CT 50, 4 Fāra?
TXT: W: Silber, Kupfer.
BIB: Powell 1973, 100. – Edzard 1976, 163. – EDATS, S. 3 (13).

CT 50, 5 Fāra?
TXT: W: Silber.
BIB: Powell 1973, 100. – Edzard 1976, 163. – Pomponio 1987, XIII. – EDATS, S. 3 (12).

[881] Bei Tafeln, die nicht aus regulären Grabungen stammen, ist der vermutliche Herkunftsort stets mit Fragezeichen versehen.

CT 50, 6 Fāra?
TXT: W: Kupfer.
BIB: Powell 1973, 100. – Edzard 1976, 163. – Pomponio 1987, XIII. – EDATS, S. 3 (14).

CT 50, 7 Fāra?
TXT: W: Verschiedenes
BIB: Powell 1976, 100. – Edzard 1976, 163. – EDATS, S. 3 (15).

CT 50, 8 Fāra?
TXT: W: Verschiedenes.
BIB: Powell 1973, 100. – Edzard 1976, 163. – Pomponio 1987, XIII. – EDATS, S. 3 (15).

CT 50, 8a Fāra?
TXT: W: Verschiedenes.
BIB: Powell 1973, 100. – Edzard 1976, 163. – Pomponio 1987, XIII. – EDATS, S. 3 (15).

CT 50, 9 Fāra?
TXT: W: Verschiedenes.
BIB: Powell 1973, 100. – Edzard 1976, 163. – EDATS, S. 3 (15).

CT 50, 10 Fāra?
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Powell 1973, 100. – Edzard 1976, 163. – Pomponio 1987, XIII. – EDATS, S. 3 (1). – BS 56.

CT 50, 11 Fāra?
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Powell 1973, 100. – Edzard 1976, 164. – Pomponio 1987, XIII. – EDATS, S. 3 (1); Nr. 57.

CT 50, 12 Fāra?
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Powell 1973, 100. – Edzard 1976, 164. – Pomponio 1987, XIII. – EDATS, S. 3 (2).

CT 50, 13 Fāra?
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Powell 1973, 100. – Edzard 1976, 164. – Pomponio 1987, XIII. – EDATS, S. 3 (2).

CT 50, 14 Fāra?
TXT: W: Öl.
BIB: Powell 1973, 100. – Edzard 1976, 164. – Pomponio 1987, XIII. – EDATS, S. 3 (5).

CT 50, 15 Fāra?
TXT: W: Textilien.
BIB: Powell 1973, 100. – Edzard 1976, 164. – Pomponio 1987, XIII. – EDATS, S. 3 (8).

CT 50, 16 Fāra?
TXT: W: Wolle.
BIB: Powell 1973, 100. – Edzard 1976, 164. – Pomponio 1987, XIII. – EDATS, S. 3 (7).

CT 50, 17 Fāra?
TXT: W: Wolle.
BIB: Powell 1973, 100. – Edzard 1976, 164. – Pomponio 1987, XIII. – EDATS, S. 3 (7).

CT 50, 18 Fāra?
TXT: W: Wolle.
BIB: Powell 1973, 100. – Edzard 1976, 164. – Pomponio 1987, XIII. – EDATS, S. 3 (7).

CT 50, 19 Fāra?
TXT: W: Kleinvieh.
BIB: Powell 1973, 100. – Edzard 1976, 164. – Pomponio 1987, XIII. – EDATS, S. 4 (22).

CT 50, 20 Fāra?
TXT: W: Kleinvieh.
BIB: Powell 1973, 100. – Edzard 1976, 164. – Pomponio 1987, XIII. – EDATS, S. 4 (22).

CT 50, 21 Fāra?
TXT: W: Kleinvieh.
BIB: Powell 1973, 100. – Edzard 1976, 164. – Pomponio 1987, XIII. – EDATS, S. 4 (22).

CT 50, 22 Fāra?
TXT: W: Kleinvieh.
BIB: Powell 1973, 100. – Edzard 1976, 164. – Pomponio 1987, XIII. – EDATS, S. 4 (22).

CT 50, 23 Fāra?
TXT: W: Rinder.
BIB: Powell 1973, 100. – Edzard 1976, 164. – EDATS, S. 4 (21).

CT 50, 24 Fāra?
TXT: W: Getreideprodukte (Opferliste).
BIB: Powell 1973, 100. – Edzard 1976, 165. – EDATS, S. 3 (3).

CT 50, 25 Fāra?
TXT: W.
BIB: Powell 1973, 100. – Edzard 1976, 165.

DC 2, S. LIVf (Lupada-Statue). Ĝirsu.
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: SR 115. – ELTS 21.

DP I, pl. I.
TXT: W: Tonetikett. Fāra?
BIB: Kramer 1932, 119.

DP 33 Fāra?
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Kramer 1932, 119. – Edzard 1976, 165.

DP 34 Fāra?
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Kramer 1932, 119. – Edzard 1976, 165. – BS 186.

DP 35 Fāra?
TXT: W: Feld.
BIB: Kramer 1932, 119. – Damerow - Englund 1987, 151 Anm. 33. – Edzard 1976, 165.

DP 36 Fāra?
TXT: W: Fischereigeräte.
BIB: Kramer 1932, 119. – Edzard 1976, 165. – BS, S. 87 Anm. 34.

DP 37 Fāra?
TXT: W: Mehl.
BIB: Kramer 1932, 119. – Edzard 1976, 165.

DP 38 Fāra?
TXT: W. Silber.
BIB: Kramer 1932, 119.

De Marcellis s. **ELTS 107**.

Drouot (Paris), Auktionskatalog 1989, 567. Fāra?
TXT: W.

ELTS 14 ("Chicago Stone"). Isin
TXT: W: Feldkauf.

ELTS 15 ("Baltimore Stone"). Isin
TXT: W: Feldkauf.

ELTS 16 Kiš.
TXT: W: Feldkauf.

ELTS 107 Fāra?
TXT: W: Hauskauf.

ELTS 108 (IM.14182). Fāra?
TXT: W: Hauskauf.
BIB: Steinkeller 1992a, Nr. 1.

ELTS 133 (A.33676). Fāra?
TXT: W: Feldkauf.

ELTS 135 (YBC.12305). Fāra?
TXT: W: Feldkauf.

Gs. Unger, 29f. Fāra?
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: M. Lambert 1971, 31f.; 47f. – Krecher 1973, 1. – Pomponio 1987, XV. – ELTS 122.

Gs. Unger, 33f. Fāra?
TXT: W: Hauskauf.
BIB: M. Lambert 1971, 35f.; 48. – Krecher 1973, 12. – Pomponio 1987, XV. – ELTS 106.

Gs. Unger, 37f. Fāra?
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: M. Lambert 1971, 39f.; 48. – Krecher 1973, 12. – Pomponio 1987, XV. – ELTS 123.

Gs. Unger, 41f. Fāra?
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: M. Lambert 1971, 43f.; 48f. –Krecher 1973, 12. – Pomponio 1987, XV. – ELTS 124.

HSS 3,1 Fāra?
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Krecher 1978b, 155 Anm. 2. – Pomponio 1987, XIII. – EDATS, S. 4 (27).

IM.14182 s. **ELTS 108**

Iraq 38, Pl. XXVIIb Kiš.
TXT: W: Personen.

JCS 15, 107f. (Statue des Enna-Il). Nippur.
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: Goetze 1961, 107f. – ELTS 26.

JCS 20, 35 Nr. 1 Fāra?
TXT: W: Kleinvieh.
BIB: (M. Lambert apud) Leemans 1966, 34-36.

L'Oeil 221f. s. **MVN 10, 85**

MVN 10, 82 Fāra?
TXT: W: Hauskauf.
BIB: Pomponio 1987, XV. – ELTS 113a.

MVN 10, 83 Fāra?
TXT: W: Hauskauf.
BIB: Pomponio 1987, XV. – ELTS 113b.

MVN 10, 84 Fāra?
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: Pomponio 1987, XV. – ELTS 127a.

MVNS 10, 85 Fāra?
TXT: W: Hauskauf.
BIB: Pomponio 1987, XV. – ELTS 112 = 113c.

MVN 10, 86 Fāra?
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: Pomponio 1987, XV. – ELTS 127b.

N.189+; 541; N.557; 558 Fāra?
TXT: W.
BIB: Westenholz, OSP 1, S. 1.

NFT, S. 222 Ĝirsu.
TXT: W: Feldkauf?
BIB: SR 116. – Civil 1989. – ELTS 19b.

OECT 7, 149 Kiš.
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: ELTS 17.

OIP 14, 49 Adab.
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: SR 119. – Krecher 1978b, 155 Anm. 2. – ELTS 32.

OIP 14, 51 Adab.
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: SR 120. – Krecher 1978b, 155 Anm. 2. – ELTS 33.

OIP 97, 72 Nr. 1 Nippur.
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: ELTS 25.

Orient 19, 2f. Fāra?
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: Gomi 1983. – Pomponio 1987, XV.

OrNS 44, 436 Nr. 1 Fāra?
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: Westenholz 1975a, 434. – Pomponio 1987, XV. – ELTS 127.

OSP 1, 1 Nippur.
TXT: LIT.
BIB: Westenholz, OSP, S. 2.

OSP 1, 2 s. **SF 26**

OSP 1, 3 Nippur?
TXT: LIT.
BIB: Westenholz, OSP, S. 2.

OSP 1, 9 s. **IAS 39-43**

OSP 1, 10 Nippur?
TXT: LEX.
BIB: Westenholz, OSP, S. 2.

OSP 1, 124 Nippur.
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Westenholz, OSP, S. 2.

OSP 1, 125 Nippur?
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Westenholz, OSP, S. 2.

PBS 9, 2 (Enḫeĝal-Tafel). Ĝirsu.
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: Deimel, WF, S. 2*. – Kramer 1932, 119. – ATU 1, S. 20; 68. – SR 114. – ELTS 20.

PBS 9, 3 Fāra?
TXT: W: Hauskauf.
BIB: Kramer 1932, 119. – SR 29. – Pomponio 1987, XIV. – ELTS 111.

PBS 13, 24 Fāra?
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: SR 10. – Pomponio 1987, XIV. – ELTS 120.

RA 6, 143 (AO.2753). Fāra?
TXT: W: Feldkauf?
BIB: Tureau-Dangin 1907, 143-146. – Kramer 1932, 119. – ATU 1, S. 68. – SR 113. – Krecher 1978b, 155 Anm. 2. – ELTS 13.

RA 32, 126 Fāra?
TXT: W: Hauskauf.
BIB: Legrain 1935, 125-127. – Pomponio 1987, XV. – ELTS 105.

RA 67, 96
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
Bib: M. Lambert 1973. – Krecher 1978b, 155 Anm. 2.

RIAA, 44
TXT: LEX.
BIB: Kramer 1932, 119.

RIAA, 46 s. **SF 8**

RTC 1 Ĝirsu.
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 168. – Pomponio 1987, XVIf.

RTC 2 Ĝirsu.
TXT: W: Kleinvieh.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 168. – Pomponio 1987, XVIf.

RTC 3 Ĝirsu.
TXT: W: Personen.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 168. – Pomponio 1987, XVIf.

RTC 4 Ĝirsu.
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 168. – Pomponio 1987, XVIf.

RTC 5 Ĝirsu.
TXT: W: Felder.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 168. – Pomponio 1987, XVIf.

RTC 6 Ĝirsu.
TXT: W: Getreide.
BIB: Edzard 1976, 168. – Pomponio 1987, XVIf.

RTC 7 Ĝirsu.
TXT: W: Mehl (Opferliste).
BIB: Edzard 1976, 168. – Pomponio 1987, XVIf.

RTC 8 Ĝirsu.
TXT: W: Brot (Opferliste).
BIB: Edzard 1976, 168. – Pomponio 1987, XVIf.

RTC 9 Fāra?
TXT: W: Wolle.
BIB: Kramer 1932, 119. – Edzard 1976, 168. – EDATS, S. 3 (7).

RTC 10 Fāra?
TXT: W: Wolle.
BIB: Kramer 1932, 119. – Edzard 1976, 168. – EDATS, S. 3 (7).

RTC 11 Fāra?
TXT: W: Wolle.
BIB: Kramer 1932, 119. – Edzard 1976, 168. – EDATS, S. 3 (7).

RTC 12 Fāra?
TXT: W: Schenkung (Haus, Sklave).
BIB: Kramer 1932, 119. – SR, 62. – Edzard 1976, 168. – Pomponio 1987, XIV.

RTC 13 Fāra?
TXT: W: Hauskauf.
BIB: Kramer 1932, 119. – SR, 26. – Edzard 1976, 168. – Pomponio 1987, XIV. – ELTS 104.

RTC 14 Fāra?
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: Kramer 1932, 119. – SR, 7. – Edzard 1976, 169. – Pomponio 1987, XIV. – ELTS 130.

RTC 15 Fāra?
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: Kramer 1932, 119. – SR, 8. – Edzard 1976, 169. – Pomponio 1987, XIV. – ELTS 131.

SEL 3, 11 Fāra?
TXT: W: Hauskauf.
BIB: Milano 1986. – Pomponio 1987, XV. – ELTS 113.

SR, S. 31 Fāra/Uruk?
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: SR 6. – Krecher 1978b, 155 Anm. 2. – Pomponio 1987, XIII. – ELTS 132. – Wilcke 1996, 13 Anm. 38.

STH 1, 1 s. **HSS 3, 1**.

TMH 5,54 Nippur.
TXT: W: Silber.
BIB: ECTJ 54. – Westenholz, OSP 1, S. 2. – Krecher 1978b, 155 Anm. 2.

TMH 5, 71 Fāra?
TXT: W: Hauskauf.
BIB: SR 27. ECTJ 71. – Westenholz, OSP 1, S. 2. – Pomponio 1987, XIV. – ELTS 103.

TMH 5,75 Fāra?
TXT: W: Hauskauf.
BIB: SR 25. – ECTJ 75. – Westenholz, OSP 1, S. 2. – Pomponio 1987, XIV. – ELTS 109.

TMH 5,78 Fāra?
TXT: W: Hauskauf.
BIB: SR 28. ECTJ 78. – Westenholz, OSP 1, S. 2. – Pomponio 1987, XIV. – ELTS 110.

TMH 5, 175 Nippur?
TXT: W: Getreide?
BIB: ECTJ 175. – Krecher 1978b, 155 Anm. 2.

UVB 10, Tf. 26b Uruk; aus Fāra?
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: Krecher 1973, 209f. Nr. 4a. – ELTS 121. – S.o. s. 243 mit Anm. 73.

UVB 16, Tf. 33,e Uruk.
TXT: LEX?
BIB: van Dijk 1960, 58f.

W.19412, 1; 3-11 Uruk.
TXT: W.
BIB: van Dijk 1960, 58 ("verschiedentlich bis in die Fārah-Zeit einzuordnen").

WO 8, 180 Fāra?
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: Farber 1975-76. – Pomponio 1987, XV. – ELTS 136.

YBC.12305. s. **ELTS 135**.

ZA 72, 175 Nr. 14 Uruk.
TXT: W: Feldkauf.
BIB: Green 1982, 166.

11. Anhänge

11.1. Anhang 1: Die Schriftfunde der D.O.G.-Grabung in Fāra

11.1.1. Exzerpt aus dem Fundjournal

Der folgende Katalog ist ein Exzerpt aus dem Fundjournal der D.O.G.Grabung von 1902/3[882] und enthält alle auf Schriftfunde bezüglichen Einträge in normierter Form. Die Zitate sind wörtlich mit folgenden Ausnahmen:

1. Häufige, meist auch im Journal selbst abgekürzte Wörter sind stets abgekürzt:
   (un)beschr. = (un)beschrieben
   Bruchst. = Bruchstück
   erh. = erhalten
   (un)gebr. = (un)gebrannt
   Frg., frg. = Fragment, fragmentarisch
   Gbd. = Gebäude
   gr. = groß
   Grdr. = Grundriß
   kl. = klein
   mitt. = mittel(gross)
   schl. = schlecht
   Siegelabdr. = Siegelabdruck
   Tabl. = Tablette
   (un)vollst. = (un)vollständig
   zerbr. = zerbrochen
2. Sich wiederholende Fundstellenangaben sind einheitlich durch == gekennzeichnet. Das Symbol bezieht sich auf die gesamte vorhergehende Angabe.
3. In der Fundbeschreibungsspalte sind alle im Journal durch Gänsefüßchen angezeigten Wiederholungen ausgeschrieben.
4. Wenn trotz fehlender Gänsefüßchen vorhergehende Angaben ergänzt wurden, so sind diese in spitze Klammern gesetzt.
5. Satzzeichen (die im Journal nur sehr selten und unregelmäßig gesetzt sind) wurden regelmäßig ergänzt.

Ergänzend sind nach dem jeweiligen Tagesdatum die auf Schriftfunde bezüglichen Angaben aus dem Grabungstagebuch (GTB) zitiert.

[882] Für den Zugang zu den Grabungsunterlagen und zum Inventar sowie die Erlaubnis, daraus zu zitieren, bin ich Frau Dr. E. Klengel und Herrn Dr. J. Marzahn zu großem Dank verpflichtet. - Das gesamte Fundjournal wurde in noch kürzerer Form (englisch) bereits von H.P. Martin wiedergegeben (Appendix II zu MFara, auf Microfiche); auf Abweichungen ist in den Fußnoten hingewiesen.

1.7.1902	GTB: Die erste Tablette oben auf dem Hügel in Graben I oben gefunden.		
	67	Ie	1[883] Tabl., Bruchst.
2.7.1902	GTB: Wieder eine Tablette gefunden![884]		
5.7.1902	GTB: Wieder eine Tablette gefunden!		
	120	Ii	1 Tabl., zersprungen
7.7.1902	GTB: Wieder eine Tablette!		
	132	Ie; 2 m	Tabl., lädiert
	133	Ie; <2 m>	Stückchen Tabl.?
8.7.1902	143	Ie	1 Tabl.stück
[10.7.1902]	Aus einem Brief Koldeweys vom 10.7.1902[885]: "Der Suchgraben hat starke Aschen- und Brandschichten geschnitten [...]. In denselben Schichten lagen einige Thon-Tabletten, die mit eingeritzten Zeichnungen versehen sind: Stiere, Stiermänner, auch Geräte, wie es scheint. Endlich sind ebendaselbst auch einige beschriebene Tabletten herausgekommen mit sehr alter Keilschrift; es sind aber sehr wenige an Zahl".		
18.7.1902	GTB: In ai wieder mal eine gute Tablette, 1 m tief.		
	194	Iai; 1 m	gute, kl. Tabl.
	195[886]	Ie	schl. Tabl.
19.7.1902	197	Iai	kl. Tabl., gut
24.7.1902	208	Ibf	schl. Tabl.frg.
26.7.1902	225	Ibn	kl. Siegelzylinderstück mit Schriftrest
28.7.1902	GTB: Schöne grosse Tablette in Graben I.		
	233[887]	Ibu; 1,5 m	gr., gute Tabl., 7+3 Col., [Skizze]
31.7.1902[888]	GTB: Schöne Tablette in Ick gefunden.		
	254[889]	Ick; 30 cm	schöne, gebr. Tabl., 5+(4?) Zeilen
7.8.1902	GTB: In Graben IIi wieder einige gute Tablettenfragmente gefunden, in 1 1/2 m Tiefe.		
	291[890]	IIi; 1,5 m	Tabl.stück
	292	IIi; <1,5 m>	Tabl.stück
	293[891]	==	Tabl.stück
	294	==	Tabl.stück
	295	==	Tabl.stück

883 Vor der 1 steht eine durchgestrichene 2.
884 Es gibt keinen korrespondierenden Eintrag im Fundjournal.
885 Koldewey 1902, 9.
886 VAT.12451 = WF 136.
887 VAT.12443 = WF 35.
888 Aus einem Brief Koldeweys vom 31.7.1903 (Koldewey 1902, 11f.): "Der Graben durch die Ruine Fara ist jetzt über 400 m lang. Er hat letzthin ein paar gute Tabletten ergeben; Abschrift von einer lege ich bei". Dazu Anmerkung von Messerschmidt: "Die Tafel gehört zu der Gattung der ältesten babylonischen Tafeln (vorsichtig geschätzt ca. 3000-2600 v. Chr.), wie sie die Ausgrabungen in Telloh und in Niffer ans Licht gefördert haben. Inhaltlich ist sie von keiner Bedeutung".
889 VAT.12437.
890 VAT.12558 = SF 66.
891 VAT.12560 = SF 44; im Index zu SF fälschlich VAT.12568!

8.8.1902	300[892]	IIi; 1,5-2 m	gute Tabl.
	301[893]	IIi; <1,5-2 m>	Tabl.bruchst. (zu 291 gehörig?)
	302[894]	==	2 Tabl.bruchstücke, zusammengehörig
9.8.1902	303[895]	==	gute Tabl. mit Zeichnung rückwärts
	304[896]	==	gr. Tabl.bruchst. (neue alte Zeichen)
	305[897]	==	kl. Tabl.bruchst.
	306[898]	==	kl. Tabl.bruchst., etwas gr..
	307	==	kl. Tabl.bruchst., rötlich
	308	==	kl. Tabl.bruchst., flache<?>
	309	IIa	zerbr. Tabl.
11.8.1902	310[899]	IIi	2 kl. Tabl.fragmente
19.8.1902	GTB: In ah kommen Tabletten, nur 3/4 m tief.		
	341	IIah[900]; ca 0,75 m	kl. Tabl. u. Bruchst.
	342[901]	==	kl. Tabl., vollst.
	349	IIah	Tabl., corrodiert
20.8.1902	GTB: Auch in at Tablettenfragm.		
	351	IIat	korrodierte Tabl.
	352[902]	==	5 Tabl.fragmente
	358	IIbn	kl. Tabl.
22.8.1902	366	IIbh	Tabl.frg.
23.8.1902	369	IIbp[903]	kl. ungebr. Tabl., einseitig erh.
26.8.1902	GTB: Graben IIbh: 2 schöne Tabletten, ganz oben.		
	374	IIbh; 0,5 m	Tabl., gebr., vollst., mitt.
	375[904]	==	Tabl., gebr., vollst., kl.
29.8.1902	386	IIcn; Ascheschicht[905]	kl. ungebr. Tabl.
30.8.1902	GTB: Grosse zerbr. Tabl. in IIwest.		
	394	IIcn; 1,80 m	gr. Tabl.
	402	IIcn	Tabl.bruchst.

892 VAT.12531 = SF 28.
893 VAT.12556 = SF 61.
894 VAT.12555 = SF 65. "203" auf der Tafel und im Inventar dürfte Fehler für "302" sein.
895 VAT.12526 = SF 62.
896 VAT.12524 = SF 46.
897 VAT.12524 = SF 46.
898 VAT.12525 = SF 49.
899 VAT.12524 = SF 46.
900 Nicht "IIak" (so Martin)!
901 VAT.12514 = WF 122.
902 VAT.12521.
903 bp ist wohl Fehler für bh.
904 VAT.12523 = WF 36.
905 Nicht "Oberfläche" (so Martin)!

1.9.1902	GTB: Alabaster Relief (Boot mit Ruderern) und einige Tabletten in Graben II in co und cn.		
	408	IIco; 2 m	4 Tabl.frg. (zusammengehörig)
	409	IIcn; 2 m	4 Tabl.frg. <zusammengehörig?>
	410	==	Tabl., kl., vollst.
2.9.1902	419	==	kl. Tabl., nur mit Siegelabdruck, 3zeil., jüngere Schrift
	421	IIId	Tabl., vollst., u. Fragmente
3.9.1902	GTB: II, cn und cz werden vertieft wegen Tabletten und cz als Endgrube.		
	425	==	ganze, ungebr. Tabl.
	428[906]	IIcn; 2,5 m	ungebr. Tabl.
	429	IIcn; <2,5 m>	ungebr. Tabl.
	430	==	Tabl.bruchstücke
	432	==	Tabl.frg.
4.9.1902	437	==	Tabl.frg.
5.9.1902	441[907]	IIIf	Tabl. mit Siegelabdrucken
6.9.1902	450	IIId; oben	Tonfäßchen mit Inschrift
8.9.1902	456[908]	Brunnen am N-Ende <von> Graben I	Alabastron-Frg. mit Inschrift
24.9.1902	484	Brunnen nördl. <von> Ziegelbau[909]	Tabl., kl., schl., ungebr.
	485	==	Tabl.
25.9.1902	496	==	Tabl.; frg. Siegelabdrücke
	504	==	Tabl.fragmente
27.9.1902	506[910]	IIIac?	Tabl., vollst.
	508	IIIae	Tabl., gut erh. Vorderseite
	509	==	<Tabl., gut erh.>, kleiner
29.9.1902	516	IIIad	Tabl., grösseres Frg.
30.9.1902	519	==	Tabl., vollst.
	520[911]	==	Napftablette mit Schrift [Skizze]
	521[912]	IIIaa	Napftablette mit Schrift [Skizze]
	522[913]	==	Napftablette ohne Schrift

906 VAT.9097 = WF 88.
907 Vielleicht VAT.13600 = IAK, Tf. 73 Nr. 2.
908 Gefäßfragment: VA.6798 = HFara, S. 75, Abb. 46; Tf. 13.
909 Nach dem Tagebuch muß der Bau bei IIIa liegen.
910 VA.10115 = HFara, S. 69, Tf. 26, m. Die Tafel enthält abstrakte Zeichnungen, in die vielleicht Keilschriftzeichen integriert sind.
911 VA.10005 = HFara, S. 74; Tf. 35, f.
912 VA.10004 = HFara, S. 74.
913 HFara, S. 74.

	526	IIIai; 1,5 m	Tabl., längl., Schriftseite schl. erh.
	528	IIIae	Tabl., zieml. vollst., Vorderseite zerstört
	538[914]	IIIad	Tabl., kl., vollst., gebr.
1.10.1902	542[915]	==	Tabl., einseitig beschr., fast vollst., gebr.
	543	==	sehr kl. Tabl., gebr.
2.10.1902	547[916]	==	gebr. Tabl., zieml. vollst., mitt.
6.10.1902	556[917]	IIIaq	Alabastronfrg. mit Inschrift [Skizze]
7.10.1902	567	Brunnen nördl. <von> Ziegelbau	Tabl.frg.
8.10.1902	573	IVl	Tabl.frg.
9.10.1902	579	IVf	kl. Tabl., vollst.
10.10.1902	584	Brunnen nördl. <von> Ziegelbau	6 Tabl.fragmente
	597	==	Tabl., kl., vollst., ungebr.
	598	==	Tabl., kl. lädiert
11.10.1902	603	IVr	Tabl.frg., ungebr.
	604	==	Tabl.frg., <ungebr. ?>
	607	Brunnen nördl. von Ziegelbau; <ca 4 m tief>	Tabl., zerbr.
	608	IVr; oben	sehr kl. Tabl., vollst.
	610	Brunnen nördl. von Ziegelbau; ca 4 m ?	Tabl., frg.
13.10.1902	615	==	Tabl., lädiert
	616	==	2 frg. Tabl.
14.10.1902	617	==	7 frg. Tabl.
	618	IVs	1 frg. Tabl.
	623	IVv; 1 m; über d. Grab	Tabl., einseitig, zieml. vollst.
15.10.1902	626	IVs	Tabl.fragmente (5 Stück)
	627	IVy	Tabl.frg. einer gr. Tabl.
	628	==	Tabl.frg. einer gr. Tabl. (627 und 628 zusammengehörig?)
17.10.1902	653[918]	IVy; 1 m	2 Tabl.frg. (zusammengehörig), jüngere Schrift
	654	IVai	gebr. Tabl., vollst., einseitig beschr.

[914] VAT.12605 = WF 38.
[915] VAT.12607 = WF 39.
[916] VAT.12608 = WF 30.
[917] Gefäßfragment: VA.6755 = HFara, S. 75, Abb. 46; Tf. 13, n.
[918] VAT.12638 = SF 1*.

18.10.1902	663	IVas[919]	kl. Tabl., vollst.
	664[920]	IVap[921]	kl. Inschriftfrg. auf Stein
20.10.1902	667	IVau	Tabl., zieml. vollst.
21.10.1902	683	IVas	sehr kl. Tabl., vollst.
	699	IVbe	Tabl., zerbr.
22.10.1902	709	IVbg; 2 m	Tabl.fragmente einer grossen Tabl.
	710	==	1 Tabl.frg. einer kl. Tabl.
	711	==	2 Tabl.fragmente einer kl. Tabl.
27.10.1902	734	IVcc	gebr. kl. Tabl., vollst.
29.10.1902	744	Va; oben	ungebr. Tabl., kl., schl. erh.
	748	IVcc	1 kl. Tabl.frg. u. 1 schl. erh. zerbr. Tabl., kl.
30.10.1902	763	Vd	ungebr. Tabl., zerbr.
1.11.1902	784	Vo	kl., schl. erh. Tabl.
3.11.1902	787[922]	Vs	kl., gebr. Tabl., vollst.
5.11.1902	806	Ial	12 Siegelabdr.; 1 Zeichnung; 1 Tabl.
	809	<I/V?>ak	1 Tabl.; 1 schl. Siegelabdr.
	812	<I/V?>am	1 Tabl.
6.11.1902	816	Id	3 Tieridole; 23 Siegelabdr.; 4 Stierskizzen; Perlen; 2 schl. Tabl. mit[?] Ornament[?]
	817[923]	<I/V?>ae	Schriftzeichen auf Stein; 2 Perlen
7.11.1902	825	Id	1 Tabl.
8.11.1902	829	VIg	1 gr. Tabl.; 1 kl. Tabl
	831	Id	1 Tabl.; 27 Siegelabdr.; 2 Tieridole; 1 Scherbe, Stein
	835	==	40[?] Siegelabdrucke; 1 schl. Tabl.; 1 Tieridol
10.11.1902	838	==	1 Tabl.; 18 Siegelabdrucke; 6 Zeichnungen
13.11.1902	858	==	9 Siegelabdr.; 1 Tabl.stück; 1 Tieridol
14.11.1902	859	VIam[924]	1 Tabl.; 3 kl. Näpfchen aus Stein
	864	Id	35 Siegalabdrucke; 5 Bruchstücke von Zeichnungen; 1 kl. Tabl

919 Nicht "IVao" (so Martin)!
920 VA.6808.
921 Nicht "IVam" (so Martin)!
922 VAT.12589 = WF 40.
923 Statuettenfragment: HFara, S. 75, Abb. 46; Tf. 24, b.
924 VIbm ist nachträglich zu VIam korrigiert.

17.11.1902	869[925]	==	12 Siegelabdr.; 1 Tabl.stück; 1 Zeichnung 2 Tieridole
	871	==	1 Siegelabdr.; 4 Stück Tabl.; 2 Zeichnungen
18.11.1902	881	VIIq	2 zerbr. Tabl.
19.11.1902	884	Id	1 Tabl., (schl.); 3 Siegelabdr.
	886	==	Stück von einer Tabl.; 1 Siegelabdr.; 3 Tieridole
20.11.1902	893	VIIbv[926]	1 Tabl.
26.11.1902	920	Id	6+4 Siegelabdr.; 1 Tabl. (schl.); 1 Zeichnung
27.11.1902	GTB: In IXfg viele Tabletten, meist ungebrannt, in abgebranntem Hause; darunter Fragmente von sehr grossen Exemplaren. Etwa 30 ganze.		
	923	IXg; 0,80 m; <in> Blechkiste	1 ganze u. Bruchstücke
	924[927]	==	1 sehr gr., frg.
	925	==	9 vollständige u. Bruchstücke
	926	==	Bruchstücke, darunter von 1 gr.
	927	==	1 zieml. vollst. u. Bruchst.
	928[928]	==	1 zieml. vollst. u. Bruchst.
	929	==	Bruchstücke
	930	==	1 sehr gr., gebr., frg.
	931	==	5 zieml. vollst. u. Bruchst.
	932[929]	==	1 sehr gr., frg.
	933	IXg; 0.80 m; <in Blechkiste?>	Tablettennest: 6 (oder mehr) vollst., meist gebr., u. Bruchst.
	934[930]	IXg; 0.80 m; in Blechkiste	5 zieml. vollst. Bruchst., 1 Bruchst. einer sehr gr.
28.11.1902	939	<IX?>g; <0,80 m?>	Stück einer Tabl.; 1 Siegelabdr.
	944	<IX?>ad	schl. Tabl.; 1 schl. Siegelcylinder
	{949}[931]		
1.12.1902	GTB: 13 gute gebr. Tabletten in IXaa, in Schutt und geröstetem Abraum, Bruchstücke von sehr grossen.		
	953	IXf	kl. Tabl.
	955	Bismaya (?)	Tabl.
	956	IXaa	Tabl.
	957[932]	==	Tabl.
	958	==	Tabl.
	959	==	Tabl.
	960[933]	==	Tabl.

925 VAT.12614 = SF 25.
926 VIIbv gibt es auf dem Plan nicht; in VIIav zu korrigieren?
927 VAT.12724 = SF 21.
928 VAT.12763 = SF 24.
929 VAT.12680 = SF 37.
930 VAT.12772 = SF 76.
931 Kein Schriftfund: "1 Tischchen aus gebr. Thon".
932 VAT.12647 = SF 49*.
933 VAT.12749 = SF 50*.

	961[934]	==	Tabl.
	962[935]	==	Tabl.
	963[936]	==	Tabl.
	964[937]	==	Tabl.
	965	==	Tabl.
	966	==	Tabl.
	967[938]	==	Tabl.
	968[939]	==	Tabl.
	969[940]	==	Tabl.
	970	IXg	1 Tabl., zerbr.
2.12.1902	972[941]	IXaa	1 Tabl.
	973[942]	==	1 Tabl.
	975	VIIIaf	1 zerbr. Tabl.
	976[943]	IXf	1 gr. Tabl.
	977	Xa	1 Tabl.
	978	IXaa	Tabl.splitter; 2 Siegelabdr.
3.12.1902	GTB: In IXaa weitere 4 gute Tabl.		
	983[944]	IXf	1 Tabl. u. Splitter
	984	IXaa	1 zerbr. Tabl., gr.
	987[945]	Xh	1 Steinei mit Schriftzeichen (Kalkstein) [Skizze]
	989	IXaa	2 Tabl.bruchstücke; 1 schl. Siegelzylinder; 1 Siegelabdr.
4.12.1902	992	==	Bruchst. einer Tabl., (gr., rote Farbe)
	993	==	Bruchst. einer Tabl., <gr., rote Farbe ?>
	994	==	Bruchst. einer Tabl., <gr., rote Farbe ?>
	995	==	Bruchst. einer Tabl., schwarz
	997	Xa	Bruchst. einer Tabl.; Bruchst. eines Alabaster-gegenstandes
	998[946]	VIIIh	dasselbe <wie 997>
5.12.1902	1003	IXaa	2 Bruchst. einer Tabl.
	1007	IXg	1 Bronzemesser; 1 Tabl. ohne Schrift
	1009	XIs	zerbr. Tabl.
	1010[947]	VIIIh	kl. Tabl.; 2 Siegelabdr.

934 VAT.12639 = SF 30.
935 VAT.12737 = SF 45.
936 VAT.12642 = SF 2.
937 VAT.12640 = SF 31.
938 VAT.12747 = SF 50.
939 VAT.12618 = WF 63.
940 VAT.12619 = SF 47.
941 VAT.12553 = SF 48.
942 VAT.12754 = SF 51.
943 VAT.12756 = WF 153.
944 VAT.12641 = WF 117.
945 VA.6731 = HFara, S. 75, Abb. 46; T. 35, i. S.o. S. 336 mit Anm. 835.
946 VAT.9104 = SF 8!? Inventarbuch: VAT.9104 = F.866!
947 VAT.9095 = WF 115.

13.12.1902	1035[948]	Xlcg; 1, 20 m; in Wehschicht	Thoncylinder mit Keilschrift (relativ jung)
16.12.1902	1043	XIIb	zweiseitig beschriftete Tabl. (Siegelabdr. mit Figuren, ausserdem Keilschr.)
18.12.1902	1051	XIIap	1 ungebr. Tabl. (kaum Schrift)
19.12.1902	GTB: In VIIIf eine Anzahl Tabletten u. Tablettensplitter.		
	1061	XIIIf; 0,50-0,80 m; auf Zimmerfußboden	Anzahl Tabl. und Splitter
20.12.1902	GTB: Weitere Tabletten, meist zerbrochen, u. Splitter in XIIIf. Auch VIIu ergiebt eine grosse zerbrochene Tablette.		
	1062	==	Anzahl Tabl. u. Splitter
	1063	VIIu; 1,20 m; auf Fußboden	1 gr., zerbr. Tabl.; 1 runde Bronzeplatte
	1064	XIIId	kl., schl., durchstochene Tabl.
22.12.1902	GTB: Weitere Tabletten in XIIIf.		
	1070	XIIIf	2 Stücke einer Tabl.
	1071[949]	?Fara	1 Tabl.stück mit sehr alten Buchstaben
	1073	==	Tabletten
23.12.1902	1075	XIIId	Tabl., ungebr.
	1077	XIIIg	Tabl.stücke; 1 Siegelabdr.
	1082	XIIIf	24 Siegelabdr.; 4 kl. Tabl.splitter
24.12.1902	1084	XIIIg	10 Siegelabdr.; 3 Tabl.
	1086	XIIIf	6 Siegelabdr.; 1 Tabl.
25.12.1902	GTB: Im Hofe von XIIIf finden sich zahlreiche Siegelabdrücke u. einzelne schlecht erhaltene Tabletten.		
	1091[950]	XIIIf	10 Siegelabdr.; 3 Tabl.; 1 Gefässgriff
	1096	VIIu	3 Tabl.stücke; 3 Tieridole
	1097	XIIIf	19 Siegelabdr.; 1 Tabl. u. Splitter
	1098	XIIIg	4?6 Siegelabr.; 1 Tabl.; 2 Idole
26.12.1902	1101	XIIId	1 Tabl.
27.12.1902	GTB: 10 gutaussehende Tabletten im Brandschutt VIIu u. zugleich eine Anzahl in XIIId.		
	1106	VIIu	Tabl.
	1107	==	Tabl.
	1108	==	Tabl.
	1109	==	Tabl.
	1110	--	Tabl.
	1111	==	Tabl.
	1112	==	Tabl.

948 VA.6705, Tonnagel des Ḫala-adda. Vgl. Koldewey 1902-03, 13f.: "Ein rübenförmiger Cylinder, von dessen Inschrift ich eine Abschrift beilege, ist vereinzelt geblieben. Er ist im westlichen Teil der Ruine gefunden".

949 Möglicherweise handelt es sich um VAT.13600 = LAK, S. 73 Nr.2

950 VAT.12595.

	1113	==	Tabl.
	1114	==	Tabl.
	1115	==	Tabl.
	1116[951]	XIIId[952]; 0,20-0,40	Tabletten[953]
	1117	==	Tabl.
	1118	==	Tabl.
	1119	==	Tabl.
	1120	==	Tabl.
	1122[954]	XIIIg	Tabl.stücke
	1124	VIIu	1 Tabl.
	1125	nördl. XIIIa	1 Tabl.
28.12.1902	1134	XIVb	schl. Tabl., längl. Formats
	1135	XIIIh	1 Tabl., vollst.
	1136	XIVb	1 Tabl.; 3 Siegelabdr.
	1137	XIIIh	Tabl.splitter; Siegelabdr.
	1139	XIIIb[955], Grdr. nördl. des Grabens	1 Tabl., gebr.
	1140	XIIIc	Tabletten: 1 vollst., längl., u. Bruchstücke
	1141	XIIIf	1 Tabl., fast vollst.
	1142	==	1 Tabl., fast vollst.
	1143	==	1 Tabl., fast vollst.
	1144	==	Tabl.bruchstücke
	1145	==	Tabl.bruchstücke
	1146	==	Tabl.bruchstücke
	1147	==	Tabl.bruchstücke
	1148	==	Tabl.bruchstücke
	1149	==	Tabl.bruchstücke
	1150	==	Tabl.bruchstücke
	1151	==	Tabl.bruchstücke
	1152	==	Tabl.bruchstücke
	1153	==	1 Tabl., fast vollst.
	1154	==	1 Tabl., zerbr.
	1155	==	1 Tabl., fast vollst.
	1156	==	Tabl., fast vollst.
	1157	==	Tabl., fast vollst.
	1158	--	Tabl., fast vollst.
	1159	==	Tabl., fast vollst.
	1160	==	Tabl., fast vollst.
	1161	==	Tabl., vollst.
	1162	==	Tabl., fast vollst.
	1163	==	Tabl., fast vollst.
	1164	==	Tabl., fast vollst.
	1165	==	Tabl., vollst., kl.
	1166	==	Tabl., fast vollst.
	1167	==	Tabl., fast vollst.
	1168	==	Tabl., 1/2

951 VAT 12423 oder VAT.12738 = WF 82? F.1116 steht unter beiden VAT-Nummern im Inventarbuch.

952 Martin vermutet, daß 1116-1120 aus dem Gebäude XIIIf-i stammen.

953 In den folgenden Zeilen (1117-1120) stehen Gänsefüßchen. Unklar, ob sich der Plural "Tabletten" auf die Gruppe insgesamt oder auf die einzelnen Nummern bezieht.

954 VAT.12750 = SF 80.

955 Nicht "XIIIu" (so Martin)! Mit dem nördlich gelegenen Grundriß könnte Gebäude Xva-d gemeint sein.

	1169[956]	==	Tabl., 1/2
	1170	==	Tabl., 1/2
	1171	==	Tabl., zieml. vollst.
	1172	==	Tabl., Bruchst.
	1173	==	1 Tabl., 1/2
	1174	==	1 Tabl., fast vollst.
	1175[957]	==	a-c: 3 vollst.
	1176	==	a-m: Bruchstücke
	1177	==	Tabl.bruchstücke
	1178	==	Tabl.bruchstücke
	1180	XIIIg; Libben-[958] Grdr., NW-Zimmer	Tabl.bruchstücke
	1182	Libbengbd. nördl. XIIId	1 Tabl., fast vollst.
	1184	XV<d>	1 Tabl., kl.
30.12.1902	1186	XVd	1 ungebr. Tabl., vollst.
	1191	Libben-Gbd. in XVb	1 zieml. vollst. Tabl.
	1192	Gbd. bei XIIIf, N-Raum und anstoss<ender R.>	Fragmente einer gr. Tabl.
	1193	<Gbd. bei> XIIIf, <N-Raum u. Annex>	Fragmente mehrerer kl. Tabl., (1 fast vollst.)
	1194	==	Fragmente mehrerer kl. Tabl.
	1195	==	Fragmente mehrerer kl. Tabl.
	1196	==	zieml. vollst. Tabl.
	1197	==	zieml. vollst. Tabl.
	1198	==	zieml. vollst. Tabl.
	1199	==	Tabl.frg.
	1200	<Gbd. bei> XIIIf, NW-Zimmer	fast vollst. Tabl.
	1201	==	Tabl.fragmente, z.T. mit Siegelabdruck
29.12.1902[959]	GTB: In Fara Tablettenfund in XIIIg-h auf antikem Fussboden in Brandschutt.		
	1213	==	fast vollst. Tabl.
	1214	==	fast vollst. Tabl.
	1215	==	fast vollst. Tabl.
	1216	==	fast vollst. Tabl.
	1217	==	fast vollst. Tabl.
31.12.1902	1219	XIIIf, im Grdr. nördl. davon	Tabl.frg. (ungebr.)
	1220	==	Tabl.frg. <ungebr.>
1-3.1.1903	1229	Libben-Gbd. XVb	Tabl., 3/4 vollst.
	1230	==	Tabl., 2 Bruchstücke
4.1.1903	1280[960]	gekauft	kl. Tabl.
	1281	==	kl. Tabl.

[956] VAT.12803.

[957] VAT.12637 = WF 145.

[958] Arab. *libn* "Lehmziegel".

[959] Offenbar ein Nachtrag. Die Datumsangabe steht bei der Fundnummer 1204, dürfte sich aber auch auf die weiteren beziehen, vgl. Tagebuch.

[960] VAT.12591.

5.1.1903	1282	Grdr. VIIu, NW-Raum	2 Tabl.frag.; 1 Siegelabdr.
	1283	Grdr. bei II West	zerbr. Tabl.
8.1.1903	1326	Grdr. bei XVb (südl.)	Tabl., vollst.
	1327	Grdr. bei XVb (Nord)	Tabl., vollst.
	1328	Grdr. bei XVc	Tabl., ungebr., zieml. vollst.
9.1.1903	1386	Grdr. nördl. XV<a?>	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr.
	1387	Grdr. nördl. XVa	3 Tabl., Bruchstücke
	1392	==	1 kl. Tabl., Bruchst.
	1393	==	3 Tabl.bruchstücke
10.1.1903	1494[961]	Grdr. bei XVb	Tabl.; Kupfernapf; Bronzekeil?
	1495	Grdr. nördl. XIIIaI[962]	Tabl., kl., zerbr.
	1497	südl. XVb	Tabl., kl.
	1498	XVI[963]	Tabl., kl.
	1499	nördl. XVb, aus e. Grabe[964]	Tabl.splitter; Lapislazuli-Perlen
12.1.1903	1531	Grdr. nördl.[965] XVb	Tabl., kl., ungebr., zerbr.
	1532	==	1 kl. Tabl., Bruchst., gebr.
13.1.1903	1552[966]	XVIe	Tabl. [Skizze]
	1555	XVIId, südl. davon; Hausgr<undriß?>	4 kl. Tabl., vollst., 1 unvollst. u. Splitter
	1557	XVIId, nördl. davon <Hausgrundriß?>	1 kl., schl. Tabl.; 1 Zylinderabdr.
14.1.1903	GTB: In Fara XVId wird 1 grosse Tablette, fast vollständig, gefunden.		
	1595	in Brandschutt; Grdr. südl. XVId	1 gr. Tabl., 14cm^2, z.T. zerbr.
15.1.1903	GTB: In Fara XVIc u. k Nester ungebr. Tabletten, jedoch kaum eine ganz erhalten.		
	1614	XVIIc[967], nördl. davon,	Tabl. [Skizze], gebr., 2seitig beschr.
	1615[968]	XVIIc, südl. davon	Tabl., kl., ungebr., u. Splitter
	1616	XVIi	Tabl., kl., ungebr., schl.
	1617[969]	==	Tabl., gr., ungebr., zerbr.
	1618	==	Tabl., gr., ungebr., zerbr.
	1619	==	Tabl., kl., ungebr., schl.
	1620	==	Tabl., kl., ungebr., schl.
	1621	==	Tablettsplitter
	1622	==	Stücke von 3 zerbr. Tabl., ungebr.
	1623	==	Stücke von etwa 4 zerbr. Tabl., ungebr.

961 VAT.12490 = WF 47.
962 XIIIaI gibt es auf dem Plan nicht!
963 Lies [südl.] XVb!?
964 Wohl "aus einem Grabe"; möglich aber auch "aus einer Grube".
965 Über "nördl." steht "südlich"; zur vorigen Zeile gehörig?
966 VAT.12576 = WF 80.
967 Nicht "XVIIe" (so Martin)!
968 VAT.12620 = WF 152.
969 VAT.12453.

	1624	==	4 schl. Tabl., kl. Formats, teilw. unvollst., ungebr.
	1625	==	1 zerbr. mitt. Tabl.
	1626	XVIk	Tabl.splitter
	1627	==	Stücke von 4 zerbr. Tabl., ungebr.
	1628	==	2 zerbr. Tabl., mitt., ungebr.
	1629	==	Stücke mehrerer zerbr. Tabl., mitt, ungebr.
	1630[970]	XVII	kl. runde u. kl. flache Tabl.; 6 Siegelabdr.
	1631	XVIk	Tabl.stücke
	1632	==	Tabl., mitt., ungebr.
	1633	==	Tabl., mitt., ungebr.
	1634	XVIi	Tabl., kl., schl.
	1635	==	Tabl.splitter u. -stücke; 6 Siegelabdr.
16.1.1903	GTB: In Fara XVIIcd werden ca 90 Tabletten, ein Viertel davon vollständig erhalten, gefunden.		
	1647	==	3 Tabl. Bruchstücke, stark zerstört
	1648	XVIk	1 kl. Tabl., ungebr., stark zerstört
	{1649}[971]		
	1650	==	1 mitt. Tabl., ungebr., zieml. vollst.
	1651	==	1 größere Tabl., ungebr., Bruchst., unvollst.
	1652	==	1 kleinere Tabl., ungebr., Bruchst., unvollst.
	1653	==	1 kleinere Tabl., ungebr., Bruchst., unvollst.
	1654	==	1 gr. Tabl., gebr., 21 Bruchstücke, unvollst.
	1655	==	1 mitt. Tabl., ungebr., Bruchst., unvollst.
	1656	==	1 kl. Tabl., ungebr., Bruchst., unvollst.
	1657	==	1 mitt. Tabl., ungebr., Bruchst., unvollst.
	1658[972]	==	1 kl. Tabl., ungebr., zieml. vollst.
	1659	==	1 mitt. Tabl., ungebr., Bruchst.
	1660	==	1 kl. Tabl., ungebr., Bruchst.
	1661	XVIIc	1 gr. Tabl., gebr., 15,5 cm^2, vollst.
	1662[973]	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., vollst.
	1663[974]	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., zieml. vollst.
	1664[975]	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., vollst.
	1665	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., vollst.
	1666	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., fast vollst.
	1667	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., fast vollst.
	1668	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., 3/4 vollst.
	1669[976]	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., vollst.
	1670[977]	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., vollst.
	1671	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., unvollst.
	1672	==	1 mitt. Tabl., ungebr., 1 Seite zieml. vollst.
	1673[978]	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., 1 Seite vollst., von der anderen Seite Bruchstücke

970 VAT. 12551; VAT.12552 = WF 130.

971 Kein Schriftfund: Siegelabdruck.

972 VAT.12438 = WF 141.

973 VAT.9107 = WF 100 oder VAT.9117 = WF 95 oder VAT.12549 = WF 104? F.1662 ist unter all diesen VAT-Nummern im Inventar eingetragen!

974 VAT.12454 = WF 92 oder VAT.12736 = WF 94. F.1663 ist unter all diesen VAT-Nummern im Inventar eingetragen!

975 VAT.12449 = WF 118?

976 VAT.12537 = WF 99.

977 VAT.12444 = WF 147.

978 VAT.12545 = WF 129.

1674	==	1 kl. Tabl., ungebr., 3/4 vollst.
1675	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., zieml. vollst.
1676	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst.
1677	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst.
1678	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst.
1679[979]	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst.
1680	==	1 gr. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst.
1681	==	1 gr. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst.
1682	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst. (1 Seite vollst.)
1683	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., vollst.
1684	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst.
1685	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., stark korrodiert
1686[980]	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., vollst.
1687	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., vollst.
1688[981]	==	1 sehr kl. Tabl., gebr., 1 Seite vollst.
1689	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst.
1690	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., 1 Seite fast vollst.
1691	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., vollst.
1692	==	1 gr. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst. (1/4)
1693	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst., 1 Seite fast vollst.
1694	==	1 sehr kl. Tabl., gebr., vollst.
1695[982]	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., fast vollst.
1696	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., 1 Seite vollst.
1697	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., 1 Seite vollst.
1698	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr. Bruchst. (nur 1 Seite mit 1/3 Schrift vollst.)
1699	==	1 gr. hellfarbige Tabl., gebr. (1 größeres u. viele kl. Bruchstücke)
1700	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst. (1 Seite vollst.)
1701	==	1 gr. Tabl., gebr., 2 größere Bruchstückest.
1702[983]	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., vollst.
1703[984]	==	1 kleine Tabl., gebr., vollst.
1704	==	1 kleine Tabl., gebr., vollst.
1705	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., 2 Bruchstücke
1706	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., in 3 Bruchstücken
1707	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst.
1708	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., 2 Bruchstücke
1709	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst.
1710	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst.
1711[985]	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., vollst.
1712	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., 3/4 vollst.
1713	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., vollst.
1714	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., vollst.
1715	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., vollst.
1716	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., vollst.

[979] VAT.12544 = WF 103.
[980] VAT.12538 = WF 132.
[981] VAT.12534 = WF 102.
[982] VAT.12441 = WF 150.
[983] VAT.12455 = WF 98.
[984] VAT.12590 = WF 93.
[985] VAT.12651 = WF 85.

	1717	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., vollst.
	1718	==	1 gr. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst.
	1719	Grdr. südl. XVIId	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., vollst.
	1720	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst.
	1721	==	1 gr. Tabl., gebr., kl. Bruchst.
	1722	Grdr. nördl. XVIId	1 gr. Tabl., gebr., mehrere Bruchst.
	1723[986]	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., scheinbar vollst.
	1724	==	1 kl. Tabl., ungebr., Bruchst.
	1725[987]	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst.
	1726	==	1 gr. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst.
	1727	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst.
	1728	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., zieml. vollst.
	1729	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst.
	1730[988]	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., zieml. vollst.
	1731	==	1 gr. Tabl., gebr., teilweis[?] vollst.
	1732	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst.
	1733	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst.
	1734	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst.
	1735	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst. (1 Seite zieml. vollst.)
	1736	==	1 gr. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst.
	1737[989]	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., zieml. vollst.
	1738	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst.
	1739	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst.
	1740	==	1 gr. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst.
	1741	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., Bruchst.
	1746	XVIi	1 gr. Tabl., ungebr., Bruchst.
	1747	==	1 kl. Tabl., ungebr., Bruchst.
17.1.1903	1757	Grdr. nördl. XVIId	1 kl. Tabl., Bruchst., gebr.
	1758	==	1 gr. Tabl., Bruchst., gebr.
	1759	==	1 mitt. Tabl., Bruchst., gebr.
	1760	==	1 kl. Tabl., Bruchst., gebr.
	1761	Grdr. XVIe	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., Schrift korrodiert
	1762	==	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., 3/4 vollst.
	1763	==	1 kl. Tabl., gebr., zieml. vollst.
	1774	XVIe	1 kl. Tabl., ungebr., vollst.
	1775[990]	==	1 mitt. Tabl., ungebr., Bruchst.
	1776	XVIk	1 mitt. Tabl., gebr., 2 Bruchst.
	1777	==	1 mitt. Tabl., ungebr., Bruchst.
19.1.1903	GTB: Fara, in XVIz ungebr. Tabletten, 20 cm unter Oberfläche.		
	1786	XVIId, nördl. von Grdr.	Bruchst. einer gebr. Tabl.
	1787	XVIe	Bruchst. einer ungebr. Tabl.
	1788	==	3 Bruchstücke von gebr. Tabl.
	1789	XVIz	Bruchst. ein. mitt. ungebr. Tabl.
	1790	==	kl. ungebr. Tabl.
	1791	==	eine Anzahl Bruchst. von ungebr. Tabl.
	1792	XVIy	6 Bruchstücke von ungebr. Tabl.
	1793	XVIz; 0,20	Tabl., kl., vollst., ungebr.
	1794	XVIz; <0,20?> .	Tabl., kl., nicht ganz vollst., ungebr.

986 VAT.12632 = WF 144.
987 VAT.12631 = WF 101.
988 VAT.12630 = WF 134.
989 VAT.12629 = WF 84.
990 VAT.12628 = SF 68.

	1795	=	Tabl., unvollst., mitt., ungebr.
	1796	=	Tabl., kl., vollst., ungebr.
	1797	=	Tabl., mitt., unvollst., ungebr.
	1798	=	Tabl., kl., zerbr., ungebr.
	1799	=	Tabl., mitt., zieml. vollst., ungebr.
	1800	=	Tabl., kl., vollst., ungebr.
	1801	=	Tabl., kl., vollst., ungebr.
	1802	=	Tabl., kl., unvollst., ungebr.
	1803	=	Bruchstücke u. Splitter von Tabl., ungebr.
	1804	=	Bruchstücke einer Tabl., ungebr.
	1805	=	Bruchstücke verschiedener Tabl., ungebr.
20.1.1903	1823	XVIw	1 gr. Tabl., ungebr. Bruchst.
	1824	=	1 gr. Tabl., ungebr. Bruchstücke
21.1.1903	GTB: Fara XIIXa[991] einige Tabletten.		
	1853	XVIIIa	Tabl., kl., [Skizze], einseitig beschr.
	1854	=	Tabl., kl., zweiseitig beschr.; eine schl. Tabl.
	1855	XVIIc	Tabl., mitt., zweiseitig beschr.
	1856	=	Tabl., zerbr.
	1857	=	Bruchstücke von Tabletten
24.1.1903	1893	XIXs[992]	1 kl. Tabl. (?) od. Thonstück mit Schriftproben, Bruchst.
	1894[993]	=	1 mitt. Tabl., stark zerbr., ungebr.
26.1.1903	1897	VIak	Tabl., kl., einseitig halbbeschr.
	1901	Grdr. XVg	schl. Tabl.; 2 Siegelabdr.; 1 Tieridol
28.1.1903	1977[994]	XV	Tabl., gebrochen
	1978	=	Tabl., kl., Rückseite weg
	1979	=	Tabl., Bruchst.
29.1.1903	GTB: Tablettenfund in XVh (Fara)[995].		
	1980[996]	nördl. von XVh	gebr. Tabl., gr., ganz
	1981[997]	=	gebr. Tabl., gr., ganz
	1982	=	gebr. Tabl., gr., ganz (Ecke ab)
	1983	=	gebr. Tabl., gr., zerbr.
	1984[998]	=	gebr. Tabl., mitt., ganz
	1985[999]	=	gebr. Tabl., gr., ganz

[991] Dem a ist von zweiter Hand noch ein hochgestelltes a hinzugefügt. Im Fundjournal steht hochgestelltes "(a)". Möglicherweise ist "a" jeweils "&" zu lesen, womit etwa "in der Umgebung von" gemeint sein könnte.

[992] XIXs gibt es auf dem Plan nicht!

[993] VAT.12624 = WF 146.

[994] VAT.12447.

[995] Vgl. Koldewey 1902-03, 12f.: "Hier in Fāra fand sich an einer Stelle, welche Nöldeke abgegeben hatte, ein wohl verbranntes Haus, in dessen einem Zimmer im Brandschutt eine Reihe von gut erhaltenen gebrannten Tabletten kleinen und grossen Formats gefunden sind. Vom 29. Januar bis zum 8. Februar kamen dort im ganzen 235 Stück zutage, nämlich 68 grosse, 32 mittlere und 135 kleine. Davon sind gut erhalten, gesund und kaum verletzt: 27 grosse, 20 mittlere und 81 kleinere. "

[996] VAT.9079 = WF 25.

[997] VAT.9078 = WF 22.

[998] VAT.9131 = WF 45.

[999] VAT.9127 = WF 58.

	1986[1000]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., ganz
	1987[1001]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., ganz
	1988[1002]	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., ganz
	1989[1003]	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., ganz
	1990[1004]	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., ganz
	1991	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., ganz
	1992	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., ganz
	1993	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., ganz
	1994	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., verletzt
	1995	==	gebr. Tabl., Bruchst.
	1996[1005]	==	gebr. Tabl., Bruchst.
	1997	==	gebr. Tabl., Bruchst.
30.1.1903	2008[1006]	nördl. von XVh; 1,20-1,40m	Tabl., mitt., gebr., vollst.
	2009	==	Tabl., mitt., gebr., vollst.
	2010	==	Tabl., mitt., gebr., vollst.
	2011[1007]	==	Tabl., kl., gebr., vollst.
	2012[1008]	==	Tabl., mitt., gebr., Ecke fehlt
	2013[1009]	==	Tabl., kl., gebr., vollst.
	2014	==	Tabl., kl., gebr., Ecke fehlt
	2015[1010]	==	Tabl., kl., gebr., vollst.
	2016	==	Tabl., gr., gebr., vollst.
	2017[1011]	==	Tabl., gr. gebr., vollst.
	2018[1012]	==	Tabl., gr., gebr., vollst.
	2019	==	Tabl., mitt., gebr., zwei Ecken fehlen
	2020[1013]	==	Tabl., mitt., gebr., vollst.
	2021	==	Tabl., mitt., gebr., vollst.
	2022	==	Tabl., mitt., gebr., nicht ganz vollst.
	2023	==	Tabl., kl., gebr., vollst.
	2024	==	Tabl., kl., gebr., vollst.
	2025	==	Tabl., kl., gebr., vollst.
	2026	==	Tabl., kl., gebr., vollst.
	2027[1014]	==	Tabl., kl., gebr., vollst.
	2028[1015]	==	Tabl., kl., gebr., vollst.

[1000] VAT.9116 = WF 26.
[1001] VAT.9082 = WF 56.
[1002] VAT.9132 = WF 28.
[1003] VAT.9081 = WF 24.
[1004] VAT.9119 = WF 57.
[1005] VAT.12603 = WF 60; + F.2038.
[1006] VAT.12604 = WF 51.
[1007] VAT.12432 = WF 44.
[1008] VAT.12430.
[1009] VAT.12610 = WF 55.
[1010] VAT.12559 = WF 13 oder VAT.12428 = WF 143? F.2015 ist unter beiden VAT-Nummern im Inventar eingetragen!
[1011] VAT.9075 = WF 124.
[1012] VAT.9072 = WF 6.
[1013] VAT.12436 = WF 5.
[1014] VAT.12429 = WF 148.
[1015] VAT.12427 = WF 43.

2029[1016] == Tabl., kl., gebr., vollst.
2030[1017] == Tabl., mitt., gebr. zerbr.
2031[1018] <nördl. von> XVh; <1.20-1,40> Tabl., kl., gebr., vollst. zerbr.
2032[1019] == Tabl., kl., gebr., vollst. zerbr.
2033 == Tabl., kl., gebr., unvollst.
2034 == Tabl., mitt., ungebr., unvollst.
2035 == Bruchst. einer Tabl.
2036 == Bruchst. einer Tabl.
2037 == Bruchst. einer mitt. Tabl.
2038 == Tabl., mitt., gebr., vollst.
2039 == 2 Tabl. in einem Kloss, zerbr.
2040[1020] == 1 Tabl., gr., gebr., vollst., einseitig beschr.(?)
2041[1021] == 1 Tabl., gr., gebr., vollst., zweiseitig beschr.
2042 == 1 Tabl., kl., gebr., nicht ganz vollst.
2043[1022] == 1 Tabl., kl., gebr., vollst.
2044[1023] == 1 Tabl., kl., gebr., vollst.
2045 == Bruchst. einer mitt. Tabl.
2046 == Tabl., mitt., gebr., vollst. geborsten
2047[1024] == Tabl., mitt., gebr., vollst.
2048[1025] == Tabl., mitt., gebr., vollst.
2049 == Tabl., mitt., gebr., vollst.
2050 == Tabl., mitt., gebr., vollst.
2051[1026] == Tabl., kl., gebr., unvollst.
2052 == Tabl., kl., gebr., unvollst.
2053 –– Tabl., mitt., <gebr.>, vollst.
2054[1027] == Tabl., kl., <gebr.>, vollst.
2055 == Tabl., kl., <gebr.>, vollst.
2056[1028] == Tabl., kl., <gebr.>, vollst.
2057 == Tabl., kl., <gebr.>, vollst.
2058 == Tabl., kl., <gebr.>, vollst.
2059 == Tabl., kl., <gebr.>, vollst.
2060 == Tabl., kl., <gebr.>, zieml. vollst.
2061 == Tabl., kl., <gebr.>, vollst.
2062 == Tabl., kl., <gebr.>, vollst.
2063[1029] == Tabl., mitt., <gebr.>, vollst.
2064[1030] == Tabl., mitt., <gebr.>, vollst.
2065[1031] == Tabl., mitt., <gebr.>, vollst.

[1016] VAT.12660 = WF 119.
[1017] VAT.12745 = WF 3.
[1018] VAT.12434 = WF 121.
[1019] VAT.12609 = WF 14.
[1020] VAT.12425 = WF 59.
[1021] VAT.12574 = SF 63.
[1022] VAT.12611 = WF 109.
[1023] VAT.12585 = WF 50.
[1024] VAT.12662 = WF 120.
[1025] VAT.12621 = WF 16.
[1026] VAT.12634 = WF 11.
[1027] VAT.12583 = WF 49.
[1028] VAT.12584 = WF 140.
[1029] VAT.12622 = WF 52.
[1030] VAT.12567 = WF 48.
[1031] VAT.12489 = WF 12.

	2066	<nördl. von?> XVh	Tabl., mitt., gebr., vollst.
	2067	==	Tabl., gr., gebr., ganz zerbr.
	2068	==	Tabl., gr., gebr., zerbr.
	2069	==	Bruchst. einer gr. gebr. Tabl.
	2070	==	Tabl., kl., gebr., vollst.
	2071	==	Bruchstücke
	2072	==	Tabl., kl., gebr., vollst.
	2073	==	Tabl., kl., gebr., unvollst.
	2074[1032]	==	Tabl., mitt., gebr., vollst.
	2075	==	Tabl., gr., gebr., vollst., 2seit. beschr., Ränder beschädigt
	2076	==	Tabl., gr., gebr., vollst.
	2077	==	Tabl., gr., gebr., ganz zerbr.
	2078[1033]	==	Tabl., gr., gebr., ganz zerbr.
31.1.1903	GTB: Tablettenfunde in XVh dauern an.		
	2082[1034]	<nördl. von?> XVh	gebr. Tabl., gr., gut, etwas abgespalten
	2083[1035]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., gut
	2084[1036]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., gut
	2085[1037]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., gut
	2086[1038]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., gut
	2087[1039]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., gut Oberfläche besplittert [sic]
	2088	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., beschädigt
	2089[1040]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., Ecke abgesplittert
	2090	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., halb abgebrochen
	2091	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., 3 Stücke, unvollst.
	2092[1041]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., 3 Stücke u. Splitter
	2093	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., schl. erh.
	2094[1042]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., halb
	2095[1043]	==	gebr. Tabl., mitt., gut
	2096	==	gebr. Tabl., mitt., gut
	2097	==	gebr. Tabl., mitt., beschädigt
	2098	==	gebr. Tabl., mitt., mit 2 abgebrochenen Stücken
	2099	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., 2 Stücke
	2100	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., beschädigt
	2101[1044]	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., 1 Seite gut
	2102	==	gebr. Tabl., kl.
	2103[1045]	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2104	==	gebr. Tabl., mitt., halb
	2105	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., halb

[1032] VAT.12644 = SF 6.
[1033] VAT.12646 = WF 71.
[1034] VAT.12729 = WF 78.
[1035] VAT.9070 = WF 18.
[1036] VAT.9129 = WF 91.
[1037] VAT.9111 = WF 107.
[1038] VAT.9125 = WF 69.
[1039] VAT.12814 = WF 72.
[1040] VAT.12674 = WF 75.
[1041] VAT.12511 = WF 74.
[1042] VAT.12424 = WF 7.
[1043] VAT.9074 = WF 106.
[1044] VAT.12778 = SF 72.
[1045] VAT.9083 = WF 23.

1.2.1903	2113	bei XVh	gebr. Tabl., gr., etwas abgesplitterte Oberfläche
	2114[1046]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., Stück rausgesplittert
	2115[1047]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., gut
	2116[1048]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., gut, kl. Ecke abgebr.
	2117[1049]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., geborsten
	2118[1050]		gebr. Tabl., gr., beschädigt
	2119[1051]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., 3 gr. Stücke u. viele Splitter
	2120[1052]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., ganz überwachsen
	2121	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., schl.
	2122	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., ganz in Splittern
	2123	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., ganz in Splittern
	2124[1053]	==	gebr. Tabl., mitt., mit Bruchstücken
	2125	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., nur Bruchstücke
	2126	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., halb, mit Bruchstücken
	2127	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., schl., mit Bruchstücken
	2128[1054]	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2129[1055]	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2130	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2131[1056]	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2132	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut wenig drauf
	2133[1057]	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2134[1058]	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2135	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2136	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2137	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., schl., 2 Stücke
	2139[1059]	==	gebr. Tabl., zerbr., gr.
	2140[1060]	==	gebr. Tabl., zerbr., gr.
	2141[1061]	==	gebr. Tabl., zerbr., gr.
	2142[1062]	==	gebr. Tabl., gut, sehr gr. 28:32 cm
	2143[1063]	==	gebr. Tabl., mitt., zerbr.
	2144	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., schl.
	2145	==	gebr. Tabl., mitt., Bruchst.
	2146	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., kl. Bruchst.
	2147	==	gebr. Tabl., Bruchstücke

1046 VAT.12433 = WF 9.
1047 VAT.9109 = WF 77.
1048 VAT.9080 = WF 68.
1049 VAT.12586 = WF 67.
1050 VAT.12654 = WF 70.
1051 VAT.12784 = WF 66.
1052 VAT.12625 = SF 20.
1053 VAT.12440 = WF 61.
1054 VAT.12503 = SF 60.
1055 VAT.9077 = WF 87.
1056 VAT.9071 = WF 19.
1057 VAT.12661 = WF 42.
1058 VAT.9084 = WF 20.
1059 VAT.12587 = SF 64.
1060 VAT.12645 = SF 69.
1061 VAT.12426 = SF 18.
1062 VAT.9112 = SF 55.
1063 VAT.12627 = WF 15.

2.2.1903	2148	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., halb
	2149	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., ganz
	2150[1064]	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., ganz
	2151[1065]	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., ganz
	2152	==	gebr. Tabl., mitt., stark zerbochen
	2153	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., ganz
	2154[1066]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., zerbr., mit Bruchst.
	2155	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., ganz
	2156	==	gebr. Tabl., mitt., in 3 Stücken
	2157[1067]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr. (mittel.), gut
	2158	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., schl. erh.
	2159[1068]	==	gebr. Tabl., mitt., gut
	2160[1069]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., gut Ecke ab
	2161[1070]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., gut
	2162[1071]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., schl., gespalten in 2 Theile
	2163[1072]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., an den Ecken beschädigt
	2164[1073]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., mit einem Stücke der ganz gr. zusammengehörig
	2165[1074]	==	gebr. Tabl., sehr gr., aber gänzlich zerbr.
	2166[1075]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., mit Zeichnungen hinten
	2167[1076]	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, zerbr.
3.2.1903	2168[1077]	==[1078]	gebr. Tabl., gr., gut u. ganz
	2169	==	gebr. Tabl., mitt. (gross), längs gespalten
	2170	==	gebr. Tabl., mitt., halb
	2171	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2172	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., abgesplittert
	2173	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., (gut) zerbröckelt
	2174	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, gut
	2175	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., schl. Bruchst.
	2176	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., schl.
	2177	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut, schwarz
	2178	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut, schwarz
	2179[1079]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., gebogen
	2180[1080]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr.

[1064] VAT.12478 = WF 64.
[1065] VAT.12481 = WF 46.
[1066] VAT.12573 = SF 23; + F.2212.
[1067] VAT.12693 = SF 10.
[1068] VAT.9126 = WF 27.
[1069] VAT.12777 = SF 19.
[1070] VAT.9124 = SF 58.
[1071] VAT.12652 = SF 33.
[1072] VAT.12582 = SF 56.
[1073] VAT.12650 = SF 43.
[1074] VAT.12575 = SF 40 oder VAT.12764 = SF 27? F.2165 ist im Inventar unter beiden VAT-Nummern eingetragen. In HFara, 67, ist F.2165 Fehler für F.2166.
[1075] VAT.9130 = SF 75. HFara, 67; vgl. vorige Anm.
[1076] VAT.12547 = SF 13.
[1077] VAT.9108 = SF 57.
[1078] In der Objektbeschreibung steht ein auf die Fundstelle bezüglicher Zusatz "aus der Nische".
[1079] VAT.12421 = SF 16.
[1080] VAT.12806 = SF 81.

	2181[1081]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., gebrochen, mit viel Lehm
	2182[1082]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr. gebrochen
	2183[1083]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., am Rande gesplittert
	2184	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, gut
	2185	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, gut
	2186	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, gut
	2187	==	gebr. Tabl., Splitter
	2188	==	gebr. Tabl., schwarz, Splitter
	2189	==	gebr. Tabl., schwarz, Splitter
4.2.1903	2196	bei XVh	gebr. Tabl., gr., vollst., aber zerbr.
	2197[1084]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., vollst., aber zerbr.
	2198	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., vollst., aber zerbr.
	2199[1085]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr. vollst., aber zerbr.
	2200[1086]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., vollst., aber zerbr.
	2201	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., vollst., aber zerbr.
	2202	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., vollst., aber zerbr.
	2203	==	gebr. Tabl., Bruchst. (1/2 gross)
	2204	==	gebr. Tabl., Bruchst. einer gr.
	2205[1087]	==	gebr. Tabl., Bruchst. einer gr.
	2206	==	gebr. Tabl., schwarz, kl., zerbr.
	2207	==	gebr. Tabl., schwarz, kl., zerbr.
	2208	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut, beschädigt
	2209	==	gebr. Tabl., Bruchst. von einer gr.
	2210	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, zerbr.
	2211	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., Br. (von einer gr.)
	2212[1088]	==	gebr. Tabl., zwei Bruchstücke von einer gr.
	2213	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, beschädigt
	2214	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, beschädigt
	2215	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, zerbr.
	2216	==	gebr. Tabl., Bruchst. von einer gr.
	2217	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, beschädigt
	2218	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, beschädigt
	2219[1089]	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, schl.
	2220[1090]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr., gr. Ecke abgebrochen
	{2221}[1091]		
5.2.1903	2223	==	gebr. Tabl., schwarz, gr., beschädigt
	2224[1092]	==	gebr. Tabl., in lauter Bruchstücken
	2225	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, nebst Bruchstücken
	2226	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, nebst Bruchstücken

[1081] VAT.12643 = SF 42.
[1082] VAT.12770 = SF 15.
[1083] VAT.12653 = SF 12.
[1084] VAT.12751 = SF 9.
[1085] VAT.12761 = SF 7.
[1086] VAT.12759 = SF 29 (?).
[1087] VAT.12775 = SF 9.
[1088] VAT.12760 = SF 1; VAT.12573 = SF 23. F.2212 ist unter beiden VAT-Nummern im Inventar eingetragen, auf den Tafeln nicht verifizierbar. Vgl. F.12760.
[1089] VAT.12483 = WF 126.
[1090] Zusammen mit SF 26 = VAT.12655 aufbewahrt.
[1091] Kein Schriftfund: "Feuersteinmesser, mit den Tabletten gefunden".
[1092] VAT.12760 = SF 1. Vgl. F.2212.

	2227	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, nebst Bruchstücken schl.
	2228	=	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, nebst Bruchstücken schl.
	2229	bei XVh	gebr. Tabl., gr., fast vollständig, mit Bruchstücken
	2230	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, gut
	2231	=	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, schl.
	2232	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, schl.
	2233	=	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, schl.
	2234	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, schl.
	2235	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, halb
	2236[1093]	— =	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, gut
	2237	=	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, schl.
	2238	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, schl. halb
	2239	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, beschädigt
	2240	=	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, ganz schl.
	2241	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, ganz schl. u. zerbr.
	2242	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, gut
	2243	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, gut
6.2.1903	GTB: Funde in Fara bei XVh spärlicher.		
	2244	= =	gebr. Tabl., gr., schwarz, zerbr., mit Bruchstücken
	2245	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, zerbr.
	2246	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, zerbr.
	2247	= —	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, zerbr.
	2248	— =	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, zerbr.
	2249	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, zieml. gut
	2250	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, zieml. gut
	2251	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, vielleicht gut
	2252	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, zerbr.
	2253	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, ganz zerbr.
	2254	= —	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, ganz zerbr.
	2255	=	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, ganz zerbr.
	2256[1094]	= =	gebr. Tabl., gr., gut, schwarz
	2257	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut[1095]
	2258	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., halb
	2259	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2260	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut, schwarz
	2261	— —	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut, schwarz
	2262	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut, schwarz
	2263	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., halb schwarz
	2264	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., mässig, roth
	2265	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., Bruchst., schw.
	2279[1096]	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, gut
	2280	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, gut
	2281	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, gut
	2282	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, gut
	2283	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, gut
	2284[1097]	= =	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, gut

[1093] VAT.9110 = WF 137.
[1094] VAT.9076 = SF 36.
[1095] VAT.9123 = WF 4.
[1096] VAT.9073.
[1097] VAT.12735 = WF 1.

	2285	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, gut
	2286	==	gebr. Tabl., gr. (mittel), schwarz, gut
	2287	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gebrochen
	2288	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., halb
	2289	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., roth, zerbr.
	2290	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, Splitter
	2291	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, zerbr.
	2292	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., roth, 1/2
	2293	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., Splitter
	2294	==	gebr. Tabl., kl. schwarz, beschädigt
	2295	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., Bruchst.
	2296	==	gebr. Tabl., kl. Bruchst.
7.2.1903	2297	==	gebr. Tabl., rothe Splitter
	2298	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2299	==[1098]	gebr. Tabl., kl. (mittel), beschädigt, sonst gut
	2300	==	gebr. Tabl., kl. (mittel), beschädigt
	2301	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2302	==	gebr. Tabl., kl. gut
	2303	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2304	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut, zerbr.
	2305	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2306[1099]	==	gebr. Tabl., kl. (mittel), gut
	2307[1100]	==	gebr. Tabl., kl. (mittel), roth, gut, gebrochen mit Bruchst.
	2308	==	gebr. Tabl., Bruchst.; Siegelabdrucke
	2311	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, gut
	2312	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, gut
	2313	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, gut
	2314[1101]	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., roth gut
	2315	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., (mittel) schl.
	2316	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2317	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., schl.
	2318	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., Bruchst.
	2319	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., Bruchst., halb
	2320	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., Bruchst., halb
8.2.1903	GTB: Sonntag, nur am Tablettenhaus wird gearbeitet.		
	2322[1102]	==	gebr. Tabl., gr. gut (etwas abgesplittert)
	2323	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, gut
	2324	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., Bruchst.
	2325	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., 2 Stück in einem Klos
	2328	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., schwarz, gut
	2329	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2330	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut (keine Schrift!)
	2331	==	gebr. Tabl., Bruchst. mit Splittern
	2335	nördl. von VIIo[1103]	ungebr. Tabl., gebrochen nebst Bruchstücken

[1098] In der Objektbeschreibung steht ein auf die Fundstelle bezüglicher Zusatz "aus dem Topf".
[1099] VAT.12597 = SF 54.
[1100] VAT.12626 = SF 5.
[1101] VAT.12486 = WF 108.
[1102] VAT.12773 = SF 41.
[1103] Nicht "XVh" (so Martin)!

Datum	Nr.	Fundort	Beschreibung
	2336	bei XVh	gebr. Tabl., Bruchst.
	2337	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., roth, gut
	2338[1104]	==; aus nördlichem Gemach	gebr. Tabl., gr.(24×25 cm), gebrochen, sonst gut
10.2.1903	GTB: Im Tablettenhaus hören die Funde so ziemlich auf.		
11.2.1903	GTB: Das Gros der Arbeiter ist jetzt bis in die Gegend des Tablkettenhauses vorgedrungen		
	2347[1105]	bei XVh; aus der Ostwand	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2348	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2349	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2350[1106]	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2351	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2352	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2353	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2354	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2355	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2356	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2357	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2358	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2359	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2360	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2361	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2362	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
	2363	==	gebr. Tabl., kl., gut
12.2.1903	2369	XVaa[1107]	Siegelzylinder, schl., mit Schrift
13.2.1903	2370	südl. von IIco	Tabl., ungebr., mitt., schl.
	2371	==	Tabl., ungebr., kl., schl.
	2372	==	Tabl., ungebr., ganz zerbr.
	2373	==	Tabl., ungebr., ganz zerbr.
	2374	==	Tabl., ungebr., Bruchstücke
	2375	==	Tabl., ungebr., gr., aber gänzlich zerbr.
14.2.1903	GTB: Rings um das Tablettenhaus wird stark gearbeitet, aber ohne wesentliche Funde.		
	2377	südl. von XVf	Tabl.bruch
	2379	==	Tabl.bruch
	2380	==	Tabl.bruch
	2381	südl. von XIVs	Tabl., gebr., kl., gut
	2382	südl. von XVb	Tabl., gebr., halb, schl.
17.2.1903	2385	bei XVh; Tablettenhaus in der S-Wand	Tabl., <gebr.>, schwarz, kl., gut
	2386	bei XVp	ungebr. Tabl., ganz schl., lauter Bruch
	2387	==	ungebr. Tabl., ganz schl., lauter Bruch
	2388	==	ungebr. Tabl., ganz schl., lauter Bruch
	2389	==	ungebr. Tabl., ganz schl., lauter Bruch

[1104] VAT.12497 = WF 76.
[1105] VAT.12699.
[1106] VAT.12435 = WF 8.
[1107] Nicht "XVac" (so Martin)!

18.2.1903	2395	<N. von IIcm?>	ungebr. Tabl., 1/2, schl.
	2396	==	ungebr. Tabl., 1/2, schl.
	2397[1108]	==	ungebr. Tabl., zieml. gut
	2398	==	ungebr. Tabl., 1/2, schl.
	2399	==	ungebr. Tabl., schl. Bruchstücke
	2400	==	ungebr. Tabl., mässig
	2401	==	ungebr. Tabl., schl.
	2402	==	ungebr. Tabl., 1/2, schl.
	2403	==	ungebr. Tabl., 1/2, schl.
	2404	==	ungebr. Tabl., Schund
	2405	bei XVh	ungebr. Tabl., Bruch
	2406	==	ungebr. Tabl., schl.
	2407	==	ungebr. Tabl., schl.
	2409	im Tablettenhaus[1109]	gebr. Tabl., mitt., zerbr.
	2410	südl. von IIcm	ungebr. Tabl., ganz schl.
	2411	==	ungebr. Tabl., ganz schl.
	2412	==	ungebr. Tabl., <ganz schl.?>
	2413	==	ungebr. Tabl., <ganz schl.?>
	2414	==	ungebr. Tabl., <ganz schl.?>
	2415	==	ungebr. Tabl., <ganz schl.?>
	2416[1110]	bei XIIIcm[1111]	ungebr. Tabl., schl.
	2417[1112]	==	ungebr. Tabl., schl., Bruch
	2418[1113]	bei XIVt-u[1114]	ungebr Tabl., <schl.?>
20.2.1903	2434[1115]	<nördl. von XVf/t?>	kl. Tabl., schwarz, gut
	2435	==	kl. Tabl., schwarz, gut
	2436	==	Tabl.bruch
23.2.1903	2441	südl. von XVIk	Tabl., kl.
	2443	bei IIIat?[1116]	Tabl., ungebr., ganz, kl.
	2444	==	Tabl., ungebr.
	2445	==	Tabl., ungebr.
	2446	==	Tabl., ungebr., länglich
	2447[1117]	==	Tabl., ungebr., 1/2
	2448	– –	Tabl., Bruch; Siegelabdr.
	2450	bei XIVv[1118]	Tabl., kl., gut
	2451	==	Tabl., kl., schl.
	2452	– –	Tabl., kl., schl.
	2453	==	Tabl., kl., Bruch
	2454	südl. von XVy	gebr. Tabl., mitt., gut
	2456	bei IIIat	ungebr. Tabl., sehr kl., schl.
	2457	==	ungebr. Tabl., <sehr?> kl., <schl.?>

[1108] VAT.12572 = WF 133.
[1109] Vor "im Tablettenhaus" steht: "aber leider? früher gefunden".
[1110] VAT.12675 = SF 35; oder VAT.9052? S.u. Anm. 1126.
[1111] Fehler für IIcm?
[1112] VAT.12567.
[1113] VAT.12568 = WF 128.
[1114] XIVtu, mit Strich unter tu. XIVtu gibt es auf dem Plan nicht.
[1115] VAT.12563 = WF 131.
[1116] XIIIat; X scheint jedoch getilgt zu sein!
[1117] VAT.12623 = WF 116.
[1118] XIVv gibt es auf dem Plan nicht!

	2458	==	ungebr. Tabl., <sehr?> kl., <schl.?>
	2459	==	ungebr. Tabl., <sehr?> kl., <schl.?>
	2460	==	ungebr. Tabl., <sehr?> kl., <schl.?>
	2461	==	ungebr. Tabl., Bruch
24.2.1903	2463	bei XIVv	ungebr. Tabl., ganz zersplittert
	2464	==	ungebr. Tabl., ganz zersplittert
	2465	==	ungebr. Tabl., ganz zersplittert
25.2.1903	2469	bei IIIat	sehr kl. Tabl.
27.2.1903	2473	bei XIVv	kl. Tabl.
	2475	==	2 Tabl.fragmente
28.2.1903	2480	<bei XIVv?>	kl. Tabl., zerbr.

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IVas: F.663; 683.
IVau: F.667.
IVbe: F.699.
IVbg: F.709; 710; 711.
IVcc: F.734; 748.

Va: F.744 (Oberfläche).
Vd: F.763.
Vo: F.784.
Vs: F.787.
Vae: F.817; 809; 812.

VIg: F.829.
VIak: F.1897.
VIam: F.859.

VIIo: F.2335 (nördlich).
VIIq: F.881.
VIIu: F.1063 (auf Fußboden); 1096; 1106; 1107; 1108; 1109; 1110; 1111; 1112; 1113; 1114; 1115; 1124; 1282 (W-Raum).
VIIav: F.893.

VIIIh: F.998; 1010.
VIIIo (?): F.949.
VIIIaf: F.975.

IXf: F.953; 976; 983.
IXg: F.970; 1007; 923 (in Blechkiste); 924 (in Blechkiste); 925 (in Blechkiste); 926 (in Blechkiste); 927 (in Blechkiste); 928 (in Blechkiste); 929 (in Blechkiste); 930 (in Blechkiste); 931 (in Blechkiste); 932 (in Blechkiste); 933 (in Blechkiste?); 934 (in Blechkiste); 939.
IXaa: F.956; 957; 958; 959; 960; 961; 962; 963; 964; 965; 966; 967; 968; 969; 972; 973; 978; 984; 989; 992; 993; 994; 995; 1003.
IXad: F.944.

Xa: F.977; 997.
Xh: F.987.

XIs: F.1009.
XIcg: F.1035.

XIIb: F.1043.
XIIap: F.1051.

XIIIa : F.1125 (nördlich).
XIIIb: F.1139 (Grundriß nördlich).
XIIIc: F.1140.
XIIId: F.1064; 1075; 1101; 1116; 1117; 1118; 1119; 1120; 1182 (Libben-Gebäude nördlich).
XIIIf: F.1061 (auf Fußboden); 1062 (auf Fußboden); 1070; 1073; 1177 ; 1082; 1086; 1091; 1097; 1141; 1142; 1143; 1144; 1145; 1146; 1147; 1148; 1149; 1150; 1151; 1152; 1153; 1154; 1155; 1156; 1157; 1158; 1159; 1160; 1161; 1162; 1163; 1164; 1165; 1166; 1167; 1168; 1169; 1170; 1171; 1172; 1173; 1174; 1175; 1176; 1178.
Gebäude bei XIIIf, N-Raum und Annex: F.1192; 1193; 1194; 1195; 1196; 1197; 1198; 1199.
Gebäude bei XIIIf, NW-Raum: F.1200; 1201; 1213; 1214; 1215; 1216; 1217.
XIIIf: Grundriß nördlich: F.1219; 1220.
XIIg: F.1077; 1084; 1098; 1122; 1180 (Libben-Grundriß, NW-Raum).
XIIIh: F.1135; 1137.
XIIIal (?): F.1495 (Grundriss nördl.).
XIIIcm: siehe IIcm.

XIVb: F.1134; 1136.
XIVs: F.2381 (südlich).
XIVt-u (?): F.2418.
bei XIVv (?): F.2480; 2452; 2453; 2450; 2451; 2463; 2464; 2465; 2473; 2475.

XVa: Grundriß nördl.: F.1386; 1387; 1392; 1393.
XVb: F.1191 (Libben-Gebäude); 1229 (Libben-Gebäude); 1230 (Libben-Gebäude); 1326 (Grundriß bei XVb, südlich); 1327 (Nord); 1494 (Grundriß bei XVb); 1497 (südlich); 1499 (nördlich, aus Grab/Grube); 1531 (Grundriß nördlich?); 1532 (Grundriß nördlich?); 2382 (südlich).
XVc: F.1328 (Grundriß bei XVc).
XVd: F.1184; 1186.
südl. von XVf: F.2377 ; 2379; 2380.
nördl. von XVf/t?: F.2434; 2435; 2436.
XVg: F.1901 (Grundriß).
XV<h>: F.1977; 1978; 1979.
nördl. von XVh: F.1980; 1981; 1982; 1983; 1984; 1985; 1986; 1987; 1988; 1989; 1990; 1991; 1992; 1993; 1994; 1995; 1996; 1997; 2008; 2009; 2010; 2011; 2012; 2013; 2014; 2015; 2016; 2017; 2018; 2019; 2020; 2021; 2022; 2023; 2024; 2025; 2026; 2027; 2028; 2029; 2030; 2031; 2032; 2033; 2034; 2035; 2036; 2037; 2038; 2039; 2040; 2041; 2042; 2043; 2044; 2045; 2046; 2047; 2048; 2049; 2050; 2051; 2052; 2053; 2054; 2055; 2056; 2057; 2058; 2059; 2060; 2061; 2062; 2063; 2064; 2065; 2066; 2067; 2068; 2069; 2070; 2071; 2072; 2073; 2074; 2075; 2076; 2077; 2078; 2082; 2083; 2084; 2085; 2086; 2087; 2088; 2089; 2090; 2091; 2092; 2093; 2094; 2095; 2096; 2097; 2098; 2099; 2100; 2101; 2102; 2103; 2104; 2105.
bei XVh: F.2113; 2114; 2115; 2116; 2117; 2118; 2119; 2120; 2121; 2122; 2123; 2124; 2125; 2126; 2127; 2128; 2129; 2130; 2131; 2132; 2133; 2134; 2135; 2136; 2137; 2139; 2140; 2141; 2142; 2143; 2144; 2145; 2146; 2147; 2148; 2149; 2150; 2151; 2152; 2153; 2154; 2155; 2156; 2157; 2158; 2159; 2160; 2161; 2162; 2163; 2164; 2165; 2166; 2167; 2168; 2169; 2170; 2171; 2172; 2173; 2174; 2175; 2176; 2177; 2178; 2179; 2180; 2181; 2182; 2183; 2184; 2185; 2186; 2187; 2188; 2189; 2196; 2197; 2198; 2199; 2200; 2201; 2202; 2203; 2204; 2205; 2206; 2207; 2208; 2209; 2210; 2211; 2212; 2213; 2214; 2215; 2216; 2217; 2218; 2219; 2220; 2221; 2223; 2224; 2225; 2226; 2227; 2228; 2229; 2230; 2231; 2232; 2233; 2234; 2235; 2236; 2237; 2238; 2239; 2240; 2241; 2242; 2243; 2244; 2245; 2246; 2247; 2248; 2249; 2250; 2251; 2252; 2253; 2254; 2255; 2256; 2257; 2258; 2259; 2260; 2261; 2262; 2263; 2264; 2265; 2279; 2280; 2281; 2282; 2283; 2284; 2285; 2286; 2287; 2288; 2289; 2290; 2291; 2292; 2293; 2294; 2295; 2296; 2297; 2298; 2299; 2300; 2301; 2302; 2303; 2304; 2305; 2306; 2307; 2308; 2311; 2312; 2313; 2314; 2315; 2316; 2317; 2318; 2319; 2320; 2322; 2323; 2324; 2325; 2328; 2329; 2330; 2331; 2336; 2337; 2338 (aus nördl. Gemach); 2405; 2406; 2407.

bei XVh, Ostwand: F.2347; 2348; 2349; 2350; 2351; 2352; 2353; 2354; 2355; 2356; 2357; 2358; 2359; 2360; 2361; 2362; 2363.
bei XVh, Tablettenhaus, in der Südwand: F.2385.
<bei XVh> Tablettenhaus: F.2409.
bei XVp: F.2386; 2387; 2388; 2389.
XVy: F.2454 (südl.).
XVaa: F.2369.

XVI (?): F.1498.
XVId: F.1595 (Grundriß südlich, im Brandschutt).
XVIe: F.1552; 1761 (Grundriß); 1762 (Grundriß); 1763 (Grundriß); 1774; 1775; 1787; 1788.
XVIi: F.1616; 1617; 1618; 1619; 1620; 1621; 1622; 1623; 1624; 1625; 1634; 1635; 1647; 1746; 1747.
XVIk: F.1626; 1627; 1628; 1629; 1631; 1632; 1633; 1648; 1650; 1651; 1652; 1653; 1654; 1655; 1656; 1657; 1658; 1659; 1660; 1776; 1777; 2441 (südl.).
XVIl: F.1630.
XVIv: F.1823; 1824.
XVIy: F.1792.
XVIz: F.1789; 1790; 1791; 1794; 1795; 1796; 1797; 1798; 1799; 1800; 1801; 1802; 1803; 1804; 1805; 1793.

XVIIc: F.1614 (nördlich): F.1615 (südlich); 1661; 1662; 1663; 1664; 1665; 1666; 1667; 1668; 1669; 1670; 1671; 1672; 1673; 1674; 1675; 1676; 1677; 1678; 1679; 1680; 1681; 1682; 1683; 1684; 1685; 1686; 1687; 1688; 1689; 1690; 1691; 1692; 1693; 1694; 1695; 1696; 1697; 1698; 1699; 1700; 1701; 1702; 1703; 1704; 1705; 1706; 1707; 1708; 1709; 1710; 1711; 1712; 1713; 1714; 1715; 1716; 1717; 1718; 1855; 1856; 1857.
XVIId: F.1555 (südlich, Hausgrundriß); 1557 (nördlich); 1719 (Grundriss südlich); 1720 (Grundriss südlich); 1721 (Grundriß nördlich); 1722 (Grundriß nördlich); 1723 (Grundriß nördlich); 1724 (Grundriß nördlich); 1725 (Grundriß nördlich); 1726 (Grundriß nördlich); 1727 (Grundriß nördlich); 1728 (Grundriß nördlich); 1729 (Grundriß nördlich); 1730 (Grundriß nördlich); 1731 (Grundriß nördlich); 1732 (Grundriß nördlich); 1733 (Grundriß nördlich); 1734 (Grundriß nördlich); 1735 (Grundriß nördlich); 1736 (Grundriß nördlich); 1737 (Grundriß nördlich); 1738 (Grundriß nördlich); 1739 (Grundriß nördlich); 1740 (Grundriß nördlich); 1741 (Grundriß nördlich); 1757 (Grundriß nördlich); 1758 (Grundriß nördlich); 1759 (Grundriß nördlich); 1760 (Grundriß nördlich); 1786 (nördlich von Grundriß).

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XVIIIa: F.1853; 1854.

XIXs (?): F.1893; 1894.

11.2. Anhang 2: Die Schriftfunde der Pennsylvania-Grabung in Fāra[1119]

Abkürzungen:
D.P. = drainpipe
frg. = fragment
inscr. = inscribed

F.Nr.	Fundstelle	Beschreibung
13[1120]	DE 39, next to D.P. 7	inscr. tablet (4; 4; 2)
14	DE 39, D.P. 7	inscr. tablet (6; 4; 2)
15	DE 39, D.P. 7	inscr. tablet (6; 4; 2)
16	DE 39, D.P. 7	inscr. tablet (3; 3; 2)
17	DE 39, D.P. 7	inscr. tablet (5; 5; 2)
18	DE 39, D.P. 7	inscr. tablet (4; 4; 2)
19	DE 39, D.P. 7	inscr. tablet (4; 3; 2)
20	DE 39, D.P. 7	inscr. tablet (4; 4; 2)
25	DE 39, D.P. 7	inscr. tablet (4; 4; 2)
26	DE 39, D.P. 7	inscr. tablet (4; 4; 2)
27	DE 39, D.P. 7	inscr. tablet (4; 4; 2)
28	DE 39, D.P. 7	inscr. tablet (4; 4; 2)
29	DE 39, D.P. 7	inscr. tablet (6; 5; 3)
30	DE 39, D.P. 7	inscr. tablet, 39 frg.s
41	DE 39, next to D.P. 7	inscr. tablet (3; 3; 2)
89	DE 39, D.P. 7	inscr. tablet (4; 4; 2)
90	DE 39, D.P. 7	inscr. tablet (3; 4; 2)
91	DE 39, D.P. 7	10 frg.s of inscr. tablets
98	DE 39, D.P. 7	22 frg.s of inscr. tablets
99	DE 39, next to D.P. 7	inscr. tablet (4; 4; 2)
128	FG 43; 0-0,20	inscr. tablet (5,8; 3,5; 1,9)
285	DE 39, below rim of D.P. 7; 1,20	2 frg.s of inscr. tablets
375	HI 48; 0,55-0,65	inscr. tablet (3,1; 3,1; 1,9)
376	HI 48; 0,55-0,65	inscr. tablet (3,5; 3,3; 1,9)
377	HI 48; 0,55-0,65	inscr. tablet, almost circular (3,4; 2,2)
378	HI 48; 0,55-0,65	inscr. tablet (3,6; 3,6; 1,9)
379	HI 48; 0,55-0,65	inscr. tablet, circular (3,1; 2)
380	HI 48; 0,55-0,65	inscr. tablet (4,1; 4,1; 2,1)
381	HI 48; 0,55-0,65	inscr. tablet (3,3; 3,3; 2,1)
382	HI 48; 0,55-0,65	inscr. tablet, almost circular (3,4; 2,2)
383	HI 48; 0,55-0,65	inscr. tablet, almost circular (3,4; 2,4)
384	HI 48; 0,55-0,65	inscr. tablet (5,3; 5,3; 2,1)
385	HI 48; 0,55-0,65	inscr. tablet (3,6; 3,6; 2,1)
386	HI 48; 0,55-0,65	inscr. tablet, circular (2,9; 1,9)
387	HI 48; 0,55-0,65	inscr. tablet (4; 4; 2,5)
388	HI 48; 0,55-0,65	inscr. tablet (2,4; 2,8; 2,3)
389	HI 48; 0,55-0,65	inscr. tablet, almost circular (3,5; 2,5)
390	HI 48; 0,55-0,65	inscr. tablet, almost circular (3; 2,2)
391	HI 48; 0,55-0,65	inscr. tablet, circular (3,3; 2,1)
392	HI 48; 0,55-0,65	inscr. tablet, fragmentary
400	HI 48, S.1; 0,55-0,65	inscr. tablet, almost circular (3,7-3,5; 2)

[1119] Nach MFara, Appendix VIII (Microfiche).
[1120] Umschrift: Kramer 1932, 112.

480 HI 48, S.1; 0,55-0,65 inscr. tablet (5,2; 4,8; 2,8)
481 HI 48, S.1; 0,55-0,65 inscr. tablet, circular (3,1-3,2; 1,9)
482 HI 48, S.1; 0,55-0,65 inscr. tablet, circular (2,7-3,1; 2,1)
483[1121] HI 48, S.1; 0,55-0,65 inscr. tablet, circular (2,5; 2)
484 HI 48, S.1; 0,55-0,65 inscr. tablet (3,7; 3,7; 1,8)
485 HI 48, S.1; 0,55-0,65 inscr. tablet, circular (2,5; 1,8)
486 HI 48, S.1; 0,55-0,65 inscr. tablet (3,1; 3; 1,8)
487 HI 48, S.1; 0,55-0,65 inscr. tablet (3,2; 3; 2,4)
488 HI 48, S.1; 0,55-0,65 inscr. tablet, circular (2,8; 1,9)
489 HI 48, S.1; 0,55-0,65 inscr. tablet (3,3; 2)
490 HI 48, S.1; 0,55-0,65 inscr. tablet (5,3; 5,2; 2,4)
500 HI 48, S.1; 0,55-0,65 inscr. tablet, almost circular (3; 2)
501 HI 48, S.1; 0,55-0,65 inscr. tablet (3,5; 3; 2,1)
502 HI 48, S.1; 0,55-0,65 inscr. tablet, almost circular (3,3-3,5; 1,9)
503 HI 48, S.1; 0,55-0,65 inscr. tablet, almost circular (2,5-2,8; 1,2)
504 HI 48, S.1; 0,55-0,65 inscr. tablet, circular (2,6-3; 2,1)
505 HI 48, S.1; 0,55-0,65 inscr. tablet (4,2; 4; 2,1)
506 HI 48, S.1-7; 0,20-0,65 inscr. tablet (3,5; 3,2; 2,1)
507 HI 48, S.1-7; 0,20-0,65 inscr. tablet, circular (2,8; 2)
508 HI 48, S.1-7; 0,20-0,65 inscr. tablet (4,9; 4,9; 2)
509 HI 48, S.1-7; 0,20-0,65 inscr. tablet (7,1; 4,1; 2,2)
510 HI 48, S.3; 1,0 inscr. tablet (7; 7; 2,4)
511 HI 48, S.6; 1,2 inscr. tablet (6,1; 6; 2,3)
512 HI 48, S.6; 1,2 inscr. tablet (8; 5; 2,4)
513 HI 48, S.6; 1,2 inscr. tablet (6,7; 5,6; 2,5)
514 HI 48, S.6; 1,2 inscr. tablet (5,2; 5; 1,9)
515 DE 39, D.P. 7; 0,25-0,50 inscr. tablet (3,5; 2,8; 1,9)
600 HI 58, S.1; 0,50-0,75 inscr. tablet (6,6; 6,6; 1,9)
601 HI 47, <S.8?>; 0,20 inscr. tablet, almost circular (4,2-4,7; 2,2)
602[1122] HI 58, <S.1?>; 0,50-0,75 inscr. tablet (5,1; 4,9; 2,1)
603 HI 58, <S.1?>; 0,20-0,35 inscr. tablet, almost circular (4,6; 1,9)
697 HI 47, S.8; 0,95 inscr. tablet, frg. (5,6; 2,1; 2,4)
698 HI 58, S.7; 0,80 inscr. tablet (5,8; 5,3; 2,3)
730 HI 47, S.8; 1,3 inscr. tablet (5,7; 5,9; 2,9)
731 HI 47, S.8; 1,05-1,3 inscr. tablet, frg. (1; 3,2; 1,7)
750 Pit I; 4,25 inscr. tablet (2,3; 1,8; 1,6)
963 DE 38/39, D.P. 7; 2,0-2,30 inscr. tablet (3,8; 3,9; 1,9)
964 HI 47, S.9; 1,30 inscr. tablet, circular (4,3; 2,2)
966 DE 38/39, D.P. 7; 3,75-4,10 inscr. tablet (4,5; 4,7; 2,2)
967 DE 38/39, D.P. 7; 3,75-4,10 inscr. tablet, circular (4,2; 1,9)
968 DE 38/39, D.P. 7; 3,65-5,0 inscr. tablet, circular (5,9; 1,6)
969 DE 38/39, D.P. 7; 3,65-5,0 inscr. tablet (3,5; 3,5; 1,8)
970 DE 38/39, D.P. 7; 3,65-5,0 inscr. tablet (6,1; 4,4; 2,1)
971 DE 38/39, D.P. 7; 3,65-5,0 inscr. tablet (3,2; 3,1; 1,7)
972 DE 38/39, D.P. 7; 3,65-5,0 inscr. tablet, circular (3,2; 1,6)
973[1123] Pit I; 5,15 inscr. tablet (8,3; 4,7; 2)
974[1124] Pit II; 1,4 inscr. tablet (8,5; 5,1; 3)
975 Pit II; 1,6 inscr. tablet (7,4; 6,8; 3,1)
976 DE 38/39, D.P. 7; 4,65-5,0 inscr. tablet, circular (3,5; 1,4)
1171 HI 48, S.1; 0,55-0,65 11 frg.s of inscr. tablets

[1121] Umschrift: Kramer 1932, 112.
[1122] Umschrift: Kramer 1932, 112f.
[1123] Umschrift: Kramer 1932, 113f.
[1124] Umschrift: Kramer 1932, 113.

11.3. Anhang 3: Katalog der Fāra-Texte im Vorderasiatischen Museum, Berlin

Museumsnr.	Fundnr.	Publikation
VA		
6705	1035	HFāra, 4
6731	987	HFāra, 75 Abb. 46; Tf. 35,i
6755	556	HFāra, 34; 75 Abb. 46; Tf. 13,n
6789	817	HFāra, 54; 75 Abb. 46; Tf. 24,b
6798	456	HFāra, 34; 75 Abb. 46; Tf. 13,k
6808	665[1125]	Steinfrg. mit Inschriftrest
VAT		
9042	-	WF 99*
9043	-	WF 97
9044	-	-
9045	-	-
9046	-	-
9050	-	-
9051	-	-
9052	-[1126]	-
9053	-	-
9054	-	-
9056	-	WF 113
9057	-	WF 86
9058	-	-
9059	-	WF 54
9060	-	-
9061	-	-
9062	-	-
9063	-	-
9064	-	-
9065	-	-
9066	-	-
9069	-	-
9070	2083	WF 18
9071	2131	WF 19
9072	2018	WF 6
9073	2279	-
9074	2095	WF 106
9075	2017	WF 124
9076	2256	SF 36
9077	2129	WF 87
9078	1981	WF 22
9079	1980	WF 25
9080	2216	WF 68
9081	1989	WF 24
9082	1987[1127]	WF 56
9083	2103	WF 23
9084	2134	WF 20
9090	-	WF 29
9091	-	LAK, 73 Nr. 1
9093	-	-
9095	1010	WF 115
9097	428	WF 88
9104	866	SF 8
9105	-	WF 123
9106	-	-
9107	1661	WF 100
9108	2168	SF 57
9109	2115[1128]	WF 77
9110	2236	WF 137
9111	2085	WF 107
9112	2142	SF 55
9113	in Fara gekauft	WF 135
9114	in Fara gekauft	WF 151
9115	in Fara gekauft	WF 151*
9116	1986	WF 26
9117	1662	WF 95
9118	gekauft	WF 89
9119	1990	WF 57
9120	gekauft	WF 81
9121	gekauft	WF 138
9122	gekauft	WF 33
9123	2257	WF 4
9124	2161	SF 58
9125	2086	WF 69
9126	2159	WF 27
9127	1985	WF 58
9128	-	SF 77
9129	2084	WF 91

1125 Diese auf dem Stück befindliche Fundnummer muß fehlerhaft sein, da unter ihr im Fundjournal kein Steinfragment verzeichnet ist.

1126 Unklarer Eintrag im Inventar : "S[?] 2416". 2416 ist als Fundnummer von VAT.12675 = WF 35 eingetragen.

1127 Inventar: "oder 1861?". Dies ist aber kein Tafelfund.

1128 Inventar: "oder 2166b". Im Fundjournal ist jedoch unter F.2166 nur eine Tafel mit Zeichungen auf der Rs. eingetragen (= SF 75).

9130	2166[1129]	SF 75
9131	1984	WF 45
9132	1988	WF 28
9133	2096	-
12421	2179	SF 16
12422	-	WF 65
12423	1116	-
12424	2094	WF 7
12425	2040	SF 59
12426	2141	SF 18
12427	2028	WF 43
12428	2015	WF 143
12429	2027	WF 148
12430	2012	-
12431	-	WF 73
12432	2011	WF 44
12433	2114	WF 9
12434	2031	WF 121
12435	2350	WF 8
12436	2020	WF 5
12437	254	WF 34
12438	1658	WF 141
12439	-	WF 21
12440	2124	WF 61
12441	1695	WF 150
12443	233	WF 35
12444	1670	WF 147
12445	-	WF 96
12448	-	WF 10
12449	1664^{a}	WF 118
12450	-	WF 125
12451	195	WF 136
12452	-	WF 83
12454	1663^{a}	WF 92
12455	1702	WF 98
12457	-	WF 149
12478	2150	WF 64
12481	2151	WF 46
12483	2219	WF 126
12486	2314	WF 108
12489	2065	WF 12
12490	1494	WF 47
12497	2338	WF 76
12503	2128	SF 60
12511	2092	WF 74
12514	342	WF 122
12515	-	SF 79
12520	-	WF 41

12521	352	-
12523	375	WF 36
12524	304	SF 46
	+ 0305	
	+ 0310	
12525	306	SF 49
12526	303	SF 62
12531	300	SF 28
12533	1403	WF 2
12534	1688	WF 102
12537	1669	WF 99
12538	1686	WF 132
12544	1679	WF 103
12545	1673	WF 129
12546	1667	-
12547	2167	SF 13
12549	1662	WF 104
12551	1630[1130]	-
12552	1630	WF 130
12553	972	SF 48
12554	806	WF 114
12555	302[1131]	SF 65
12556	301	SF 61
12557	678	WF 32
12558	291	SF 66
12559	2015	WF 13
12560	293	-
12561	-	SF 3
12562	-	SF 4
12563	2434	WF 131[1132]
12564	-	SF 32
12565	2417	-
12566	-	WF 127
12567	2064	WF 48
12568	2418	WF 128
12570	-	WF 105
12572	2397	WF 133
12573	2154	SF 23
	+ 2212	
12574	2041	SF 63
12575	2165	SF 40
12576	1552	WF 80
12581	2061	-
12582	2163	SF 56
12583	2054	WF 49
12584	2056	WF 140
12585	2044	WF 50
12586	2117	WF 67

[1129] Inventar: "2166^{a}". Vgl. jedoch VAT.9109 und vorige Anm.

[1130] Im Fundjournal sind unter F.1630 zwei Tafeln eingetragen.

[1131] Inventar und Tafel selbst haben "203", was ein Fehler sein muß, da diese Nummer keinen Tafelfund beinhaltet. Die Beschreibung zu Fundnummer 302 ("2 Tablettenbruchstücke, zusammengehörig") trifft auf SF 65 zu.

[1132] In der Konkordanz (WF, S. 50*) ist die Museumsnummer versehentlich mit "12583" angegeben.

12587	2139	SF 64
12588	-	WF 31
12589	787[1133]	WF 40
12590	1703	WF 93
12592	1093[1134]	-
12593	-	SF 82
+ 12780	-	
12594	-	SF 67
12595	1091	-
12596	-	WF 62
12597	2306	SF 54
12603	2038	WF 60
	+ 1996	
12604	2008	WF 51
(12605[1135]	538	WF 38)
12606	-	SF 39
12607	542	WF 39
12608	547	WF 30
12609	2032	WF 14
12610	2013	WF 55
12611	2043	WF 109
12612	334[1136]	SF 53
12613	226	WF 110
12614	869	SF 25
12615[1137]	-	SF 34
12616	-	SF 17
12617	-	SF 70
12618	968	WF 63
12619	696	SF 47
12620	1615	WF 152
12621	2048	WF 16
12622	2063	WF 52
12623	2447	WF 116
12624	1894	WF 146
12625	2120	SF 20
+ 12781		
12626	2307	SF 5
12627	2143	WF 15

12628	1775	SF 68
12629	1737	WF 84
12630	1730	WF 134
12631	1725	WF 101
12632	1723	WF 144
12633	-	WF 139
12634	2051	WF 11
12635	03[1138]	WF 17
12636	-	WF 142
12637	1175c[1139]	WF 145
12638	653	SF 1*
12639[1140]	961	SF 30
12640	964	SF 31
12641	983	WF 117
12642[1141]	963	SF 2
12643	2181	SF 42
12644	2074	SF 6
12645	2140	SF 69
12646	2078	WF 71
12647	957	SF 49*
12648	167	WF 111
12649	-	SF 21
12650	2164	SF 43[1142]
+ 12762	-	
+ 12765	-	
12651	1711	WF 85
12652[1143]	2162	SF 33
12653	2183	SF 12
12654	2118	WF 70
12655	2220	SF 26
12656	-	WF 53
12657	-	SF 74
12660	2029	WF 119
12661	2133	WF 42
12662	2047	WF 120
12674	2089	WF 75
12675	2416[1144]	SF 35
12680	932	SF 37

[1133] Inventar: "789", was jedoch kein Tafelfund ist. Die Beschreibung zu F.787 ("kleine gebrannte Tablette, vollständig") paßt zu VAT.12589 = WF 40.

[1134] Diese Nummer beinhaltet keinen Tafelfund und muß daher fehlerhaft sein: vielleicht ist sie in "1091" (worunter 3 Tafelfunde verzeichnet sind; s.o. VAT.12595) oder "1098" zu emendieren.

[1135] Diese Tafel wurde im Austausch gegen zu Beginn des 1. Weltkriegs beschlagnahmte Assur-Funde an Portugal abgegeben.

[1136] Diese Nummer beinhaltet keinen Tafelfund und muß daher fehlerhaft sein.

[1137] Das Inventar enthält hierzu den unklaren Hinweis "siehe VAT.12675, 12772, 13330"; letzteres ist kein Fāra-Text.

[1138] Diese sicher fehlerhafte Fundnummer befindet sich auch auf der Tafel sebst.

[1139] Die Fundnummer beinhaltet 3 Tafeln (a-c).

[1140] Das Inventar enthält hierzu den unklaren Hinweis "siehe VAT.13063" (kein Fāra-Text!).

[1141] Das Inventar enthält hierzu den unklaren Hinweis "siehe VAT.13063" (kein Fāra-Text!).

[1142] In der Konkordanz (SF, S. 30*) ist die Textnummer versehentlich mit "48" angegeben.

[1143] Das Inventar enthält hierzu den unklaren Hinweis "siehe VAT.12772, 13467".

[1144] Vgl. VAT.9052 mit Anm. 1126.

12684	-	SF 71
12693	2157	SF 10
12724	924	SF 21
+ 12769	-	
12729	2082	WF 78
12734	-	WF 79
12735	2284	WF 1
12736	1663	WF 94
12737	962	SF 45
12738	1116	WF 82
12745	2030	WF 3
12746	-	WF 37
12747	967	SF 50
12748	-	SF 78
12749	960	SF 50*
12750	1122	SF 80
12751	2197	SF 9
+ 12775	2205	
12752	-	WF 59
12753	-[1145]	WF 112
12754	973	SF 51
12755	-	-
12756	976	WF 153
12758	-	SF 52
12759	2200?	SF 29
12760	2212 + 2224	SF 1
+ 12776	-	
12761	2199	SF 7
+ 12774	-	
12762	-	SF 43
+ 12650	-	
+ 12765	-	
12763	928	SF 24
12764	2165	SF 27
12765	-	SF 43

+ 12650	-	
+ 12762	-	
12766	-	SF 38
12768	-	SF 22
12769	-	SF 21
+ 12724	-	
12770	2182	SF 15
12771	-	SF 11
12772	934a	SF 76
12773	2322	SF 41
12774	-	SF 7
+ 12761	-	
12775	2205	SF 9
+ 12571		
12776	-	SF 1
+ 12760	2212 + 2224	
12777	2160	SF 19
12778	2101	SF 72
12779	-	Kästchen mit Bruchst. 12780-83
12780	-	SF 82
+ 12593	-	
12781	-	SF 20
+ 12625	-	
12782	-	SF 73
12783	-	SF 82
+ 12593	-	
12784	2119	WF 66
12806	2180	SF 81
12814	2087	WF 72
12820r	-	SF 21
+ 12769		
12999	-	WF 90
13001	-	SF 14
13002	-	-

[1145] Die im Inventar angebene Fundnummer 996 beinhaltet keinen Tafelfund und muß daher fehlerhaft sein. Die benachbarten Fundnummern 995 und 997 verzeichnen zwar jeweils ein Tafelbruchstück, doch ist WF 112 eine ganze Tafel.

12. Abbildungsnachweis

Abb. 1: Übersichtsplan des Gebietes von Tell Abū Salābīḫ, nach: T.J. Wilkinson, Iraq 52, 1990, 76 fig. 1.

Abb. 2: Konturenplan von Abū Salābīḫ, nach: J.N. Postgate – P.R.S. Moorey, Iraq 38, 1976, 136 fig. 1.

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Teil 3

Josef Bauer

Der vorsargonische Abschnitt der mesopotamischen Geschichte

Josef Bauer

Der vorsargonische Abschnitt der mesopotamischen Geschichte

1. Einleitung

Der vorsargonische Abschnitt der frühdynastischen Zeit (FD IIIb) ist eingebettet zwischen die Fara-Zeit (FD IIIa) und die Akkad-Zeit. Ihr Ende fällt zusammen mit der Niederlage Lugalzagesis von Uruk durch Sargon und der Schaffung eines ganz Mesopotamien umfassenden Reiches durch den Akkader. Schwerer ist der Anfang dieser Phase festzulegen und sie gegen die vorangehende Fara-Zeit abzugrenzen. Zwei Ansichten sind dazu geäußert worden. A. Falkenstein und seine Schüler lassen die Fara-Zeit vor dem Regierungsantritt Urnanšes, des Begründers der I. Dynastie von Lagaš, enden. Nach W.W. Hallo hat sich die Fara-Zeit dagegen bis in die Regierungszeit Eanatums, des 3. Königs der I. Dynastie von Lagaš, erstreckt.
Das wichtigste Hilfsmittel der Datierung ist die Paläographie. Am Fortschreiten der äußeren Gestalt der Keilschriftzeichen ist im allgemeinen die Abfolge von Schriftdenkmälern leicht festzulegen und so eine relative Chronologie zu gewinnen. Exakt vergleichbar sind aber nur die Zeichen auf Tontafeln, weil sich jegliche Weiterentwicklung der Zeichen zuerst auf ihnen als den üblichen Schriftträgern vollzieht. Zur Beurteilung der Fara-zeitlichen Schriftstufe steht durch die Archive von Šuruppak/Fara und Tell Abū Ṣalābīḫ ein reiches Material an Tontafeln zur Verfügung, aber es gibt bisher keine sicher in die Zeit Urnanšes datierbaren Tafeln. Seine Denkmäler verwenden Schriftzeichen in einer linearen, leichter in Stein ritz- oder meißelbaren Gestalt, die den Eindruck eines höheren Alters erweckt. Der Vergleich der Keilschriftzeichen der Fara-Zeit mit denen der Epigraphik Urnanšes führt damit nur zu ungenauen Ergebnissen. W.W. Hallo beruft sich deshalb auf eine Beobachtung, die die innere Entwicklung der Keilschrift betrifft. In der Fara-Zeit war es üblich, das Wort für den "Fluß" oder "Kanal" mit dem Zeichen A "Wasser" zu schreiben, das dann die Lesung id_5 hat. Das spätere id_2 ist eine Zusammensetzung aus A und einem ihm folgenden ENGUR. Die Ablö-

sung des einfacheren Zeichens durch die Zeichenverbindung erfolgte in der Zeit Eanatums. Der König berichtet in zwei seiner Inschriften, daß er einen neuen Kanal gegraben habe und schreibt das Wort "Kanal" in seiner Inschrift Nr. 2 V 16 i d_5, in der Inschrift Nr. 3 VI 8 jedoch auf die in Zukunft gültige Weise i d_2. Um die Frage nach der Länge der Fara-Zeit definitiv entscheiden zu können, wird man die Entdeckung neuer Quellen abwarten müssen. Bis dahin kann man beim Ansatz der Archive von Fara und Tell Abū Ṣalābīḫ eine oder zwei Generationen vor Urnanše bleiben. Die Quellenlage für das vorsargonische Lagaš ist so günstig, daß sich für den Kleinstaat eine ununterbrochene Folge von 9 Herrschern von Urnanše bis Uruinimgina gewinnen läßt, die vor Sargon von Akkad hier gelebt und regiert haben. Uruinimgina wurde schließlich von Lugalzagesi von Umma, später Uruk, besiegt und dieser wieder von Sargon. Wenn man die Niederlage Lugalzagesis etwa auf das Jahr 2350 v. Chr. festlegen könnte, so ließe sich bei vorsichtiger Schätzung ein Jahr um 2500 v. Chr. als das Jahr des Regierungsantritts Urnanšes wahrscheinlich machen. Das bedeutet, diese Phase der mesopotamischen Geschichte kann kaum mehr als 150 Jahre gedauert haben.
Im Gegensatz zur vorangehenden Fara-Zeit, aus der sich vor allem literarische Texte, Listen für die Schulung der Schreiber und nur in geringerer Zahl – es sind etwa 520 – Wirtschafts- und Rechtsurkunden erhalten haben, ist die Zahl der aus vorsargonischer Zeit überlieferten Werke der Literatur gering. Es sind nur 9, von denen einige schon in die frühe Akkad-Zeit gehören können. Die hauptsächlichen Schriftzeugnisse dieser letzten frühdynastischen Phase sind Bau- und Weihinschriften der Herrscher, in geringerem Umfang auch von Privatleuten, und Wirtschaftsurkunden, dazu kommen wieder in sehr bescheidenem Umfang Briefe – es sind 6 – und ungefähr 40 Rechtsurkunden.
Die Verteilung der Schriftzeugnisse über die Kleinstaaten Mesopotamiens ist sehr ungleichmäßig. Von den 376 von H. Steible[1] gesammelten Bau- und Weihinschriften stammen 183, also fast die Hälfte, aus Girsu (Tello) und Lagaš (al-Hibā). Soweit die Herkunftsorte zu ermitteln sind, sind von den bedeutenden Städten Babyloniens folgende vertreten: Adab, Kiš, Nippur, Umma, Ur und Uruk. Mit einigen wenigen Inschriften, deren sprachliche Zuordnung, ob in Sumerisch oder Akkadisch verfaßt, oft Schwierigkeiten bereitet, kommen noch Ešnuna, Tell Ağrab und Ḫafāğī, die Städte der Dijala-Region, hinzu. Mari am mittleren Euphrat erbrachte 41 Weihinschriften in akkadischer Sprache.
Kaum anders ist die Verteilung bei den Wirtschaftsurkunden. Aus Adab sind ungefähr 20 publiziert; die Grabungen in Lagaš (al-Hibā) vermehrten das Material um 14, die in Isin um 5; aus Nippur sollen etwa 220 in diese Zeit entfallen. Von den 50 Texten aus Ur gehören die meisten schon in die Akkad-Zeit. Uruk steuerte 3 bei. Ein kleines Archiv des Inana-Tempels von Zabalam mit 102 Texten hat M. A. Powell[2] zusammengetragen. Diesen können weitere 5, die inzwischen bekannt geworden sind und entweder aus Zabalam oder Umma stammen, hinzugefügt werden[3]. Aus Mari sind 42 präsargonische Wirtschaftsurkunden in

[1] H. Steible, FAOS 5, 1982.
[2] M.A. Powell, HUCA 49, 1978, 1-58.
[3] CT 50, 47-48; R.D. Freedman, The Cuneiform Tablets in St. Louis, Columbia University Ph. D 1975, S. 137, Nr. 48; DP 37(?); P. Steinkeller/J.N. Postgate, Third-Millennium Legal and Administrative Texts in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad, MC 4, Winona Lake 1992, Nr. 3.

akkadischer Sprache bekannt. Kommt man damit maximal, d.h. unter Einschluß aller Texte aus Ur, von denen die meisten aber schon sargonisch sind, auf ca. 460 Stück, so stehen ihnen über 1'600 Tafeln aus Girsu (Tello) gegenüber.
Auch die zeitliche Streuung des Quellenmaterials über die 150 Jahre der Phase FD III b ist nicht gleichmäßig. Wegen der guten Datierbarkeit beschränke ich mich auf das Material aus Girsu und Lagaš. Die Bau- und Weihinschriften der Könige und Stadtfürsten verteilen sich über den gesamten Zeitraum, wobei natürlich bedeutsamere und länger regierende Herrscher mehr Spuren hinterlassen haben als die, deren Herrschaft sich auf wenige Jahre beschränkte. Die 1'600 Texte, die fast alle der Verwaltung einer einzigen Wirtschaftseinheit, der des BaU-Tempels, angehören, setzen mit wenigen Rechtsurkunden am Ende der Regierungszeit des 5. Herrschers der I. Dynastie von Lagaš, Enmetena, ein. Kein Text läßt sich sicher der Zeit des 6. Herrschers, Enanatums II., zuschreiben, wenige Verwaltungsurkunden gehören in die Zeit des 7., des Enentarzid, und die Masse der Tafeln stammt aus den 6 Jahren der Regierung Lugalandas und der ersten 7 Jahre Uruinimginas, also des vorletzten und des letzten Stadtfürsten.
Unser Bild dieses Teils der mesopotamischen Geschichte wird immer noch weitgehend von der Überlieferung Girsus geprägt. Die von anderen Städten bekannt gewordenen Zeugnisse reichen kaum aus, um lokale Besonderheiten festzustellen; sie genügen nicht, aus der Perspektive einer anderen Stadt ein Gegenbild zu entwerfen. Ohne die Möglichkeit einer Korrektur nimmt man bei der Beurteilung der historischen Vorgänge zwangsläufig den Standpunkt von Lagaš ein. Außer den primären Quellen können für die frühdynastische Zeit auch sekundäre Quellen herangezogen werden. Gemeint sind damit didaktische oder literarische Werke, die sich auf Ereignisse dieser Zeit beziehen, jedoch erst später verfaßt wurden oder nur in späteren Abschriften vorliegen. Zur Einordnung der Herrscher ist die Sumerische Königsliste wichtig trotz ihrer Lücken. Bekanntlich ist ja weder die I. noch die II. neusumerische oder Gudea-Dynastie von Lagaš in sie aufgenommen worden. Ein sehr eigenwilliges Werk ist in der sogenannten Königsliste von Lagaš überliefert. Sie enthält so wenige zuverlässige Angaben zur Geschichte des Kleinstaates, daß Zweifel aufgekommen sind, ob sie denn überhaupt als ernsthafte Auseinandersetzung mit der Historie anzusehen ist, oder ob es sich um eine Parodie auf die gerade erwähnte Sumerische Königsliste handelt.
Ereignisse des älteren Frühdynastikums spiegeln sich in den Epen um die Herrscher Enmerkar, Lugalbanda und Gilgameš von Uruk. Doch ist bei dieser Literaturgattung die für sie typische Annäherung an die Welt des Mythos zu berücksichtigen. Weiter fehlen meist Kriterien, richtige historische Erinnerungen von späteren Einfügungen, Umdeutungen und Mißverständnissen zu unterscheiden.
Rückschlüsse auf die religiösen Verhältnisse der vorsargonischen Zeit erlaubt die von Enḫeduana, der Tochter Sargons und Hohepriesterin des Mondgottes Nanna von Ur, verfaßte Sammlung von Liedern auf die Tempel Babyloniens[4]. Wenig ergiebig für das Geschehen der Übergangszeit ist die erst zu einem geringen Teil ihres Wortlautes bekannte sumerische Sargon-Legende[5].

[4] Å.W. Sjöberg, E. Bergmann S.J., TCS 3, 1969, 1-154.
[5] J.S. Cooper, W. Heimpel, JAOS 103, 1983, 67-82.

Die letzte Phase des Frühdynastikums war die letzte Zeitspanne, in der das Sumerische im Süden Babyloniens noch unangefochten vorherrschte. Akkadische Inschriften wie jene des Meskiagnuna aus Ur und vielleicht einige weitere Fragmente aus derselben Stadt bleiben die Ausnahme. Mit der Akkad-Dynastie beginnt auch für den Süden die Zeit der Zweisprachigkeit. In mittelbabylonischen Städten wie Adab und Nippur erhöht sich die Zahl der Schriftzeugnisse in akkadischer Sprache so, daß schon in vorsargonischer Zeit dort mit Zweisprachigkeit zu rechnen ist. Im Norden Babyloniens, dem Dijala-Gebiet und natürlich in Mari am mittleren Euphrat ist vom fast ausschließlichen Gebrauch des Akkadischen auszugehen, so schwer die semitische Sprache auch durch die Maske sumerischer Ideogramme zu erkennen ist. In der Meskiagnuna-Inschrift[6] gibt ein Zeichen den Ausschlag für die Zuordnung des Textes zum Akkadischen. Es ist das dem DAM "Ehefrau" folgende su_3, das nur in einer Form *aššassu* "seine Ehefrau" einen Sinn ergibt. Folgen wir der Einteilung von A. Falkenstein, "Das Sumerische"[7], so gehört die Sprache der Texte aus Šuruppak/Fara und Tell Abū Ṣalābīḫ noch der 'archaischen' Stufe des Sumerischen zu. Die Inschriften der Könige der I. Dynastie von Lagaš, das Wirtschaftsarchiv des BaU-Tempels und die gleichzeitigen Sprachzeugnisse aus Adab, Nippur, Ur und Zabalam dokumentieren die 'altsumerische' Stufe und die Denkmäler der folgenden Zeiten die 'sargonische' und 'gutäische' Stufe des Sumerischen. Eine umfassende Charakterisierung des Altsumerischen werde ich hier nicht versuchen, doch möchte ich das Augenmerk auf einige wenige Erscheinungen lenken, die für das Altsumerische angeführt werden, und auf die mit ihnen verbundene Schwierigkeit, sie in zufriedenstellender Weise dem Gebiet der schriftlichen Fixierung, der "Orthographie", oder dem sprachlichen Bereich zuzuordnen.

1. Nicht nur ein Problem des Altsumerischen ist die Nichtfixierung von Endvokalen und Zwischenvokalen. Gemeint ist damit, daß man statt l u g a l + a n e , "sein Herr", nur l u g a l - n e_2 schreibt. Diese Art der Schreibung zieht sich mit einzelnen Beispielen über das Neusumerische bis in die Aufzeichnungen sumerischer Literatur in altbabylonischer Zeit hin. Es ist die Erscheinung, die A. Falkenstein in seiner Gudea-Grammatik durch das Einsetzen von Lautwerten mit "überhängendem Vokal" verdrängte. Sie gehört eindeutig der schriftlichen Ebene an.
2. In älteren Beiträgen zur sumerischen Grammatik ist nachzulesen, daß im Altsumerischen der Dativ von Personen nach konsonantisch auslautenden Wörtern als suffigiertes - r a erscheine, nach Wörtern mit vokalischem Auslaut jedoch völlig weggefallen sei. Das wäre die Beschreibung eines sprachlichen Phänomens. In neuerer Zeit setzt man einfaches /r/ als Ausgangsform des Morphems des persönlichen Dativs an, das in dieser Gestalt an Wörter mit Auslautvokal antritt, während es bei Wörtern mit konsonantischem Auslaut um ein euphonisches /a/ zu -r a verlängert wird. Das so entstandene -r a ist altsumerisch allenthalben zu belegen. Bei vokalischem Auslaut jedoch kann das angehängte /r/ silbenschriftlich nur unter graphischer Verdopplung des vorhergehenden Vokals dargestellt werden. Diese Schreibungen kommen erst in neusumerischer Zeit auf wie

[6] H. Steible, FAOS 5/II, 1982, 277-278, Meskiag. 1.
[7] A. Falkenstein, Das Sumerische, HdO 1. Abt., Band 2, 1. und 2. Abschn., Lfg. 1, 1959, 15-16 .

z.B. g u_3 - d e_2 - a - a r im Zylinder A XIII 11; XX 1; B VI 17 dieses Fürsten. In altsumerischer Zeit sind zwar vereinzelt Silbenzeichen der Struktur VK nachweisbar, doch ist dieser Teil des Syllabars noch wenig ausgebaut, so daß die Bezeichnung des Dativs nach Vokal in dieser Zeit unterbleibt. Dies aber ist kein sprachliches Faktum mehr, sondern eines der Graphie.

3. In den wenigen Fara-zeitlichen Texten aus Tello finden sich zwei interessante Schreibungen von Götternamen. Es sind ^{d}n i g_2 - g i r_2 - s u (RTC 5 I 2; V 2) und ^{d}n i m_5 - m u_2 (RTC 8 II 6). In beiden Fällen steht am Anfang statt des zu erwartenden n i n "Herrin, Herr" das Zeichen NIG_2 "Sache". Diese Schreibungen, die hoffentlich so richtig umschrieben und damit zutreffend interpretiert sind, zeigen die vollständige Assimilation des auslautenden /n/ von n i n an den nachfolgenden Konsonanten. Die beiden Namen werden in präsargonischer Zeit – das bedeutet für den Namen ^{d}n i g_2 - g i r_2 - s u ab Urnanše, ^{d}n i m_5 - m u_2 ist erst bei Enentarzid wieder belegt – aber wie in allen späteren Zeiten ^{d}n i n - g i r_2 - s u und ^{d}n i n - m u_2 geschrieben. Es stellt sich die Frage: Wurde die Assimilation rückgängig gemacht, das wäre als sprachlicher Vorgang zu verstehen, oder wurde die schriftliche Fixierung normiert, dann wäre das ein Vorgang allein auf der schriftlichen, "orthographischen" Ebene.
4. Die altsumerischen Texte von Tello und al-Hibā aber auch anderer Städte dieser Zeit differenzieren das Verbalpräfix i_3 -, so die allein gültige spätere Schreibung. Wenn auf dieses Präfix ein a-Vokal folgt, sei es in der Verbalbasis, sei es in einem Infix, so wird das Präfix zu e - assimiliert. Die Form i_3 - hat es aber normalerweise vor Verben mit den Basisvokalen /e/, /i/ und /u/. Die Fehlerquote liegt bei der Stellung vor /a/ bei etwa 2 Prozent. Die Abweichungen von der Norm sind bei den Verben mit /e/, /i/ und /u/ bedeutend höher. Das liegt zum einen daran, daß die überlieferten Ausspracheangaben keine klare Unterscheidung zwischen e- und i-haltigen Verben, oder zwischen Verben mit offenem und geschlossenem /e/-Vokal gestatten. Hinter den traditionell mit /u/ umschriebenen Verben verbergen sich wahrscheinlich auch solche mit /o/-Vokal. Wie dem auch sei, von der Akkad-Zeit an läßt sich an den Texten aus Girsu beobachten, daß das Allomorph /e/- aufgegeben ist und allein i_3 - übrig bleibt. Wieder stellt sich die Frage: Ist die Teilassimilation des Präfixes aufgegeben worden? Das wäre ein sprachlicher Vorgang. Oder haben sich die Schreiber darauf verständigt, das Präfix nur noch auf die eine Art zu schreiben?

Da sprachliche Vorgänge nur selten umkehrbar sind, ist meines Erachtens die Wahrscheinlichkeit wesentlich höher, daß alle hier angesprochenen Erscheinungen nicht das Altsumerische als Sprache, sondern allein seine Verschriftung betreffen.

Wenn man vom Altsumerischen Girsus ein zuverlässiges Bild zeichnen will, muß man auch jene Abweichungen von der Norm erwähnen, die freilich selten in den Texten zu finden sind. Als sprachliche Norm ist das Schriftsumerische oder die sumerische Hochsprache anzusehen, die mit einer seit der Akkad-Zeit belegten Bezeichnung als e m e - g i_7 - r bestimmt werden kann. Einzelne Wörter zeigen eine vom Emegir abweichende Lautung wie z.B. s a g - u b_x(BAD_3) statt s a g - u g_5 oder m a - a l - g a statt /ĝalga/, d. h. b statt g und m statt g, die mit dem Emesal-Dialekt übereinstimmen. Es drängt sich der Schluß auf,

daß nicht die sumerische Hochsprache in Lagaš heimisch war, sondern daß man dort einen Dialekt sprach, der charakteristische Züge des Emesal aufwies.
Für die in Lagaš und Girsu geschriebenen Dokumente folgen daraus drei grundsätzliche Möglichkeiten:

a) Die Schreiber verfaßten die Inschriften und Urkunden im Lokaldialekt. Dieser Dialekt verschwindet aber weitgehend hinter den Wortzeichen und wird nur in den Abweichungen greifbar. Trotz einer gewissen Ähnlichkeit mit der Verschriftung des Akkadischen in der damaligen Zeit ist diese Möglichkeit angesichts der Seltenheit abweichender Lautungen sicherlich die am wenigsten wahrscheinliche.
b) Der gebildete lagašitische Schreiber verfaßte seine Texte in der sumerischen Hochsprache und verfiel nur gelegentlich in seinen heimischen Dialekt oder
c) der Schreiber in Girsu schrieb z.B. das Formular einer Urkunde in der Hochsprache beließ aber die Eigennamen in ihrer heimischen Lautung.

Für die Möglichkeit c) könnte sprechen, daß sich die erwähnten Abweichungen besonders bei Orts- und Personennamen finden. Das ist auch das Problem, welches sich unausgesprochen hinter der jüngsten Kontroverse zwischen D.O. Edzard und W.G. Lambert um die Lesung des Namens von König i r i - k a - g i - n a oder u r u - i n i m - g i - n a steckt, soweit es die Lautgestalt des ersten Bestandteils, des Wortes für die "Stadt" angeht. Wir werden später darauf zurückkommen (S. 475-477).
Das Altsumerische enthält, wie das Sumerische überhaupt, einen hohen Anteil an vorsumerischem Lehngut, das wahrscheinlich aus mehr als einer Substratsprache übernommen wurde. Schon B. Landsberger rechnete mit zwei Quellen, die er provisorisch mit Protoeuphratisch und Prototigridisch benannte. In seinen zuerst 1943 bis 1945 in türkischer und deutscher Sprache erschienen Aufsätzen erkannte B. Landsberger[8] die mesopotamischen Städtenamen als nicht der sumerischen Sprachschicht angehörig und verglich mit diesen Ortsnamen strukturgleiche Berufsnamen. Heute kann man die Lehngutschicht noch weiter fassen. Ihr gehören nicht nur die Namen der großen Städte an, sondern auch Tempelnamen, die möglicherweise auf alte topographische Namen zurückgehen. Vorsumerisch sind also nicht nur Unug, Lagaš oder Girsu, sondern auch n i n n u in e_2-n i n n u oder b a - g a r_2 bzw. b a - g a r a_2, beides Namen von Heiligtümern des Gottes Ningirsu. Übernommen wurden nicht nur die Namen älterer Gottheiten wie Gatumdug und BaU, sondern auch das Wort für den "Gott" überhaupt, d i n g i r. Entlehnt sind nicht nur Berufsnamen wie b a ḫ a r_2 der "Töpfer", n a g a r der "Zimmermann" oder a š g a b der "Lederbearbeiter", sondern auch vieles aus dem Vokabular besonders alter Erwerbszweige wie Namen von Fischen wie e š t u b, g a m a r oder k a l u b (vielleicht auch z u l u b zu lesen) oder der Dattelkultur wie *n i m b a r oder *z u l u m b, so die Ausgangsformen für die "Dattelpalme" und die "(reife) Dattel". Wenn man diesen gerade nur mit wenigen Beispielen untermauerten Gedanken konsequent zu Ende verfolgt, dann mag man sich fragen, was für

8 B. Landsberger, Sümerler/Die Sumerer, AÜDTCFD 1, 1943, 88-102; Mezopotamya'da Medeniyetin Doğuşu/Die Anfänge der Zivilisation in Mesopotamien, AÜDTCFD 2, 1943-44, 419-437; Sumerlerin Kültür Sahasındaki Başarıları/Die geistigen Leistungen der Sumerer, AÜDTCFD 3, 1944-45, 137-158.

das eigentliche Sumerische, besser das Protosumerische, die Sprache der ehemaligen sumerischen Einwanderer nach Mesopotamien, noch verbleibt. Sind doch auch noch die Lehnwörter aus dem Akkadischen oder anderen semitischen Sprachen und die sogenannten Wanderwörter abzuziehen. Zu ihnen ist das g i n$_3$ aus sumerisch z a - g i n$_3$ "Lapislazuli" zu rechnen. Es bleibt außer dem Verbum nicht sehr viel. Aber diese Überfrachtung mit Lehnwörtern ist nicht einmalig. Nach Schätzungen der Indogermanisten kann nur ungefähr 1/3 des hethitischen Wortschatzes auf indogermanische Wurzeln zurückgeführt werden. In der osmanischen Dichtung können oft alle Wörter einer Zeile arabischer oder persischer Herkunft sein, und nur das Verbum am Ende ist türkisch.
Noch sehr gering – verglichen mit neusumerischen Wirtschaftstexten – ist der Anteil akkadischer Lehnwörter am Altsumerischen von Lagaš. Es sind 32 Wörter, die mit einiger Sicherheit dem Akkadischen zugeschrieben werden können. Sie bezeichnen bestimmte Geräte, Werkzeuge oder Produkte: wie ḫ a - b u$_3$ - d a "eine Hacke", ḫ a - z i "eine Axt", k a - (a l -) l u$_5$ "eine Schale", z a - r a den "Polschuh an der Tür", oder z i - r i - g u m$_2$ "eine Röhre"; a - b a - a l den " 'Trocken'-Asphalt", s u m die "Zwiebel", u z die "Ente" und z i - b i$_2$ "eine Art Kümmel". Die Wörter hängen mit Handel und Wirtschaft zusammen: d a m - g a r a$_3$ der "Kaufmann", g i - n a - t u m der "Garantiebetrag", ^{ḫa}ḫ a r - r a (- a n) der "Weg", m a - n a das Gewicht der "Mine", s a m$_2$ "kaufen" (, was allerdings von P. Steinkeller[9] abgelehnt wird,) und š a - n a, abgekürzt š a, als Komplement nach den Zahlzeichen 1/3 und 2/3 einer Mine.
Entlehnt wurden Berufsnamen und soziale Bezeichnungen: b u r - š u - m a die "alte Frau", u m - m a ein weiteres Wort für eine "alte Frau" – die Entlehnung ist unsicher – ebenso von u m - m a der "Amme"; sicher sind hingegen n a - g a d a der "Hirte", s a g i der "Mundschenk" und u g u l a der "Obmann". Zum Kriegswesen gehört d a m - ḫ a - r a die "Schlacht", in die Sphäre des Kultes e z e m das "Fest", i š i b der "Beschwörungspriester" – die Herleitung aus dem Semitischen ist allerdings fraglich – und p i - l u$_5$ - d a "Ordnung, Regel".
Dem Akkadischen entlehnt wurden ferner ein Verbum g i -n "feststehen, fest machen", die Adjektive d a - r i$_2$ "ewig" und s a/i l i m "heil" und ein Wort wie m a - a l - g a der "Rat". Auch die Zahl der in Lagaš ansässigen Personen mit akkadischen Namen ist im Urkundenmaterial nicht hoch. Es sind 29 Namen, die nicht einmal 1 Prozent des Materials ausmachen. Noch geringer ist der Anteil an vermutlich elamischen Personennamen. Es sind ungefähr ein halbes Dutzend, und es handelt sich bei ihnen im Gegensatz zu den Akkadern um Fremde, z.B. Handelspartner. Ganz sicher ist auch die Zuweisung der Namen nicht, da die Vergleichsmöglichkeiten gering sind. Von den noch nicht entzifferten protoelamischen Täfelchen abgesehen, beginnt die Überlieferung dieser Sprache erst mit dem Vertrag, der zwischen Naramsuen und einem altelamischen König geschlossen wurde, dessen Name nicht erhalten ist. Elamische Namen mit einem ähnlich hohen Alter finden sich auch auf den Akkadzeitlichen Tafeln aus Susa in akkadischer Sprache. Die ältesten Hinweise auf die Anwesenheit von Hurritern gibt es erst in den Akkad-zeitlichen Urkunden aus Girsu, Nippur und anderen Städten.

[9] P. Steinkeller, FAOS 17, 1989, 155-157.

Wegen der vielen dort gefundenen Schriftzeugnisse rückt der Kleinstaat Lagaš bei einer Darstellung der Geschichte und Kultur der vorsargonischen Zeit so sehr in den Mittelpunkt, daß ein Blick auf die interne geographische Situation zum Verständnis des folgenden nützlich ist. Den sonst allgemein üblichen Begriff "Stadtstaat" habe ich vermieden, da er falsche Assoziationen mit griechischen Poleis wie dem Athen der klassischen Epoche oder Erscheinungen des modernen Europa wie Monaco oder dem Vatikanstaat weckt. Der Kleinstaat Lagaš umfaßte 3 große Städte. Der Regierungssitz befand sich in vorsargonischer Zeit in Girsu, der am weitesten im Nordwesten des Landes gelegenen Stadt. Sie bedeckt der Ruinenhügel, der unter seinem iraq-arabischen Namen Tello bekannt geworden ist. Wie lange sich die Residenz der Stadtfürsten schon dort befand, ist nicht bekannt. Aber seit der Verlegung war Girsu zur größten Stadt des Staatswesens herangewachsen. Die Regenten führen immer noch den Titel "König" oder "Stadtfürst/Ensi von Lagaš", weil sich dort offenbar die erste Hauptstadt befunden hat. In vorsargonischer Zeit bedeutet dieser Titel, daß man auch über jene Stadt gebietet. Als Uruinimgina während der kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen mit der Nachbarstadt Umma die Kontrolle über Lagaš verliert, zieht er die Konsequenz und nennt sich fortan nur noch "König von Girsu". Das bedeutet aber, daß sich zu dieser Zeit der Name "Lagaš" nicht von der Stadt abgelöst hatte und zur Bezeichnung des gesamten Staates geworden war. Dieses Lagaš konnte mit al-Hibā identifiziert werden. Trotz der großen Ausdehnung dieses Hügels – in vorsargonischer Zeit war die Stadt deutlich zurückgefallen. Es scheint als habe die alte Stadt zu dieser Zeit nur etwa 1/3 der Größe von Girsu und nur 1/2 der Größe von Nimin gehabt. Nimin, mit dem heutigen Zurġūl identifiziert, liegt wiederum südöstlich von Lagaš (al-Hibā). Es ist die zweitgrößte Stadt des Kleinstaates. Die Aussprache des Stadtnamens ist immer noch umstritten, und so muß ich hier ein paar Sätze zur Rechtfertigung der Lesung Nimin einfügen. Der Name der Stadt wird mit dem Zeichen NINA geschrieben, das auch für den Namen seiner Hauptgöttin Nanše oder Nazi steht. Nina wird immer noch als Umschrift des Namens der lagašitischen Stadt verwendet, obwohl seit langem bekannt ist, daß der Name auf -/n/ auslautet. Aus dem Vergleich zweier sich duplizierender Zeilen aus einem Eršema-Klagelied auf die Göttin BaU in Emesal hat J. Krecher[10] auf eine Lesung n i ĝ i n_x des Namens geschlossen. Diese Lesung konnte sich bisher nicht durchsetzen, obwohl sie zweifellos richtig ist. Die einzige Veränderung, die ich vorgenommen habe, ist, daß ich die Übertragung des Namens durch J. Krecher vom Emesal ins Emegir rückgängig gemacht habe. Das steht einmal im Einklang mit der vorgetragenen Annahme, daß der Lokaldialekt von Lagaš dem Emesal nahestand, kann aber vielleicht noch durch eine weitere Überlegung gestützt werden. In seiner 24. Inschrift III 3-6 berichtet Urnanše, daß ein bestimmter Mann durch eine Eingeweideschau zum Ehemann, das bedeutet zum e n -Priester der Göttin Nanše erwählt wurde (d a m, ^{d}n a n š e, m a š b e_2 - p a d_3). Diese Art der Orakelanfrage ist das bei der Besetzung von Priesterämtern übliche Verfahren. Interessant ist der Name des so auserwählten Kandidaten. Er wird u r -40 geschrieben, was, wenn man das Zahlwort einsetzt, u r - n i m i n ergibt. Ein mit einem Zahlwort gebildeter Personenname ist sinnlos. Aber es gibt zwei Möglichkeiten der Erklärung.

[10] J. Krecher, FS Matouš II, 1978, 53.

Man kann für die Zahl einen Götternamen einsetzen und zwar den des Enki. Damit verlegt man jedoch die erst für die altbabylonische Zeit bezeugte mit den Göttern verbundene Zahlensymbolik in eine sehr frühe Kulturepoche. Oder man sieht in n i m i n eine abweichende Schreibung des sonst mit dem Zeichen NINA dargestellten Ortsnamens. Wäre 40 mit dem Götterdeterminativ oder mit dem Ortsnamendeterminativ versehen, wäre die Frage leicht zu entscheiden. Aber zur Zeit Urnanšes fehlt das Determinativ der Götternamen noch gelegentlich, und nach Ortsnamen fehlt es so gut wie immer. Ich sehe es als etwas weniger problematisch an, in n i m i n eine abweichende Graphie des Ortsnamens zu sehen. Die drei Städte Girsu, Lagaš und Nimin liegen aufgereiht an einem Kanal, der sie schon in altsumerischer Zeit miteinander verband. Er trägt den Namen "der nach Nimin fließt" und ist erstmals durch die von R.D.Biggs[11] publizierte Tafel mit den Rätseln als n i m i n_x(NINA) -d u bezeugt. Der Kanal wurde von Uruinimgina neu gegraben, und er erwähnt, daß er an seiner Abzweigungsstelle das Eninnu erbaute und an seiner Mündung den Tempel von Sirara. Bei Nimin ergoß er sein Wasser in die Sümpfe. Dieses Sirara war in ältester Zeit wahrscheinlich eine eigene Ansiedlung. Hier lag ein großer Tempel der Göttin Nanše. In vorsargonischer Zeit war es mit Nimin zusammengewachsen und die beiden Namen werden fast schon synonym verwendet. Der Kanal existierte auch in neusumerischer Zeit noch, und Gudea befuhr ihn voll Freude, um sich in Sirara seinen Traum von der Göttin Nanše deuten zu lassen (Zyl. A II 5).
Um die großen Städte gruppieren sich kleinere Städte und Dörfer, wobei Siedlung und Tempel oft denselben Namen tragen. Beide sind identisch, der Tempel ist das Zentrum der Ansiedlung. Die wichtigsten kleineren Städte waren g u_2 - a b - b a^{ki}, wörtlich "Meeresküste", mit einem Heiligtum der Göttin Ninmara irgendwo ganz im Süden an der damaligen Küste des Persischen Golfes gelegen, weiter Kinunira, der Kultort der Göttin Dumuzidabsu, Kiesa, Kultort des Gottes Nindara, und URU×GAN_2/*tenû*, das vielleicht einfach /urub/ zu lesen ist, Kultort eines Gottes, dessen Name ihn als Herrn dieser Stadt ausweist. Die Lage dieser kleineren Städte läßt sich nur ungefähr angeben. Sie lagen irgendwo im Bereich zwischen Lagaš und Nimin.
Da auch das südliche Mesopotamien zu präsargonischer Zeit schon 1'500 oder gar 2'000 Jahre lang besiedelt war, finden sich allenthalben Spuren untergegangener Siedlungen. Sie sind kenntlich an ihrer Bezeichnung als d u_6, akkadisch *tillu*, arabisch tall "Ruinenhügel", besser bekannt als Tell in den Namen vieler Ausgrabungsorte. Durch Feldernamen lassen sich allein im Bereich von Girsu 7 solcher Tells nachweisen: d u_6 - ^{d}a b -U_2 "der Hügel des Gottes AbU", eines Vegetationsgottes, d u_6 - g a r (a)$_2$, "Hügel der Fettmilch?", d u_6 - m e - k u l a b_x^{ki} - t a, ein Hügel, der mit einem Personennamen Mekulabta gebildet ist, d u_6 - m u_6 - s u b_3, "Hügel der Hirten", d u_6 - s i r_2 - r a, "der umfängliche(?) Hügel", d u_6 - u r - g i g_2 - g a, "der Hügel des schwarzen Hundes" und d u_6 - $AŠ_2$ .URU, das bisher unerklärt ist.
Werfen wir zum Schluß noch einen Blick auf die Ausgrabungen im Bereich des lagašitischen Staatsgebietes.

[11] R.D. Biggs, JNES 32, 1973, 26-33.

Der im iraq-arabischen Dialekt Tello genannte Ruinenhügel (Abb. 1) liegt auf 31° 37' nördlicher Breite und 46° 09' östlicher Länge oder etwas anschaulicher ungefähr 18 km nördlich des Marktfleckens aš-Šaṭra (al-Muntafiq) und ca. 5 km östlich des Wasserlaufs Šaṭṭ al-Ġarrāf, der bei al-Kūt (auch Kūt al-Imāra auf den Karten genannt) aus dem Tigris abzweigt und dort noch Šaṭṭ al-Ḥayy heißt. Der ovale Hügel soll eine Fläche von 3x4 km bedecken.
In der Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts wurde man auf die Ruinenstätte aufmerksam, weil Araber von bestimmten Fundstücken, die im Antikenhandel angeboten wurden, Tello als Herkunftsort angaben. Bereits 1851 kaufte wahrscheinlich Sir Henry Rawlinson den Torso einer beschrifteten Gudea-Statue für das British Museum, 1870 gelangte der Kopf einer Gudea-Statue nach Boston, und der Louvre erwarb 1873 eine Keilschrifttafel aus der Zeit Gudeas. Deshalb begann am 5. März 1877 der kurz zuvor zum französischen Vizekonsul in Basra ernannte Ernest de Sarzec dort mit den Ausgrabungen. Vier Kampagnen folgten aufeinander, dann kam es zwischen 1881 und 1887 zu einer ersten Unterbrechung wegen eines Aufstandes der das Gebiet bewohnenden Muntafiq-Araber. Erst 1888 nahm der inzwischen zum Konsul in Bagdad ernannte de Sarzec die Grabungen wieder auf. Bis 1895 folgten die Kampagnen 5 bis 9, dann mußten die Arbeiten ein zweites Mal für 3 Jahre wegen der Erkrankung de Sarzecs ausgesetzt werden. Das Jahr 1898 sieht ihn wieder bei Grabungen. Seine 11. und letzte Kampagne leitete er 1900. Ernest de Sarzec starb am 30. Mai 1901 im Alter von 64 Jahren an einem Leberleiden, das er sich im Iraq zugezogen hatte.
Fortgesetzt wurde die Grabungstätigkeit durch Gaston Cros, der von 1903-1908 vier Kampagnen durchführte. Die wissenschaftliche Erforschung Tellos ruhte danach für nahezu 20 Jahre. Erst in den Jahren von 1929 bis 1931 erfolgten 3 neue Untersuchungen durch Abbé Henri de Genouillac und im Anschluß daran leitete André Parrot eine 19. und 20. Kampagne. Seit 1933 ruht die Grabungstätigkeit in Tello.
Die französischen Ausgrabungen waren sehr erfolgreich. Aber kaum weniger ergiebig waren die Raubgrabungen der Araber. Sie nutzten die langen Grabungspausen um die Ruinen auszuplündern. Besonders intensiv scheinen sie dort nach der 9. Kampagne, also nach 1895 gesucht zu haben. Ihnen fiel damals ein ganzes Archiv von schätzungsweise 40'000 Tontafeln in die Hände. Im Jahre 1902, nachdem de Sarzec seine Tätigkeit einstellen mußte, wurden die Raubgräber wieder fündig. Diesmal scheinen die Araber ungefähr 1'600 Tafeln vor allem der altsumerischen Zeit gehoben zu haben. Durch diese irregulären Funde gelangten zehntausende von neusumerischen und hunderte von vorsargonischen Texten in alle größeren Museen und viele Privatsammlungen auf der ganzen Welt. Die Raubgrabungen behinderten die planmäßigen Arbeiten auf dem Hügel. Doch die dem Grabungsbefund zugefügten Schäden waren eher gering. Die Ausgrabungen förderten viele einmalige Fundstücke zutage, und Tello steht für die große Wiederentdeckung der frühen sumerischen Kunst. Gesicherte Befunde erbrachten sie kaum; denn die noch junge vorderasiatische Archäologie mußte erst noch Methoden zur Freilegung von Mauern aus luftgetrockneten Ziegeln entwickeln. Mauern aus diesem Material wurden einfach nicht erkannt. Die Aussagen zu Topographie und Geschichte von Girsu stützen sich nahezu ausschließlich auf die Angaben der reichen schriftlichen Überlieferung.



Abb. 1: Übersichtsplan von Tello (Girsu)



Abb. 2: Übersichtsplan von al-Hibā (Lagaš)

Tello, das man bis in die 50er Jahre wegen der vielen Inschriftenfunde mit dem Titel "König" bzw. "Ensi von Lagaš" für Lagaš gehalten hat, ist nun eindeutig mit der antiken Stadt Girsu identifiziert. Doch sei erwähnt, daß F. Hommel und P. Jensen, der Erforscher des Gilgameš-Epos, sich bereits vor 1910, freilich erfolglos, für die Gleichsetzung mit Girsu eingesetzt haben[12].

Ungefähr 20 km südöstlich von Tello liegt der flache Tell al-Hibā (Abb. 2) auf 31° 26' nördlicher Breite und 46° 32' östlicher Länge oder etwa 24 km östlich von dem oben erwähnten Šaṭra entfernt. Der Hügel hat eine Ausdehnung von maximal 3,6 km Länge und 1,9 km

[12] Nach: R. Zehnpfund, Babylonien in seinen wichtigsten Ruinenstätten, Der Alte Orient 11/3-4, 1910, 36.

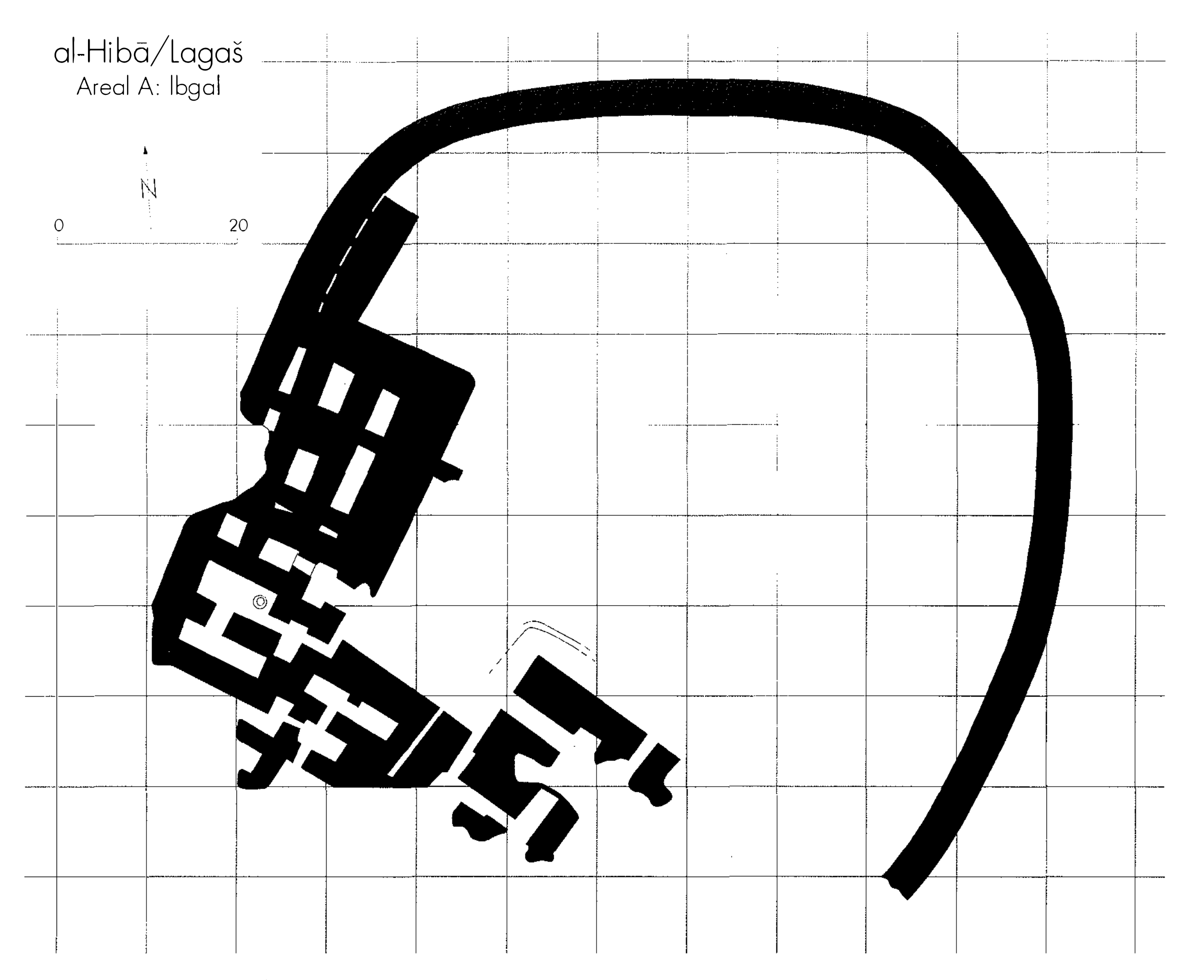


Abb. 3: al-Hibā (Lagaš): das Ibgal

Breite. Hier unternahm eine Expedition der Königlich Preußischen Museen unter R. Koldewey, dem Ausgräber von Babylon, im Frühjahr des Jahres 1887 eine kleine Grabung. Erst ab 1968 führten dann das Metropolitan Museum of Art und das Institute of Fine Arts der New Yorker Universität gemeinsam unter der Leitung von D.P. Hansen systematische Grabungen durch. Bis zum Ausbruch des Golfkrieges haben 6 Kampagnen stattgefunden, die letzte 1990. Es gelang im Abschnitt A – im äußersten Südwesten des Hügels – die Reste eines Tempelovals (Abb. 3) mit 14 Gründungsbeigaben Enanatums I. freizulegen. Es ist das Ibgal der Göttin Inana. Im Abschnitt B, etwa in der Mitte des westlichen Hügelrandes, wurden das Bagar(a) des Gottes Ningirsu und weitere stattliche Bauten der ausgehenden frühdynastischen Zeit ergraben (Abb. 4). Die Ausgrabungen bestätigten so die bereits in den 50er Jahren aufgrund von Geländebegehungen und Schriftzeugnissen von Th. Jacobsen[13] und A. Falkenstein[14] vorgeschlagene Identifizierung mit dem antiken Lagaš.

[13] Th. Jacobsen, RA 52, 1958, 127-129.
[14] A. Falkenstein, AnOr 30, 1966, 17-21.

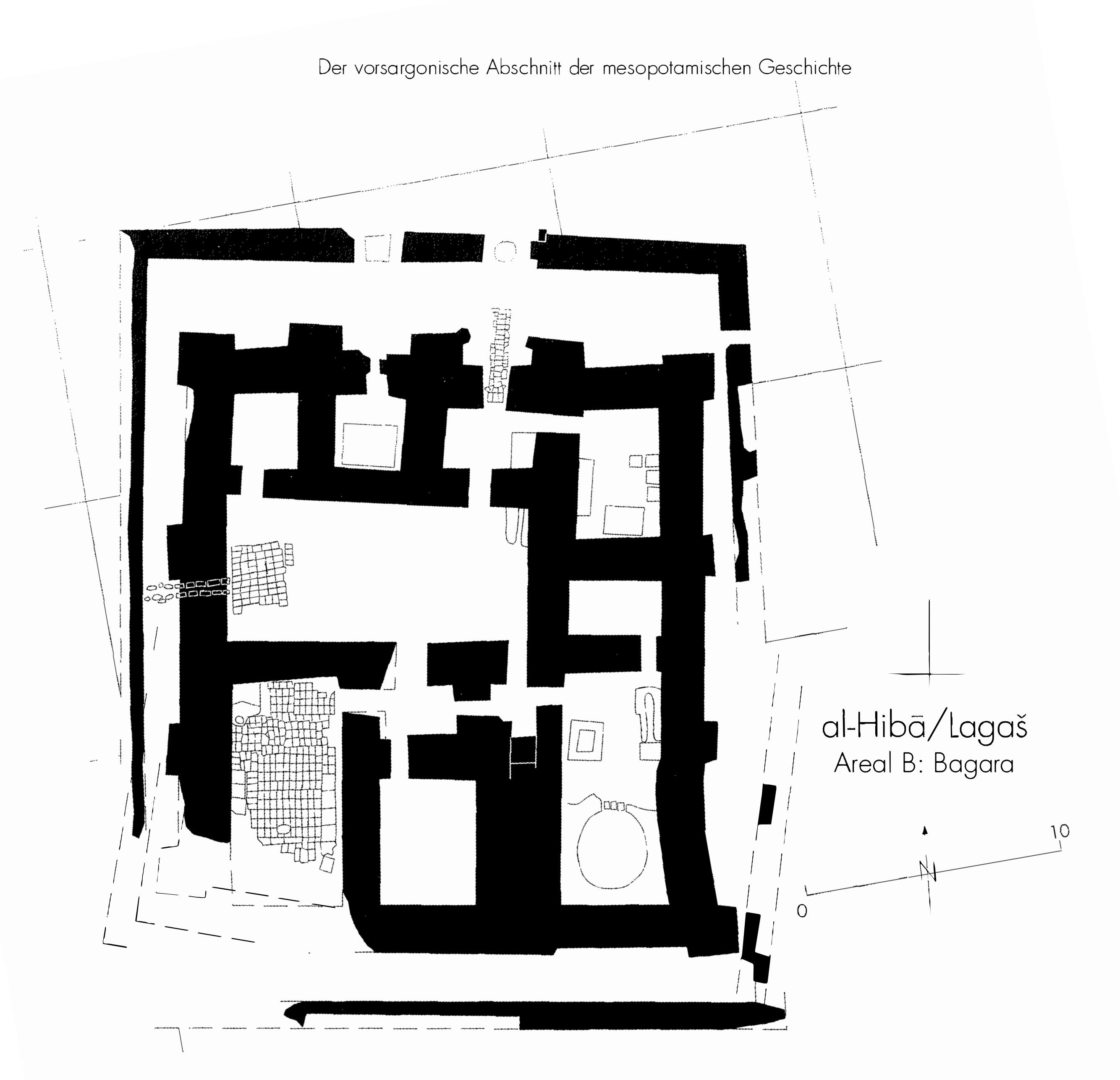


Abb. 4: al-Hibā (Lagaš): das Bagara

Ca. 8 km südöstlich von al-Hibā auf 31°22'30" nördlicher Breite und 46°29' östlicher Länge liegt der wesentlich kleinere Tell von Zurġūl. Seine Fläche wird von A. Parrot mit 66 ha angegeben. Im Januar und Februar des Jahres 1887 fand hier eine Kurzgrabung durch die Mitglieder der bereits oben genannten Expedition unter R. Koldewey statt. Während ihrer ersten zwei Kampagnen kamen auch Teilnehmer der amerikanischen Grabungen von al-Hibā zu zwei kurzen Besuchen hierher und sammelten dabei einige Oberflächenfunde auf. Sonst haben bisher keine Untersuchungen des Hügels stattgefunden. Es gilt als sicher, daß es sich bei Zurġūl um die Stadt Nimin der Göttin Nanše handelt.

2.1. Lagaš

Als ältester bekannter König von Lagaš wird in den Geschichtsdarstellungen und chronologischen Tabellen Enḫegal genannt. Sein Name findet sich auf einer Steintafel, einem Feldkaufvertrag, der allgemein in die Fara-Zeit, also das 26. Jahrhundert vor unserer Zeitrechnung, und zwar meist noch vor dem König Mesalim von Kiš datiert wird. Auf dieser Steintafel tritt Enḫegal zusammen mit einem Mann namens Sidu als Verkäufer von insgesamt 11 Grundstücken auf. Der Käufer ist ein i š i b-Priester des Ningirsu mit dem Namen Lugalkigala. So wurde der Text auch in seiner letzten Bearbeitung durch I.J. Gelb, P. Steinkeller, R. Whiting (ELTS Nr. 20) gedeutet. Aber für M.A. Powell, der das Werk rezensiert hat[15], bedeutet l u g a l in diesem Zusammenhang nur "Eigentümer", Lagaš gibt nach ihm die ungefähre Lage der Grundstücke an, und er datiert die Steintafel in die Zeit Urnanšes. Er meint, sie sei kaum früher, sondern eher etwas später als dieser König anzusetzen.

2.1.1. Lugalšagengur

Der älteste bekannte Herrscher von Lagaš bleibt damit der Ensi oder Stadtfürst Lugalšagengur. Seinen Namen nennt Mesalim auf einem Keulenkopf (Abb. 5), den er dem Gott Ningirsu



Abb. 5: Keulenkopf des Mesalim

[15] M.A. Powell, JCS 46, 1994, 99-104.

weihte (Mes. 1). In seiner Inschrift bezeichnet sich der König von Kiš als Tempelerbauer des Ningirsu. So lernen wir als ersten Bauherrn des e_2 - n i n n u, des wichtigsten Heiligtums des Staates Lagaš, einen auswärtigen Herrscher kennen. Der durch die Weihung der Keule bezeugte Aufenthalt Mesalims in Girsu diente noch einem ganz anderen Zweck. Der König von Kiš war gerufen worden, um den Grenzkonflikt zwischen Lagaš und dem Nachbarstaat Umma zu schlichten. Er zog eine Grenze durch das umstrittene Gebiet des Guedena und stellte dort eine Stele mit seinem Namen auf. Erhalten hat sich dieses Monument nicht, da es bereits einige Generationen später durch Urlumma, einen König von Umma und Zeitgenossen von Enanatum I. und Enmetena von Lagaš, beim Angriff auf Lagaš und Überschreiten dieser Grenze gesprengt wurde. Bekannt sind uns die Ereignisse der Zeit Lugalšagengurs nicht aus zeitgenössischen, d.h. Fara-zeitlichen Quellen, sondern erst aus der Rückschau durch Berichte späterer vorsargonischer Herrscher von Lagaš wie Eanatum und Enmetena, die sich bei ihren Militäroperationen zur Durchsetzung oder Verteidigung lagašitischer Gebietsansprüche immer wieder auf diese für sie offenbar vorteilhafte Grenzziehung berufen. Stilisiert wird diese Auseinandersetzung, etwa im Bericht Enmetenas (Ent.28 -29), als Konflikt zwischen Ningirsu und Šara, den obersten Göttern der Pantheen von Lagaš und Umma, so daß die Namen der irdischen Kontrahenten unerwähnt bleiben. Waren sie schon vergessen? Mesalim, der Schlichter, führte zwar den Titel eines Königs von Kiš, stammte aber nicht aus dieser Stadt. Sein Name findet sich nicht in der Königsliste unter den Herrschern jener Stadt. Daß er im Auftrag des Rechtsgottes Ištaran von Der handelte, reicht als Argument, ihn in jener Stadt zu beheimaten, nicht aus, da der Wirkungskreis des Gottes sicher weit über seinen Hauptkultort hinausreichte. So bleibt die Herkunft Mesalims im Dunkeln. Der König besaß aber auch im südlichen Babylonien so großes Ansehen, daß sich die lagašitische Seite von seinem Eingreifen eine Lösung des Grenzkonflikts versprach. Die Herrscher des Staates Umma haben diese Grenzziehung nie akzeptiert; denn schon unter Urnanše, dem 1. König der I. Dynastie von Lagaš, der höchstens zwei Generationen später regiert haben kann, flammt der Krieg wieder auf, und die militärischen Auseinandersetzungen um das fruchtbare Guedena ziehen sich von Generation zu Generation wie ein roter Faden durch die Geschichte von Lagaš. Schließlich fand dieser Dauerkonflikt sein vorläufiges Ende durch den von Lugalzagesi von Umma herbeigeführten Untergang der altsumerischen I. Dynastie von Lagaš und die Eingliederung seines Territoriums in das erste von Umma dominierte Großreich. Aber damit sind wir den Ereignissen weit vorausgeeilt. Kehren wir noch einmal an das Ende der Fara-Zeit zurück.

Das älteste Historienrelief aus Tello befindet sich auf einem Rundsockel, der, nach den zwei runden Einlaßleeren auf seiner Oberseite zu schließen, als Untersatz für eine Standarte oder eine Statue gedient hat. Er ist in 6 Teile zerbrochen. In flachem Relief dargestellt ist die Begegnung zweier hoher Würdenträger mit ihrem Gefolge. Vielleicht trugen ursprünglich alle 19 Teilnehmer Namensbeischriften, erhalten sind sie – wenigstens in Resten – bei sieben Personen. Leider fehlen heute die Bruchstücke mit den Namen der ersten vier Teilnehmer von rechts und der ersten sechs Figuren von links, also gerade die der vermutlich höchsten Persönlichkeiten. Die Aussagekraft des Rundsockels für die Geschichte ist so äußerst beschränkt. Wie ein zwei Namen nachgestelltes d u m u zeigt, waren hier auch die

Kinder der Würdenträger mitabgebildet. Auf den Weihplatten Urnanšes werden wir diesem Brauch wiederbegegnen.

2.1.2. Urnanše

Mit Urnanše beginnt für uns die kontinuierliche, durch eine nicht mehr abbrechende Folge von Selbstzeugnissen gesicherte Geschichte der I. Dynastie von Lagaš und ihrer neun Herrscher. Urnanše selbst hat 54 beschriebene Objekte hinterlassen, das sind, wenn man die Duplikate ausscheidet, 40 verschiedene Inschriften. Als seinen Vater nennt er einen gewissen Gu-NI.DU. Die Lesung des Namens ist, was die letzten zwei Zeichen betrifft, unsicher. Er trägt keinen Titel, war also mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit auch nicht König oder Ensi. Man findet seinen Namen aber in den Totenopferlisten aus der Zeit der beiden letzten Herrscher dieser I. Dynastie, Lugalanda und Uruinimgina, und zwar Seite an Seite mit Dudu, dem Priester/Tempelverwalter des Ningirsu, und Enentarzid, der, bevor er Stadtfürst wurde, auch Tempelverwalter des Ningirsu gewesen ist. Man könnte das so deuten, daß Gu-NI.DU ebenfalls Tempelverwalter war. Weiterhin nennt Urnanše Gu-NI.DU d u m u g u r - s a r, was man verschieden deuten kann. Entweder ist Gursar ein Personenkurzname und damit der Name des Großvaters des Urnanše, oder es ist der Name eines Ortes. Ein sehr schlecht belegtes Gursar scheint im Süden des Staates von Lagaš gelegen zu haben. Dann wäre Gu-NI.DU ein Einwohner von Gursar gewesen. Gursar erscheint nicht in den Totenopferlisten, was aber nicht als Hinweis zugunsten eines Ortsnamens herangezogen werden kann, da auch viele andere lagašitische Könige in jenen Listen nicht vorkommen.
Mit den Inschriften Urnanšes stehen wir deutlich am Anfang der Ausprägung der Gattung Herrscherinschriften. Auf den Namen des Königs, seinen Titel und die Filiation folgen listenartig kurze Angaben, die aus dem Namen oder der Bezeichnung des vom König verwirklichten Objekts – so gut wie immer ohne einen beschreibenden Zusatz oder ein Epitheton – und einer einfachen Verbalform ohne Infixe bestehen. Die Inschriften klingen eintönig, da die einzelnen Leistungen oft wiederholt werden. Wir wollen hier die Taten des Königs nach den Objektgruppen zusammengefaßt durchgehen.
Urnanše rühmt sich der Anlage von insgesamt 9 Kanälen. Leider läßt sich von den wenigsten auch nur die ungefähre geographische Lage angeben. Am i d$_5$-LAK 175 (oder REC 107) besaß der BaU-Tempel einen Garten. Nach den späteren Verwaltungsurkunden zu schließen, floß dieser Kanal in oder bei Lagaš. Der p a$_5$ - s a m a n$_3$ ist sicherlich derselbe, den Uruinimgina (i d $_2$ -) p a$_5$ - ^{d}s a m a n$_3$ - KAŠ$_4$ - d u nennt. Der Graben scheint im Laufe der Zeit durch Versanden so unbrauchbar geworden zu sein, daß Uruinimgina ihn völlig neu ausheben lassen mußte. Urnanše entfaltete eine reiche Bautätigkeit in allen Teilen seines Staates. Wie so oft können wir dabei die Erneuerung schon lange bestehender Heiligtümer von den sicher seltenen Neugründungen nicht unterscheiden. Insgesamt rühmt er sich der Anlage von 20 größeren und kleineren Gebäuden, und zwar waren es gerade die Hauptheiligtümer, die er erneuert. Ordnet man seine Tempelbauten geographisch und schreitet von Nordosten nach Südwesten voran, ist zuerst das Ningirsu-Heiligtum Tiras (oder Tira'as) zu nennen, das zufällig auch schon Fara-zeitlich bezeugt ist (RTC 7 I 4; 8 I 4). In Girsu

errichtete er das e_2-n i n n u, das Hauptheiligtum des Ningirsu, das allerdings in seinen Inschriften nocht nicht so benannt wird, sondern sich hinter den Bezeichnungen "Heiligtum von Girsu" und "Tempel des Ningirsu" zu verbergen scheint. Wir hörten, daß er hier in Mesalim einen Vorgänger hatte. Im selben Ort lag das e_2-t a r, mit vollerem Namen e_2-t a r-s i r_2-s i r_2-r a, der Tempel der BaU, und das Sesegara, bei Urnanše noch s e s-g a r geschrieben, "das vom Bruder Gesetzte", das Heiligtum der in Nimin beheimateten Göttin Nanše, der Schwester des Ningirsu. Lagaš umgab der Herrscher mit einer Stadtmauer oder erneuerte sie und errichtete den Tempel der Gatumdug, das Bagara für Ningirsu, das Ibgal der Göttin Inana und das Edam, das "Haus der Ehefrau", das Heiligtum der Gemahlin des Ningirsu, der BaU. In Nimin, dem Hauptkultort der Göttin Nanše, erstreckte sich seine Bautätigkeit auf den Tempel der Nanše, der erst bei späteren Herrschern mit dem Namen Sirara genannt wird, und das Ninegara, "das von der Schwester Gesetzte", das Heiligtum des Ningirsu. In die Umgebung von Nimin gehört der Bau des k i-n i r, was eine eigentümliche und frühe Schreibung von k i-n u-n i r-r a darstellt; es ist die Hauptkultstätte der Göttin Dumuzidabsu. Etymologisch, oder vielleicht auch nur volksetymologisch ist das "die Stätte der Ziqqurrat (u_6-n i r)". In den äußersten Süden des Staates, nach Guaba, der "Meeresküste", gehört der Tempel der Göttin Ninmara. Schließlich erwähnt Urnanše noch den Bau zweier Absu genannter Anlagen, des kleineren Absu (a b s u-b a n d $a_3^{(da)}$) und des Absu des Kanals (a b s u-e(-g a)); das erstere ist irgendwo im Nordwesten an der Grenze zu Umma, das zweite in der Nähe von Lagaš zu suchen. Auf dem Staatsgebiet lagen mehrere solcher Anlagen, und man möchte vermuten, daß sie als Abbilder des Süßwasserozeans Wasserbecken waren, oder Gebäude, die ein solches Becken umschlossen.

Interessant ist noch die Erwähnung eines k a_2-m e, das man gern mit dem "Tor der Schlacht" bei Gudea verbinden möchte. Dann müßte bei Urnanše eine syllabische Schreibung mit m e_1 für m e_3 vorliegen. Ernsthafte Schwierigkeiten bereitet diese Annahme nicht.

Als man bei den Ausgrabungen in Ur eine Stele Urnanšes fand (Urn. 40), stellte sich die Frage, ob Ur damals unter der Vorherrschaft von Lagaš stand, oder ob es sich bei ihr um ein verschlepptes Beutestück handelt. Der stark beschädigte Text erwähnt zwei Baulichkeiten, einen Deich und ein Heiligtum. Der Name des Dammes e-d a-s a l_4-m a r-t u findet sich im Textkorpus von Girsu nicht wieder, was aber kein starkes Argument für die außerlagašitische Bestimmung der Stele ist. Die Namen der meisten der von Urnanše ausgehobenen Kanäle und aufgeschütteten Dämme kehren bei seinen Nachfolgern nicht wieder, und der Gesichtskreis der Wirtschaftsurkunden aus Girsu reicht im allgemeinen kaum über diese Stadt und ihre nächste Umgebung hinaus. Interessant ist der Deichname wegen der ältesten Bezeugung der Beduinen (m a r-t u) so weit im Süden; nur die vereinzelten Nennungen im Wirtschaftsarchiv von Šuruppak sind älter.

Der Name des von Urnanše erbauten Heiligtums läßt sich vielleicht zu "Tempel des Suen" ergänzen, aber das bleibt unsicher. Seitdem man aus einer in al-Hibā neugefundenen Inschrift weiß, daß Ur Kriegsgegner Urnanšes war und von ihm geschlagen wurde, ist wohl davon auszugehen, daß diese Stele für Ur bestimmt war, und die Stadt zeitweilig zum Herrschaftsbereich von Lagaš gehörte.

In eine Inschrift, die mit der Erwähnung der Wiedererbauung des Ningirsu-Tempels beginnt, fügt Urnanše nach einer längeren Aufzählung seiner Bautätigkeit noch ein:

> "Als er den Tempel des Ningirsu baute, hat der" oder "haben die Tempel 70 Getreidespeicher Gerste verzehrt"
> (u d e_2-^{d}n i n - g i r_2 - s u , m u - d u_3 , 70 g u r_7 š e , e_2 b e_2 - k u_2: Urn. 34 III 7-10 // 53a 1'-2').

Wegen der knappen Formulierung und weil spätere Parallelen zu dieser Wendung fehlen, wird diese Stelle auch anders übersetzt, so von H. Steible[16]:

> "Als er den Tempel des Ningirsu gebaut hatte, hat er Getreide von 70 Getreidespeichern den Tempel essen lassen."

Er versteht dies im Kommentar in Anlehnung an M. Lambert als Ausstattung des Ningirsu-Tempels oder auch aller genannten Heiligtümer mit einer Pfründe, wobei er ausdrücklich auf die Gründung des Enlil-Tempels durch Enmetena verweist.
Ganz ähnlich gibt J.S. Cooper[17] die Zeilen wieder:

> "Als er den Tempel des Ningirsu baute, hat er 70 g u r u Gerste für den Verzehr im Tempel zugeteilt".

Beide Nachrichten unterscheiden sich aber ganz wesentlich. Während Urnanše vom Verbrauch von Gerste spricht, wird der Enlil-Tempel Enmetenas mit Versorgungsfeldern ausgestattet. Beim Bau des Ningirsu-Tempels handelt es sich um die Wiedererrichtung eines altansässigen Heiligtums, das schon vorher über ausgedehnte Ländereien verfügt haben muß, so daß Zuwendungen dieser Art überflüssig erscheinen, während es sich bei Enlil um eine Kultübertragung handelt, d.h. um den Versuch Enmetenas den Kult des Enlil im Staatsgebiet von Lagaš heimisch zu machen. Bei diesem Tempel haben wir eine wirkliche Neugründung vor uns, deren Lebensfähigkeit erst durch die Zuweisung von Gütern auf eine gesicherte Grundlage gestellt werden mußte. Ein ähnlicher Vorgang ist die Einführung des Ningišzida-Kultes in Girsu unter Gudea. Ich sehe daher in den 70 Getreidespeichern die abgerundete Summe der Baukosten für den Ningirsu-Tempel allein oder vielleicht auch aller vor dieser Angabe genannter Kultstätten. Um die Zahl zu verdeutlichen, folgt hier eine Umrechnung nach den im vorsargonischen Lagaš üblichen Relationen. 1 Getreidespeicher (g u r_7) entspricht 3'600 Hauptgur (g u r - s a g - g a l_2). 60 Getreidespeicher ergeben 252'000 Hauptgur oder ungefähr 30'554 hl. Die durchschnittliche Monatslöhnung eines Trägers betrug 8 Ban Gerste, die einer Trägerin – und sie waren es, die im vorsargonischen Lagaš vor allem die Bauarbeiter stellten – betrug nur 6 Ban. (Wenn Gudea, Stat. B IV 5-6 behauptet, daß beim Bau seines Eninnu keine Frauen den Tragkorb trugen, sondern s a g - u r - s a g ihn bauten, so soll das die Ausnahme von der üblichen Praxis und den ungeheuren Aufwand verewigen, der bei der Errichtung dieses Prestigebauwerks getrieben wurde. Dennoch kann diese An-

[16] H. Steible, FAOS 5/I, 1982, 100.
[17] J.S. Cooper, SARI 1, 1986, 29.

gabe der Realität auch bei Gudea nicht entsprochen haben.) Bei diesen Rationen von 8 Ban für einen Mann und 6 Ban für eine Frau konnten mit den oben genannten 252'000 Hauptgur 6'300 Männer oder 8'400 Frauen 10 Jahre lang entlöhnt werden.

Was bei der Lektüre der Urnanše-Inschriften besonders ins Auge fällt ist die große Zahl von Götterbildern, deren Herstellung sich der König rühmt. Nach ihm erwähnt nur noch Eanatum (Ean. 62 I, IV 6-7) die Anfertigung einer einzigen Nanše-Statue. Urnanše hat insgesamt 13 Statuen in Auftrag gegeben. Von den großen Göttern ließ er Nanše, Ninmara und Gatumdug darstellen. Es findet sich also kein Hinweis auf Ningirsu oder BaU. Sonst handelt es sich um kleinere Gestalten des Pantheons wie das Götterkind Šulšaga oder die Hauptgötter kleinerer Siedlungen wie Lugal-URUxGAN$_2$ /*tenû* oder Lugalurtura. Es befinden sich unter ihnen auch Götter, die später nicht mehr zu belegen sind wie ^{d}n i n - e s$_3$ -REC 107/LAK 175, vielleicht "die Herrin des Heiligtums am REC 107 (-Kanal)", und Gušudu.

Obwohl die Nachfolger Urnanšes mit Ausnahme des Eanatum nur noch die Weihung ihrer eigenen Statuen an die Götter berichten, darf die Hypothese als überwunden gelten, auch Urnanše habe die Anfertigung und Aufstellung seiner eigenen Bilder bei den genannten Gottheiten gemeint. Schaut man näher hin, so hielten die bedeutenderen Gestalten unter den frühen Herrschern von Lagaš die Anfertigung ihrer eigenen Bildwerke außer in der Statueninschrift selbst nicht der Erwähnung wert (vgl. En. I 25 und 26; Ent. 1, eine Ausnahme machte vielleicht Lug. 15). So kennen wir auch eine von Urnanše im Tempel Sirara der Nanše aufgestellte Statue nicht aus den Inschriften dieses Königs, sondern nur durch die Buchung ihr zugedachter Gaben in einer sogenannten Opferliste (DP 53 IX 11) aus der Endzeit der Dynastie. Ob sich in der Aufstellung der Statue Urnanšes bei der Göttin Nanše ein besonders inniges Verhältnis des Königs zur Göttin ausdrückt, oder ob wir nur zufällig von dieser Statue als einer von vielen wissen, ist nicht zu entscheiden.

Es muß sich bei den Schöpfungen Urnanšes wirklich um die Götterbilder gehandelt haben, die einmal vorhanden, nicht mehr neugeschaffen zu werden brauchten, sondern bis zu ihrer Zerstörung etwa beim Untergang dieser I. Dynastie von Lagaš verehrt wurden. Damit stellt sich aber die Frage, warum zur Zeit Urnanšes so viele Götterbilder fehlten. Verbindet man dieses Faktum mit den vielen Tempelbauten und Kanalarbeiten des Königs, so könnte man daraus schließen, daß dieser Herrscher bei seinem Regierungsantritt ein durch Krieg stark zerstörtes Land vorfand und alle getroffenen Maßnahmen dem notwendigen Wiederaufbau dienten. Aber auch eine andere Erklärung erscheint möglich. Mit der Fara-Zeit könnte sich die Anthropomorphisierung der Götter endgültig durchgesetzt haben, so daß nun Embleme als Symbole nicht mehr als ausreichende Vergegenwärtigung der Gottheit betrachtet wurden, sondern Götterbilder als neuer Mittelpunkt des Kultes notwendig erschienen. Das bei Urnanše vermißte Paar Ningirsu und BaU könnte, als die wichtigsten Götter des Staates, schon von einem seiner Vorgänger ihre menschengestaltigen Bilder erhalten haben.

Als große Leistung betrachtete Urnanše auch das Herbeischaffen von Bauholz, denn er rühmt sich dessen nicht weniger als siebenmal in immer denselben Worten: "Dilmun-Schiffe hat er vom Bergland her Holz herbeibringen lassen". Daß zum Bau, besonders zur Konstruktion der Tempeldächer, geeignetes Holz im südlichen Mesopotamien fehlt, ist bekannt. Was aufmerken läßt, ist, daß dieses Baumaterial nicht aus den Randgebirgen des Mittel-

meeres oder den Bergen Elams kommt, sondern auf dem Seeweg von einem Land am Persischen Golf. Das Dilmun-Schiff (m a$_2$ - d i l m u n) war ein Fahrzeug von besonderer seetüchtiger Bauart. Nach den Listen über Weihegeschenke gab es auch Bronzeschalen in Gestalt dieser Schiffe. Die späteren Wirtschaftsurkunden benennen einige Produkte nach dem Herkunftsland Dilmun, nämlich Zwiebeln und ein bestimmtes Gewand. Handelsbeziehungen zu Dilmun scheinen schon vor Urnanše bestanden zu haben, denn in einer Farazeitlichen Urkunde aus Girsu wird ein Mann aus Dilmun erwähnt. Er trägt allerdings mit u t u - u r - s a g, "Utu (ist) ein Held", einen gut sumerischen Namen (RTC 4 II 2-3). Noch Lugalanda unterhielt Beziehungen zu Dilmun.

Fast einhundert Jahre lang, vom Bekanntwerden der ersten Denkmäler Urnanšes bis zum Jahre 1975-76 schien es, als habe die Schlichtung der Grenzstreitigkeiten unter Mesalim Lagaš eine Zeit des Friedens beschert, in der Urnanše im Kreise seiner großen Familie ruhig habe leben und sich mit Eifer ausschließlich dem Dienst der Götter und der Verbesserung der Lebensverhältnisse in seinem Reich habe widmen können, da wurde bei den Ausgrabungen in al-Hibā im Tempel Bagara eine unregelmäßig geformte Steinplatte gefunden. Sie hatte sekundär als Türangelstein gedient und durch diese Verwendung ging auf ihrer Rückseite in der Drehpfanne der Tür ein Teil ihrer Inschrift verloren. Umstritten bleibt, ob dieser Stein ursprünglich als Stele diente, oder ob er nur als Träger für den Textentwurf einer noch nicht wiederentdeckten Stele diente. Das abrupte Ende mitten in einem Satz bliebe schwer erklärbar, wenn es sich um die Originalstele handeln sollte[18]. Der erste Teil der Inschrift handelt in einer für Urnanše ungewöhnlichen Ausführlichkeit über bestimmte Maßnahmen beim Bau des Ningirsu-Tempels Bagara in Lagaš. Nicht nur die Verwendung von Backstein wird hervorgehoben, sondern auch die Anlage eines eigenen Kanals – der Name ist weitgehend zerstört – für das Heiligtum. Erwähnt wird weiter, daß der König auch eine Küche des Tempels und einen besonderen als i b bezeichneten Teil der Küche ihrer Bestimmung übergab (n a m$_2$ - s i - s a$_2$ s u m). Überraschende Nachrichten erhielt die Rückseite. Auch während der Regierung Urnanšes herrschte kein Friede, auch er hatte sich dem Konflikt zwischen Lagaš und Umma zu stellen. Es gelingt ihm Ur und Umma zu schlagen und einige der Anführer gefangen zu nehmen. Wegen der verschiedenen syntaktischen Möglichkeiten und einiger Bruchstellen ist die Interpretation dieses Teils nicht ganz sicher. Der Name des ersten Gefangenen aus Ur beginnt mit dem Zeichen MU und ist danach zerstört. Ihm folgt ein Ensi-magur, in dem man entweder einen zweiten Personennamen oder den Titel des eben erwähnten Mannes, dessen Name mit Mu- beginnt, sehen kann. Gegen die Annahme eines Personennamens Ensi-magur spricht vielleicht die außerordentliche Seltenheit von mit e n s i$_2$ gebildeten Personennamen, im Gegensatz etwa zu denen mit l u g a l. Ein Titel "Ensi der Lastschiffe" ist allerdings auch erst spät nachzuweisen[19]. Die Zeilen 3 und 4 des altbabylonischen Hymnus aus dem Dumuzi-Inana-Kreis lauten[20]:

[18] V. E. Crawford, JCS 29, 1977, 193-197; 211-214; J. S. Cooper, RA 74, 1980, 104-108; ders., SARI 1, 1986, La. 1.6.

[19] W.H.Ph. Römer, AOAT 232, 1993, 371.

[20] S.N. Kramer, PAPS 107, 1963, 510 Nr. 11:5-6//STVC 107:6'-7'// B. Alster, ASJ 15, 1993, 8-9 Nr. 5:5-6.

"Du bist wahrlich unser Ensi der Lastschiffe, du bist wahrlich unser Inspektor (n u - b a n d a_3) der Streitwagen."

Hatte Th. Jacobsen in seinem Aufsatz in der Festschrift für M. Civil[21] den Ensi ursprünglich mit der Eselhaltung in Verbindung bringen wollen, so scheint hier eine Beziehung des Ensi zur Schiffahrt und zum Transportwesen auf Kanälen und Flüssen sichtbar zu werden.
Weitere Gefangene aus Ur sind der Siegelbewahrer und Inspektor Amabaragesi, wobei zu sagen ist, daß n u - b a n d a_3 auch ein militärischer Rang war, ein Papursag, ohne Angabe zu seinem Beruf und ein weiterer Inspektor, dessen Name verloren ist. Nach Urnanšes Sieg über Umma ergaben sich ihm der Stadtfürst der Stadt mit Namen Pabilgaltuk, von dessen Existenz man hier erstmals erfährt, weiter drei n u - b a n d a_3 : Billala, Lupada und Urtulsag, sowie schließlich der Großkaufmann (d a m - g a r_3 - g a l) Ḫursagšemaḫ. Dieser Großkaufmann dürfte also auch im Kriegsfalle einen militärischen Rang bekleidet haben. Auffällig ist die ungirsuitische Schreibung des /maḫ/ in seinem Namen durch das Zeichen AL = m a $ḫ_2$.
Ungewöhnlich ist das weitere Schicksal des Lupada. In Girsu (Tello) fand sich eine Sitzstatue dieses Mannes beschrieben mit einem Feldkaufvertrag (ELTS Nr. 21), in dem Lupada als Käufer auftritt. Er bezeichnet sich zu Anfang als "Lupada, der Katasterleiter aus Umma, der Sohn des Nadu, des Katasterleiters". Daß die Statue als Beutegut aus Umma entführt worden sei, kann man ausschließen, denn auf einer in Umma befindlichen Statue ist der Hinweis des Lupada auf seine Herkunft, nämlich Umma, nicht recht einzusehen. Außerdem verweisen alle verifizierbaren Feldernamen auf Lagen im Staate Lagaš. Das bedeutet aber: Lupada kam als Gefangener in Lagaš zu Ehren und konnte dort sogar Grundbesitz erwerben. Er wurde also weder getötet, noch verstümmelt, noch versklavt. Ähnliches scheint auch dem Großkaufmann Ḫursagšemaḫ widerfahren zu sein, wovon noch später gesprochen wird. Es kann also keine Rede davon sein, wie man das gelegentlich lesen kann[22], daß die Sumerer in der FD-Zeit alle ihre Kriegsgefangenen niedermetzelten.
Jeweils nach der Erwähnung des Sieges über Ur und Umma wird in dieser Inschrift Urnanšes auch erstmals vom Aufschütten eines oder mehrerer Leichenhügel (IŠ.DU_6.KID_2) berichtet. Aus der sorgfältigen Trennung der Angaben über beide Feldzüge einschließlich der Errichtung der verschiedenen Polyandrien kann man folgern, daß die Kämpfe an verschiedenen Orten stattfanden und Lagaš nicht etwa vereinigte Armeen der feindlichen Städte gegenübertraten.
Das Wort IŠ.DU_6.KID_2 ist immer noch nicht zu lesen. Die Zeichenfolge ist meines Wissens zuletzt auf dem Bruchstück eines Felderplans der Akkad-Zeit aus Girsu belegt (RTC 156). In einen kleinen Kreis sind die drei Zeichen eingeschrieben. Der Hügel liegt in einem dreieckig geschnittenen Feldstück, das von drei Kanälen umgeben ist, am Ufer des südlichsten. Da die Kanäle unbenannt geblieben sind, ist eine Identifizierung mit einem der in den vorsargonischen Inschriften erwähnten Grabhügel und eine Bestimmung der geographischen Lage nicht möglich. Dieser akkadzeitliche Beleg ist das letzte Zeugnis für die Zeichenverbindung. Was

[21] Th. Jacobsen, FS Civil, 1991, 113-121.
[22] z.B. I.J. Gelb, JNES 32, 1973, 71-72.



Abb. 6: Weihplatte des Urnanše

man bisher nicht weiß, ist, ob das Wort für diese Art der Bestattung danach unter einer anderen Schreibung weiterlebte, oder ob es zusammen mit der Beisetzungssitte verschwand. Die Inschrift endet mit lu_2 u m m a^{ki}, was nach J.S. Cooper[23], die Wiedergabe einer Beischrift zu einer figürlichen Darstellung auf der Originalstele gewesen sein kann, oder der Beginn eines unvollendet gebliebenen Satzes.
Ein typisches Zeugnis der frühdynastischen Kunst war die Weihplatte. Und allein von Urnanše sind nicht weniger als 7 Exemplare dieser Denkmälergattung mehr oder weniger vollständig erhalten geblieben (Urn. 20-23; 41-43). Die kleinere (Abb. 6) der zwei gänzlich erhaltenen Platten (Urn. 21) zeigt den König mit betend zusammengelegten Händen, unmittelbar gefolgt von seinem Mundschenken Aneta, ohne Angabe seines Titels, aber kenntlich an der Tüllenkanne, die er in den Händen hält. Der überragenden Gestalt des Königs und der kleinen des Mundschenken folgen vier weitere Personen in zwei Registern übereinander angeordnet. Nur bei Akurgal, dem Thronfolger, ist der Namensbeischrift ein d u m u "Sohn" hinzugefügt. Von den nur namentlich bezeichneten Gestalten sind Lugalezem und Gula im

[23] J. S. Cooper, SARI 1, 1986, 25 Anm. 7.



Abb. 7: Weihplatte des Urnanše

oberen Register mit Hilfe der anderen Weihplatten als Söhne Urnanšes zu bestimmen. Nicht eindeutig zu klären ist die Stellung des Baragsagnudi, hinter Akurgal im unteren Register, doch handelt es sich wahrscheinlich um einen weiteren Sohn Urnanšes. Die Namen aller Dargestellten sind auf den Flächen der Röcke eingegraben. Die größere der beiden (Abb. 7) vollständig erhaltenen Weihplatten (Urn. 20) trägt zwei Bildstreifen. Im oberen sieht man den nach rechts gewendeten König als frommen Bauherren, den mit Lehm gefüllten Korb auf dem Kopf tragend. Unmittelbar hinter ihm steht der schon bekannte Mundschenk Aneta. Dem König schreiten fünf seiner Kinder entgegen, angeführt von seiner Tochter (Abda), hervorgehoben durch ihre relative Größe und ihre weibliche Tracht. Ihr folgen Akurgal mit einer Tüllenkanne als Mundschenk und drei weitere Söhne des Herrschers. Der untere Bildstreifen zeigt Urnanše thronend mit einem erhobenen Trinkbecher in der Rechten nach links gewendet. Direkt hinter ihm steht ein Mundschenk mit Namen s a g - a n - t u k oder s a g - d i n g i r - t u k. Dem König entgegen kommen drei seiner Söhne angeführt von Balul, dem Oberschlangenbeschwörer.

Werfen wir noch einen Blick auf die Größte der Weihplatten (Urn. 22), von der aber leider etwa die Hälfte, und zwar der rechte Teil, verlorengegangen ist. Die Figuren sind in einem

oberen und einem unteren Bildstreifen angeordnet und nach rechts gewendet. Der erhaltene Teil des unteren Registers bildet von rechts nach links den schon bekannten Aneta als Mundschenken, Balul, den Oberschlangenbeschwörer, Akurgal, den Kronprinzen, und einen Mann namens Namazu, der den Titel l u$_2$-d u b-s a r führt, ab. Die Deutung des l u$_2$ bereitet zur Zeit noch Schwierigkeiten, da es in altsumerischer Zeit noch nicht als Determinativ verstanden werden darf. Dieser Schreiber oder vielleicht Vertreter der Schreiber gehörte also auch zur Umgebung des Königs. Im oberen Streifen sind in der Reihenfolge von rechts nach links ein als "Garant" bezeichneter Mann, dessen halbe Gestalt mit dem Namen weggebrochen ist, zwei weitere Prinzen und als letzter Ḫursagšemaḫ erhalten. Er trägt an einer Stange ein Gefäß über der Schulter. Das erinnert, obwohl das abgebildete nicht die Form eines š a g a n-Gefäßes hat, an die Bezeichnung s a m a n$_2$-l a$_2$, akkadisch *šamallûm*, den "Beutelträger", oder "(Handlungs-)Gehilfen des Kaufmannes". Dieser Ḫursagšemaḫ dürfte derselbe sein wie der von Urnanše beim Kampf gegen Umma gefangengenommene Großkaufmann. Er gewann demnach später das Vertrauen des Herrschers und gehörte zu seiner näheren Umgebung. Sein Schicksal ist nicht einmalig, sondern gleicht dem des Katasterleiters Lupada aus Umma, von dem schon die Rede war. Durch die Weihplatten lernen wir die große Familie Urnanšes kennen, eine Tochter und acht oder neun Söhne. Nicht auf ihnen dargestellt ist Menbaragabsu, die Ehefrau Urnanšes. Ihr Bild und ihr Name werden überliefert auf einer noch unpublizierten Stele im Bagdader Museum (Urn. 50). Vielleicht lebte sie nicht mehr, als Urnanše die Weihplatten in Auftrag gab.
Die zahlreichen überkommenen Denkmäler bezeugen eine rege Tätigkeit Urnanšes und sprechen für eine lange Regierungsdauer des Königs. Urnanše muß eine beeindruckende Persönlichkeit gewesen sein, denn auch die Nachwelt erinnerte sich noch an ihn. Die sogenannte Königsliste von Lagaš aus altbabylonischer Zeit führt ihn in korrekter Namensform auf, schreibt ihm den Bau des Nanše-Tempels Sirara und der Stadt Nimin zu, was, soweit es den Bau des Tempels betrifft, von seinen eigenen Inschriften bestätigt wird, nur läßt sie ihn 1'080 Jahre regieren.
In der großen Nanše-Hymne, ebenfalls aus altbabylonischer Zeit[24] sind Urnanše und Gudea die einzigen historischen Persönlichkeiten, die erwähnt werden. Die Zeilen 34-36 lauten in Übersetzung:

> "Berief sie (gemeint ist die Göttin Nanše) nicht den Šennu-Priester ins heilige Herz?
> Sie ließ Urnanše, den Herrn, den Lagaš liebt, sich auf das Thronpodest setzen.
> Dem Hirten gab sie ein erhabenes Szepter."

Dazu sei noch bemerkt, daß sich diese letzte Zeile schon auf den gleich anschließend genannten Gudea beziehen könnte. Der Šennu-Priester ist für das altsumerische Lagaš bisher nicht bezeugt, der älteste Beleg dieses selten vorkommenden Kultberufs stammt aus einer Inschrift Urningirsus aus neusumerischer Zeit (H. Steible, FAOS 9/1, 1991, 395-396, 'Lagaš' 11).

[24] W. Heimpel, JCS 33, 1981, 65-139.

2.1.3. Akurgal

Auf Urnanše folgte sein Sohn Akurgal als Herrscher über Lagaš. So einfach der Name klingt, so schwer ist er zu deuten. Sicher ist wohl, daß er in a und k u r - g a l zu zerlegen ist. Geht man davon aus, daß der Name ein Vollname ist, was möglich, aber nicht bewiesen ist, so bieten sich für a die Bedeutungen "Vater" oder "Haus", vielleicht auch "Nachkomme" an. Bei k u r - g a l ist vermutlich nicht an den Beinamen Enlils zu denken, sondern an "den großen Berg" der Kosmologie. Eine mögliche Übersetzung des Namens ist also "der Vater (ist) der große Berg", oder, wenn man in einem Namen wie a b s u - k u r - g a l eine engere Parallele sieht, "das Haus ist der große Berg".
Im Gegensatz zu seinem Vater bleibt Akurgal für uns eine blasse Gestalt. Da Urnanše sehr lange regierte, gelangte er wohl erst in fortgeschrittenerem Alter auf den Thron. Seine Regierungszeit wird nur kurz gewesen sein. Erhalten haben sich 6 Löwenfiguren aus Gipsstein, gefunden in Tello. Bei den Exemplaren 2-6 ist die Inschrift zerstört, doch werden sie keinen anderen Text getragen haben als das erste Exemplar. Auf ihm berichtet Akurgal vom Bau des Ningirsu-Tempels Antasura. Dort werden auch die Löwenfiguren als Schmuck angebracht gewesen sein. Eine Backsteininschrift, die bei den Ausgrabungen in al-Hibā (Lagaš) ans Licht kam, enthält, soweit erhalten, nur den Namen und den Titel Stadtfürst von Lagaš.
Eanatum, sein Sohn und Nachfolger, berichtet am Anfang der Geierstele von ihm und seinen Händeln mit dem Nachbarstaat Umma. Dabei hat Akurgal keine glückliche Hand bewiesen, so daß das Guedena oder doch weite Teile davon verloren gingen, die Eanatum erst wieder zurückerobern mußte. Wegen der großen Textverluste gerade am Anfang der Steleninschrift läßt sich kein detaillierteres Bild gewinnen. Die sogenannte Königsliste von Lagaš, bei der man zweifeln kann, ob sie denn als ernst gemeinte Darstellung der Geschichte aufzufassen ist, erinnert sich seiner nicht mehr.

2.1.4. Eanatum

Nach Akurgal gelangte sein Sohn Eanatum auf den Thron. Die Inschriften keines lagašitischen Herrschers berichten so viel von Feldzügen wie die Eanatums. Der kriegerische Gott Ningirsu hat ihn geradezu als Vollstrecker seines Willens gezeugt – auf diese Gottessohnschaft wird später noch zurückzukommen sein – und nachdem er im Traum, wie später Gudea zum Bau des Eninnu, direkt von Ningirsu beauftragt wird, die feindlichen Länder zu bekämpfen (Ean. 1 VI 25 - VII 11), scheint er sich dieser Aufgabe mit ungeheurem Tatendrang angenommen zu haben. Er nennt sich den, "der für Ningirsu alle Länder vernichtet" (Ean.1 XI 12 -23), und besonders oft den k u r - g u_2 - g a r - g a r des Ningirsu, "den, der Ningirsu alle Länder unterjocht" (Ean. 1 Rs. V 56 - VI 1 u.o.). Umma, das weit in das Guedena eingedrungen ist, wobei man die von Mesalim gesetzte Stele herausgerissen hatte, wird zurückgeschlagen, und die Stadt zerstört. Daraufhin erschlagen den unterlegenen Stadtfürsten die Bewohner seiner eigenen Stadt.
Eanatum führt Krieg gegen Ur, Uruk und Kiutu ("Stätte des Sonnengottes") und schlägt sie. Weiter tritt er einer Koalition aus Kiš, Akšak und Mari entgegen und besiegt sie. Die Göttin Inana verleiht ihm daraufhin als Beweis ihrer Liebe zum Stadtfürstentum von Lagaš auch das

Königtum von Kiš. Seinen Kampf gegen den Herrscher von Kiš hat Eanatum auch im untersten Bildstreifen auf der Rückseite der Geierstele darstellen lassen. Die Ergänzung des in einer Kartusche beigeschriebenen Könignamens zu Kalbum bleibt jedoch höchst fraglich. Als sich Akšak unter einem König namens Susu – er wird nicht in der Königsliste aufgeführt – darauf noch einmal erhebt, wird auch dieser geschlagen, und die Stadt zerstört. Aber Eanatum griff noch viel weiter aus, als das je ein Herrscher von Lagaš getan hatte und auch nach ihm tat. Hatte er mit Akšak schon den mittleren Tigris erreicht, so schlug er wahrscheinlich im Nordosten Subartu, die Gegend des späteren Assyrien (, doch steht die Lesung der entsprechenden Zeile nicht eindeutig fest).
Auch gegen Staaten im Osten Mesopotamiens führte Eanatum Krieg. Elam mußte in seine Grenzen verwiesen werden. Es wird ausdrücklich als "hohes Gebirge" bezeichnet, darf also nicht mit der Ebene der Susiane gleichgesetzt werden. Außer Elam besiegt er Adua, Susa, eine URU×A geschriebene Stadt und u r u - a z. Dabei zerstörte er Adua und Uruaz und tötete den Stadtfürsten der "Bärenstadt". Von URU×A wird berichtet, daß er es schlug, obwohl der Stadtfürst das Emblem der Stadt (š u - n i r) an deren Spitze gestellt hatte. Sah man früher im Voranstellen des Emblems eine Art magischen Schutzakt, so ist Steible sicher zuzustimmen, wenn er es mit einer ähnlichen Stelle im Zylinder A Gudeas verbindet[25]. Dort werden aus den drei Imruas der Götter Ningirsu, Nanše und Inana Arbeitstruppen für den Bau des Eninnu ausgehoben, in dem man das jeweilige Emblem vor das Imrua stellte. Man kann also frei übersetzen:

> "Obwohl der Ensi der Stadt URU×A eine Generalmobilmachung veranstaltete, schlug Eanatum ihn trotzdem".

Den am weitesten von Girsu entfernt liegenden Ort erreichte Eanatum, wenn die Lokalisierung im Osten Elams zutrifft, bei der Verwüstung von Mišime. Denkt man an die, freilich nur aus Epen bekannten Feldzüge Uruks gegen Aratta in der FD II-Zeit, erscheinen die Angaben Eanatums möglich.
Auch das bekannteste Monument Eanatums, ja vielleicht das berühmteste Bildwerk dieses Zeitalters überhaupt, die Geierstele, ist bedeckt mit Darstellungen von Krieg und Triumph. Sieben Bruchstücke haben sich von ihr in Tello gefunden. Sie machen ungefähr 1/3 der ursprünglichen Größe aus. Das hohe Bildfeld auf der Vorderseite zeigt den Gott Ningirsu im Triumph über seine Feinde, die er in einem großen Schlagnetz gefangen hält (Abb. 8). Daß hier der Gott gemeint ist, wird allein schon durch die alle anderen Dargestellten weit überragende Größe nahegelegt, obwohl ein Bruch so unglücklich die obere Kopfhälfte in Höhe der Augenbrauen abgetrennt hat, daß die zu erwartende Hörnerkrone verloren ist. Der langbärtige Gott trägt eine Keule in seiner Rechten, vielleicht als Abbildung einer der namentlich bekannten, der Šargaz oder Šarur, gemeint, die Linke umfaßt den Netzverschluß, der als Anzud-Vogel gebildet ist. Der Vogel schlägt seine Krallen in den Rücken zweier miteinander verschmolzener nach links und rechts gewendeter Löwen. Dem Hochgott folgt ein Gott seines Gefolges, von dem aber nur noch der Kopf erhalten ist. Es ist ein Standarten-

[25] H. Steible, FAOS 5/II, 1982, 64-65.



Abb. 8: Geierstele, der Gott Ningirsu

träger mit einfacher Hörnerkrone in Form der sogenannten Idolkrone. Der Schaft der Standarte ist mit einem einfachen Anzud-Vogel bekrönt. Von einem Bildfries unterhalb dieser Hauptszene ist nur wenig erhalten. Man erkennt die Vorderfront des wahrscheinlich vierrädrigen Wagens, von dem Ningirsu abgestiegen ist, und davor rechts den Kopf des göttlichen Wagenführers. Auch er trägt die Idolkrone.
Die Rückseite war in wenigstens 4 Bildfriese eingeteilt. Nach der Welt der Götter zeigen sie, stilisiert und überhöht, irdisches Geschehen. Im obersten Feld (Abb. 9) setzt Eanatum zu Fuß als Anführer einer festgefügten Phalanx von Infanterie dem geschlagenen Feind nach. Erhalten ist freilich nur der linke Teil der Szene. Der Bruch geht mitten durch die Gestalt des Königs; Gesicht und linker Arm sind verloren. Eanatum trägt einen Helm und in der Rechten



Abb. 9: Geierstele, Eanatum als Anführer der Phalanx

ein gebogenes Schwert. Er ist bekleidet mit einem Zottenrock und einem Vliesumhang darüber, doch er ist ebenso barfüßig wie die ihm folgenden Soldaten, die über nackte und kahlköpfige Gefallene hinweg vorrücken. Die in Ningirsus Netz gefangenen Feinde auf der Vorderseite waren auch nackt und kahlköpfig. Die Soldaten tragen Helme, sie bergen sich hinter rechteckigen mit Metallbuckeln verstärkten Schilden und sind bewaffnet mit Lanzen und langgestielten Äxten. Den Truppen fliegen Geier voraus, die die abgeschlagenen Köpfe und Gliedmaßen von Gefallenen als Beute davontragen. Es ist bekanntlich dieses Bruchstück gewesen, das der Stele ihren modernen Namen gab.
Auf dem Bildstreifen darunter befindet sich ein Truppenkontingent auf dem Marsch (Abb. 9). Ihm voran fährt Eanatum in einem vierrädrigen Streitwagen. Der König hält in der Rechten ein gebogenes Schwert und schwingt mit der Linken eine Lanze. Hinter ihm im Wagen steht der jetzt fast völlig verlorene Wagenlenker. Erhalten blieb sein rechter Arm, der eine Lanze

führt. Dem Streitwagen folgt ein Trupp Soldaten im Zottenrock ohne Schilde mit geschulterten Äxten und Lanzen. Der nächste Bildstreifen (Abb. 10) zeigt die Aufschüttung eines Leichenhügels und das Opfer für die Gefallenen.
Im unten anschließenden letzten Fries (Abb. 10) zielt eine Hand mit einer Lanze – es ist mit Sicherheit die des Herrschers von Lagaš – über eine Gruppe von Feinden hinweg auf den Kopf des gegnerischen Königs. Die halb zerstörte Beischrift enthielt den Namen und Titel. Es handelt sich um den König von Kiš, von dessen Name ein AL erhalten blieb.



Abb. 10: Geierstele: die unteren beiden Friese

Eine Inschrift bedeckt den Hintergrund und die vorstehenden Profile, die die einzelnen Bildbänder voneinander trennen, fast völlig. Ihr Verständnis wird durch zahlreiche Textverluste erheblich erschwert. Im zweiten Teil läßt sich manches ergänzen, weil eine bestimmte Passage 6mal mit annähernd demselben Wortlaut wiederholt wird. Der stark zerstörte Anfang der Inschrift schilderte, nach den restlichen Sätzen und der Parallele der gut erhaltenen Tonkegel bzw. Tonzylinder Enmetena 28-29 zu schließen, die Vorgeschichte des Konflikts aus der Sicht von Lagaš wenigstens von der Grenzziehung Mesalim an bis in die Zeit von Eanatums Vater Akurgal. Es folgt der Bericht über die Zeugung Eanatums durch Ningirsu, seine göttliche Geburt und die Übertragung des Königtums über Lagaš an ihn durch Ningirsu. Eanatum gibt Umma gegenüber eine Erklärung ab. In der Inkubation erteilt Ningirsu schließlich die Weisung zum Kampf gegen Umma. Eanatum erfüllt den göttlichen Auftrag und besiegt die Rivalin. In der Schlacht wird er durch einen Pfeilschuß verwundet. Es gelingt ihm zwar, den Pfeil abzubrechen, doch die steckengebliebene Spitze scheint eine Entzündung verur-

sacht zu haben. Dann bricht der Text ab. Eanatum hat die zur Zeit seines Vorgängers verlorengegangenen Felder zurückerobert, mit buchhalterischer Genauigkeit werden sie namentlich aufgelistet. Zwar hat er – wie wir deutlicher aus anderen Selbstzeugnissen erfahren – die Stele Mesalims an ihren alten Platz zurückgebracht und dort wieder aufgerichtet, aber an den Umma zugestandenen Feldern will er sich nicht vergriffen haben. Eanatum stellte noch weitere Stelen zur Sicherung der Grenze auf. Den unterlegenen Herrscher von Umma zwang er zum Schwur auf die großen Fangnetze der Götter und Göttinnen Enlil, Ninḫursaga, Enki, Suen und Utu und auf einen symbolischen Gegenstand der Göttin Ninki, der leider nicht ergänzt werden kann, in Zukunft die Grenzen zu respektieren, die dort aufgestellten Stelen nicht mehr auszureißen, am Lauf der Deiche und Gräben keine Veränderungen vorzunehmen und den Zins für die Nutznießung überlassener Felder regelmäßig zu zahlen. Vom Vollzug des Schwures und von seiner Bitte um Bestrafung für den Fall, daß der Herrscher von Umma die gegebenen Schwüre bricht, gibt Eanatum den Göttern dadurch Kenntnis, daß er je zwei Tauben, deren Augen mit Antimon geschminkt und deren Kopf mit Zedernöl bestrichen ist, zum Hauptheiligtum des jeweiligen Gottes aufsteigen läßt. Ähnlich schmückt zwar der im Gebirge zurückgelassene Lugalanda im gleichnamigen Epos das noch nicht flügge Junge des Anzud-Vogels, als er die Gunst des Altvogels gewinnen will (C. Wilcke, Das Lugalbandaepos, 1969, 96:58-60; vgl. 100:94-96). Doch verbunden mit reichlichen Opfergaben gehört das Schmücken des Jungen dort zu den dem Anzud-Vogel als Schmeichelei entgegengebrachten göttlichen Ehren. Es folgt ein Tatenbericht Eanatums. Zum Abschluß werden der Name der Stele mitgeteilt und Angaben zu ihrem Standort gemacht.

Mit zwei Ideen, die hier in der Geiersteleninschrift erstmals vorgetragen werden, lohnt es sich eingehender zu beschäftigen. Eanatum ist der erste lagašitische Herrscher, der sich auf seine Gottessohnschaft beruft, und wie kein König von Lagaš dies nach ihm getan hat, schildert er seine göttliche Geburt ausführlich (Ean. 1 IV 9 - V 12). Ningirsu hat ihn gezeugt und freut sich über seine Geburt. Möglich ist allerdings auch, daß "sie sich über ihn freut", nämlich seine Mutter. Denn der zwischen beiden Aussagen stehende Text, der die Geburt selbst schilderte und vor allem den Namen seiner göttlichen Mutter nannte, fehlt. Th. Jacobsen[26] wollte hier als Namen der Mutter Ninḫursaga ergänzen. Aber dagegen läßt sich einwenden, daß es keinerlei Hinweis dafür gibt, daß Ninḫursaga jemals als Gemahlin des Gottes Ningirsu gegolten hat. Sie spielt im Kult des Kleinstaates keine Rolle und aus ihrer Stellung in den Inschriften aus Girsu läßt sich erschließen, daß sie hier als Gemahlin Enlils gegolten hat. Sie erscheint einige Zeilen später in einer anderen Rolle. Doch davon wird gleich zu handeln sein. Die wahrscheinlichste Ergänzung, wie sie schon Å.W. Sjöberg[27] vorgeschlagen hat, ist die Einfügung des Namens der Göttin BaU, der Gemahlin Ningirsus. Å.W. Sjöberg stützte sich dabei auf die Aussagen der späteren Herrscher von Lagaš, Lugalanda und Uruinimgina, die beide BaU ihre Mutter genannt haben (Lug. 15 und Ukg. 42).

[26] Th. Jacobsen, JNES 2, 1943, 120-121.
[27] Å.W. Sjöberg, OrSuec 21, 1972, 89.

Inana geht mit dem Neugeborenen zur Seite (?) und gibt ihm den Namen "Für das Eana der Inana vom Ibgal ist er geeignet." Sie setzt ihn der Ninḫursaga auf ihr rechtes Knie und spielt so die Rolle der Hebamme, der š a g_4 - z u. Ninḫursaga legt das Kind an ihre Brust. Sie ist die Amme des neugeborenen Königs. Ob durch die letzten beiden Handlungen auch bei den Sumerern symbolisch eine Adoption vollzogen wurde, läßt sich nicht mit Sicherheit sagen. Ningirsu freut sich über den von ihm Gezeugten und mißt die Größe des Kindes. Das Ergebnis ist allerdings irreal. 5 Ellen und eine Spanne, wie es dort steht, ergäben eine Größe von rund 2,73 m.

Eanatum eröffnet für uns die Reihe der Göttersöhne auf dem Thron von Lagaš. Sein Bruder und Nachfolger Enanatum I. beruft sich auf Lugal-URU×GAN_2/*tenû* als göttlichen Vater, den Namen seiner göttlichen Mutter erfahren wir nicht. Der Sohn und Nachfolger Enanatums I., Enmetena, nennt sich "leiblicher Sohn der Göttin Gatumdug" (Ent. 25, 9-10) und "leiblicher Sohn des Lugal-URU×GAN_2/*tenû* " (Ent. 35 II 6-7) wie sein Vater, doch galten Gatumdug und Lugal-URU×GAN_2/*tenû* in dem durch Schriftzeugnisse überprüfbaren Zeitraum nicht als Götterpaar.

Von Enanatum II. und Enentarzid, der zunächst ja Ningirsu-Priester war, haben sich keine entsprechenden Nachrichten erhalten. Der Sohn Enentarzids, Lugalanda, bezeichnet sich, wie wir schon hörten, als "leiblichen Sohn der BaU" und ähnlich heißt es auf einer der sogenannten Ton-Oliven, sie sei die Mutter Uruinimginas.

Noch über zweihundert Jahre später betet Gudea vor Gatumdug:

> "Ich habe keine Mutter – du bist meine Mutter, ich habe keinen Vater – du bist mein Vater, meinen Samen hast du empfangen, hast mich im Allerheiligsten geboren. Gatumdug, dein reiner Name ist süß!" (Zyl. A III 6-9).

Auch außerhalb von Lagaš erheben Könige der frühdynastischen Zeit Anspruch auf göttliche Abstammung. Mesalim von Kiš nennt sich "den geliebten Sohn der Göttin Ninḫursaga" (Mes. 3, 3-4) und während von Uruinimgina Nisabak als die persönliche Schutzgottheit Lugalzagesis von Umma angesprochen wird (Ukg. 16 VIII 11-IX 1), bezeichnet sich Lugalzagesi selbst als "leiblichen Sohn der Nisabak" (Luzag. 1 I 26-27).

Wenn Th. Jacobsen Ninḫursaga als Namen der göttlichen Mutter Eanatums ergänzen wollte, stützte er sich dabei nicht nur auf das Auf-den-Schoß-nehmen und Säugen des Kindes, das wir anders als Tätigkeit einer Amme gedeutet haben, sondern auch noch auf eine spätere Aussage der Geierstele, in der Eanatum Ninḫursaga mit "meine Mutter" anspricht (Ean. 1 XVIII 8-9). Zwar ist das Possessivsuffix weggebrochen, aber nach dem Formular der Parallelstellen sicher zu ergänzen. Hier ließe sich der Widerspruch durch die Annahme beseitigen, Eanatum habe BaU unter den Göttinnen als seine leibliche Mutter betrachtet, in Ninḫursaga aber seine Adoptivmutter gesehen. Bezeichnete Lugalanda in einer seiner Inschriften BaU als seine leibliche Mutter, so ist daneben "Nanše ist die Mutter Lugalandas" als Name einer Statue dieses Stadtfürsten bezeugt (Nik 23 XI 4).

Wenn man nach der göttlichen Abstammung späterer Herrscher fragt, werden die Antworten noch verwirrender und lassen die Annahme von Adoptivverhältnissen als zu einfachen Ausweg erscheinen. Gudea spricht in seinem Gebet vor Gatumdug, sie habe ihn im Allerheiligsten

geboren, aber nur wenige Zeilen später, noch im selben Gebet bezeichnet er Nanše als "meine Mutter" (Zyl. A III 25). Entsprechend heißt es dann, nachdem er Nanše im Sirara-Tempel seinen Traum vorgelegt hat: "Dem Stadtfürsten antwortete seine Mutter Nanše" (Zyl. A V 11). In Zylinder B XXIII 19-21[28] jedoch gibt Gudea Ninsuna als Mutter an. Als göttlicher Vater gilt Ningišzida, der auch der Schutzgott Gudeas ist (Zyl. B XXIV 7). Und wieder ist weder bekannt noch wahrscheinlich, daß Ningišzida je Gemahl einer der drei Göttinnen gewesen ist, die Gudea als Mütter benannte.

Ähnlich vielfältige Aussagen finden sich auch für König Šulgi von Ur. Er gilt als Sohn der Götterpaare Enlil und Ninlil, Nanna und Ningal und ist ferner der Sohn des Himmelsgottes An[29]. Das Material für Šulgi und für andere Könige der Ur III- und der altbabylonischen Zeit hat Å.W. Sjöberg in seinem schon erwähnten Aufsatz gesammelt[30], und er schlägt wenigstens für die neusumerische Zeit eine Lösung vor. Von Šulgi sind mit Hilfe von Verwaltungsurkunden mehrere Krönungen nachgewiesen und zwar in Ur, Uruk und Nippur. Und es ist anzunehmen, daß der König bei jeder der Krönungen zum Sohn des jeweiligen höchsten Götterpaares der Stadt erklärt wurde. Th. Jacobsen[31] hat darin sicher zu Recht ein Überbleibsel einer Zeit gesehen, in der Uruk und Ur noch unabhängige Stadtstaaten waren.

Das ist auf die Verhältnisse des lagašitischen Kleinstaates übertragbar, in dem sich ja 3 größere Städte zusammengeschlossen hatten, die ehedem Zentren selbständiger politischer Einheiten gewesen sein können. Zur Sicherung des Zusammenhaltes mag das Bemühen des Herrschers um die Anerkennung als Sohn der jeweils höchsten Gottheit einmal von großer Bedeutung gewesen sein. Dieses Modell liefert aber keine Erklärung für die sich bei den einzelnen Herrschern findenden Verschiedenheiten. Man vermag nicht einzusehen, warum zum Beispiel nicht alle Könige als Söhne Ningirsus gelten wollten.

Mit noch einer weiteren Neuerung steht Eanatum am Anfang einer langen Reihe von Nachahmern. In einer Folge von maximal 8 gleichgebauten Epitheta stellt der König seine Beziehungen zu ebenso vielen Gottheiten dar. Gegen Ende der Geiersteleninschrift (Ean. 1 Rs. V 42 - VI 9) heißt es:

> "Eanatum, der König von Lagaš, dem Kraft verliehen (wurde) von Enlil, der mit guter Milch genährt (wurde) von Ninḫursaga, dem ein guter Name genannt (wurde) von Inana, dem Weisheit verliehen (wurde) von Enki, der zum Herzen gerufen (wurde) von Nanše, der gewaltigen Herrin (oder "der Herrin des ruhigen Wassers"[32]), der Ningirsu alle Fremdländer untertan macht, Geliebter der Dumuzidabsu, der mit Namen benannt (wurde) von Ḫendursaga, der geliebte Freund des Lugal-URU×GAN$_2$ / *tenû*, des geliebten Gemahls der Inana."

Mit Enlil und Ninḫursaga steht in der Reihe ein Götterpaar am Anfang, das im Staate Lagaš damals noch keine Kultstätte besaß. Die folgenden sechs Götter hatten wie Enki und Inana entweder schon lange Zeit einen eigenen Tempel im Staatsbereich oder gehörten zu den

[28] F. Carroué, ASJ 16, 1994, 70.
[29] Å.W. Sjöberg, OrSuec 21, 1972, 94.
[30] Å.W. Sjöberg, OrSuec 21, 1972, 87-112.
[31] Th. Jacobsen, JCS 7, 1953, 36 Anm. 2.
[32] M. Civil, FS Sjöberg, 1989, 55.

ursprünglichen Gottheiten der lagašitischen Landesteile. Die den einzelnen Gottheiten zugeschriebenen Gaben zeigen innerhalb der Inschriften der Herrscher der I. Dynastie von Lagaš nur geringe Veränderungen, da sie wie die Weisheit bei Enki oder das Säugen bei der mütterlichen Göttin Ninḫursaga eng mit dem Charakter der Gottheit verknüpft waren. Die Zahl der Epitheta kann allerdings gekürzt werden. In den Inschriften Uruinimginas finden sich diese Epitheta nicht. Er erweist sich auch hier als Neuerer. Doch ist damit diese Tradition keineswegs abgebrochen, denn sie finden sich wieder bei Gudea. Und wieder sind es 8 Epitheta in der Statueninschrift B und 7 auf der Statue D. Daß diese Epitheta von der Legitimität des Herrschers künden sollen, von seiner Anerkennung innerhalb und außerhalb seines Territoriums, ist sicher. Unbekannt dagegen, wie der Herrscher diese Anerkennung erworben hat; welche Leistungen seinerseits dazu nötig waren, und mit welchen Riten sich die Priesterschaft revanchierte.
Wenn man auf die Bautätigkeit Eanatums blickt, so entsteht ein sehr viel weniger farbiges Bild als bei Urnanše, seinem Großvater. Sehr pauschal sind Eanatums Angaben, daß er Girsu für Ningirsu und Nimin für Nanše baute (Ean. 2; 3/4; 11). Wendungen dieser Art finden sich weder bei seinen Vorgängern noch bei seinen Nachfolgern. Sollen sie verschleiern, daß ihm durch die zahlreichen Feldzüge, die Rückgewinnung und Erhaltung des Staatsgebietes nur wenig Zeit zur Errichtung von Tempeln blieb? Oder waren die Truppen Ummas unter seinem glücklosen Vorgänger Akurgal soweit eingedrungen und hatten soviel zerstört, daß Eanatum beide Städte geradezu neu erbauen mußte? Weiter erneuerte er den Palast (e_2-g a l) Tiras für Ningirsu (Ean. 2; 5) und den Tempel der Gatumdug (Ean. 62). Das in al-Hibā ausgegrabene Bruchstück eines Steingefäßes (Ean. 69) berichtet von der Errichtung eines e_2-z a mit Silber und Lapislazuli – eine wohlbekannte Ausdrucksweise, die in aspektivischer Sicht die gesamte kostbare (Innen-) Ausstattung umschreibt. Dieses Gebäude erhält auch ein Lagerhaus (g a n u n), in dem Eanatum Getreidehaufen aufschütten läßt. Man wird sich beide Anlagen als Teile des Bagara vorzustellen haben.
Daß Eanatum an die Verteidigung dachte, liegt bei einem so kriegerischen König nahe. Er erneuerte die Stadtmauern der "Heiligen Stadt" (Ean 2; 3/4) und von Lagaš (Ean. 3/4), für die er auch eine Wachtruppe verpflichtete.
Einen neuen Kanal hat der König graben lassen, den er LUM-m a-g i m-d u g_3 ("wie Lumma gut") benennt und mit einem Staubecken ausstattet. Es hat ein Fassungsvermögen von 3'600 Gur zu 2 UL (Ean. 2 VII 12), d.h. 218 hl. Zwar erweckt die runde Zahl anfängliches Mißtrauen, doch Enmetena, der Kanal und Staubecken erneuerte oder erst vollendete, gibt den Inhalt mit 1'840 Hauptgur an (Ent. 35 IV 5), das sind rund 223 hl, und damit nur geringfügig größer als sein Vorgänger.
Schließlich ließ Eanatum im Hof des Ningirsutempels Eninnu noch einen Brunnen bohren und mit Backsteinen auskleiden (Ean. 22).
Eine Aussage Eanatums hat schon viel Aufmerksamkeit auf sich gezogen. Es ist die Stelle, in der er über einen doppelten Namen berichtet (Ean. 2 V 9-19). Sie lautet in der Übersetzung von H. Steible[33]:

[33] H. Steible, FAOS 5/I, 1982, 149.

> "Damals (gemeint ist nach dem Sieg über den aufständischen König Susu von Akšak) hat Eanatum, dessen eigener Name Eanatum, dessen Tidnum-Name Lumma (ist), dem Ningirsu einen neuen Kanal gegraben (und) ihm (Ningirsu) Lummagimdu (als) Namen genannt."

Daß ein Herrscher mehrere Namen führen konnte, jedenfalls nacheinander, wissen wir aus einem Fragment der altbabylonischen Zeit, das wahrscheinlich die Inthronisation des Königs in Uruk beschreibt. Nach den schmalen Kolumnen zu urteilen, könnte es sich um die Abschrift eines neusumerischen Rituals handeln. Darin heißt es (PBS 5, 76 VII 21-26):

> "Nachdem sie (die Göttin Ningidru) ihn den Namen seiner Kindheit hatte ablegen lassen, benannte sie ihn nicht mit dem Namen seines b u r g i a-Opfers, sie benannte ihn mit dem Namen seines e n -tums."

Die Situation ist also wohl die, daß ein König seinen Namen, den er als Knabe getragen hat, ablegt und einen Thronnamen bekommt. Nach Ausweis der Stelle bei Eanatum konnte ein König auch zwei Namen gleichzeitig haben. Eanatum ist dabei eine Verkürzung des guten Namens, den er von Inana erhielt, und der in voller Form lautet: "Für das Eana der Inana vom Ibgal ist er geeignet" (Ean. 1 V 26-28). LUM - m a, dessen Lesung nicht ganz sicher ist, ist der Name eines göttlichen Wesens niederen Ranges, das nur selten mit dem Gottesdeterminativ versehen wird. LUM - m a ist weiter Personenkurzname und Element einer ganzen Reihe von Namen innerhalb und außerhalb von Lagaš. Z.B. hieß auch ein vorsargonischer Stadtfürst von Adab LUM - m a.
Die von A. Poebel zuerst erwogene Lesung t i d n u m, wurde von D.O. Edzard und E. Sollberger aufgenommen und gelangte von dort auch in die Bearbeitung von H. Steible[34]. Man erklärt sich das so, daß LUM - m a der Name Eanatums bei einem aus Tidnum-Nomaden rekrutierten Söldnerkontingent gewesen sein könnte. Inzwischen hält aber D.O. Edzard, wie er mir brieflich mitteilte, ein so frühes Auftreten dieses Nomadenstammes für einen Anachronismus. Die ganze Theorie paßt in eine Zeit, in der man den Einfluß des semitischen Elements auf den sumerischen Süden in jenen Jahrhunderten ein wenig überschätzte.
Andere Wege bei der Erklärung sind Th. Jacobsen und G. Steiner gegangen. Th. Jacobsen[35] las das doppelte ANŠE als g i r$_3$ - g i r$_3$ und verstand dies als "Schlachtenname" (battle-name). G. Steiner[36] las n e$_3$ - n e$_3$ und gab es mit 'Kraft' wieder. Keine der beiden Lösungen vermag ganz zu überzeugen, und auch ich kann keinen besseren Vorschlag machen, doch zeigen sie, daß hinter ANŠE.ANŠE nicht unbedingt ein Ethnikon gesucht werden muß.
Kehren wir noch einmal zur Namengebung zurück. Den Namen Eanatum erhielt der König, wie wir hörten, von der Göttin Inana. Aber Inana ist nicht die einzige Gottheit, die Eanatum einen Namen gab, insgesamt wurde er von vier Göttern benannt, und zwar außer von Inana noch von Enlil, Ḫendursaga und Ningirsu. Also müßte Eanatum außer diesem noch drei weitere Namen getragen haben. Nach dem Zusammenhang in Ean. 2 könnte LUM -

[34] H. Steible, FAOS 5/II, 1982, 67; H. Behrens, H. Steible, FAOS 6, 1983, 332.
[35] Th. Jacobsen, ZA 52, 1957, 131-132 Anm. 6.
[36] G. Steiner, WO 8, 1975-76, 11-13.

m a der Name oder die Verkürzung des Namens gewesen sein, den er von Ningirsu erhielt. Von Inana bekam der König einen gut sumerischen Namen, warum also sollte er von Ningirsu, Enlil oder Ḫendursaga mit einem nichtsumerischen, akkadischen oder allgemein semitischen Namen belegt worden sein. Auf die Bedeutung des Götternamens Lumma werde ich später in anderem Zusammenhang noch zurückkommen (S. 515-516).
So bedeutend Eanatum als Herrscher gewesen ist, der Nachwelt hat er sich nur ungenau eingeprägt. Seine Erscheinung ist mit den Gestalten seiner Nachfolger zu einem Anetum zusammengeflossen. Von diesem Anetum weiß die lagašitische Königsliste zu berichten, er sei ein Sohn Urnanšes gewesen und habe 690 Jahre regiert, beides kann nicht richtig sein. Šulutul wird als sein persönlicher Schutzgott bezeichnet, was stimmt, nur daß Šulutul der Schutzgott aller Herrscher der I. Dynastie von Lagaš war, soweit sie sich von Urnanše herleiteten. Die Anetum zugeschriebenen Leistungen bleiben vorläufig unübersetzbar.

2.1.5. Enanatum I

Auf Eanatum folgte als nächster Herrscher nicht sein Sohn, sondern ein wahrscheinlich jüngerer Bruder, Enanatum I., nach. Wie es zu dieser Thronfolge kam, ist nicht zu klären. Man weiß nicht, wer die Ehefrau Eanatums war und auch nicht, ob und wieviele Söhne er hatte, die zur Zeit seines Todes alt genug gewesen wären, das Herrscheramt zu übernehmen. Für jeden König von Lagaš war es offensichtlich höchste Pflicht irgendetwas zur Erhaltung oder zur Ausstattung des Haupttempels des Ningirsu beizutragen. So läßt Enanatum I. Weißzedern aus dem Bergland herbeischaffen und etwas für das Eninnu herstellen, das wörtlich "Kopfbedeckung" heißt und z.B. bei der Ausrüstung eines Soldaten den "Helm" bezeichnet; was darunter bei einem Bauwerk zu verstehen ist, bleibt unklar. Des weiteren stattet er den Tempel mit zwei Wächterlöwen aus Ḫalub-Holz aus. Für sie verwendet das Sumerische den Begriff i_3 - d u_8 "Pförtner".
Enanatum begann auch mit der Erneuerung des Heiligtums Dugru für Ningirsu, doch scheinen die Arbeiten erst unter seinem Sohn und Nachfolger Enmetena abgeschlossen worden zu sein. Der besonderen Gunst des Königs erfreute sich der Gott Lugal-URU×GAN$_2$/*tenû*. Enanatum nannte sich seinen leiblichen Sohn und führte die Verleihung der Königswürde auf diesen Gott zurück, auch für seinen Sieg über Umma und dessen Verbündete dankt Lugal-URU×GAN$_2$/*tenû*, wenn er schreibt, er habe ihm die Fremdländer in die Hand gegeben und die aufständischen Gebiete zu Füssen gelegt (En. I 33 II 3 - III 8). Der König bedankte sich für die erwiesene Gnade, indem er dem Gott in URU×GAN$_2$/*tenû* ein mit e_2 - g a l "Palast" bezeichnetes Heiligtum erbaute, und es mit Gold und Silber schmückte (En. I. 29). Wir haben uns daran zu erinnern, daß "Palast" im vorsargonischen Lagaš offenbar einen bestimmten Typ von Großbau bezeichnete und nicht unbedingt den Palast als Sitz des Königs. Auch einen Großspeicher (g a n u n - m a ḫ) ließ der König für den Tempel errichten, sowie ein Staubecken aus Backsteinen in URU×GAN$_2$/*tenû* anlegen (En. I 33). Er ordnete die regelmäßige Versorgung des Gottes (En. I. 23).
Das aufwendigste Bauvorhaben scheint aber die Erneuerung des Ibgal der Inana in Lagaš gewesen zu sein. Er baute es "höher als alle Berge" und stattete es mit Gold und Silber aus.

Zur Ausschmückung trugen auch ein Sohn des Herrschers, Lummatur, und drei hohe Funktionäre das Ihre bei und durften dafür – und das ist neu für Lagaš – ihre beschrifteten Tonnägel an der Wand des Heiligtums anbringen (En. I. 10; 28; 30; 32?).
Des weiteren erneuerte der König den Tempel der Göttin Amageštinana in Sagub, für den auch ein Brunnen gebohrt und mit Backsteinen aufgemauert wurde, das Heiligtum des Nindara, des Gemahls der Göttin Nanše, das in Nimin oder Kiesa gelegen haben kann, und den "Palast" des Gottes Ḫendursaga in der "Heiligen Stadt".
Die Inschriften Enanatums I. machen noch weitere interessante Angaben über seine Bautätigkeit. Sie betreffen den Bau einer Stadtmauer (En. I. 33), eines Hochtempels für ein Götterpaar, deren Namen verloren sind (En. I. 29), und noch eines oder zweier Brunnen, aber sie sind gegenwärtig wegen des schlechten Erhaltungszustandes der inschriftlichen Partien nicht zu lokalisieren.
Unter dem Namen Enanatums I. werden nur 36 Inschriftennummern gezählt, rechnet man sowohl die Duplikate ab, als auch die Inschriften, die von seiner Ehefrau, seinen Söhnen und den hohen Beamten in Auftrag gegeben worden sind, verbleiben nur 11 z.T. schlecht erhaltene Texte, die nur wenig Möglichkeiten für gegenseitige Ergänzungen bieten. Das ist bedauerlich; denn eine dieser Inschriften auf einem Statuenbruchstück (En. I. 23) berichtet von den Viehherden, mit denen der König vielleicht den Tempel der Amageštinana ausstattete. Und diese Passage ist der fast wörtliche Vorläufer eines Abschnitts der Gudea-Statue F III 12 - IV 13.
Die umfangreichste Inschrift Enanatums I. wurde erst 1970/71 bei den amerikanischen Ausgrabungen in al-Hibā geborgen (En. I. 29). Sie steht auf einer Tontafel und ist leider auch nicht ganz vollständig erhalten. Sie wendet sich an den Gott Ḫendursaga, den Großherold des Absu, und berichtet vor allem von dem schon erwähnten Bau des e$_2$-gal für den Gott in Urukug, der "Heiligen Stadt". Nach der Aufzählung weiterer Tempelbauten behandelt sie historische Ereignisse. Der Schwur, den Eanatum sich vom Stadtfürsten von Umma, wahrscheinlich war es Enakale, leisten ließ, hat trotz der angerufenen Götter und der beim Übertreten angedrohten Strafen keine lange Wirkung gezeigt. Bereits der Nachfolger des unterlegenen Herrschers von Umma, Urlumma, überschreitet wieder die Grenzen von Lagaš und besetzt ein bedeutendes Gebiet bis zum "Hügel des schwarzen Hundes", ja, er beansprucht alles Land bis zum Antasura-Heiligtum des Ningirsu. Der Gott wirft ihm sogar vor, bis ins Innere des Heiligtums eingedrungen zu sein und befiehlt Enanatum I. die Rückeroberung. Der König drängte daraufhin seinen Gegner bis zum Grenzgraben des Ningirsu zurück, obwohl der Stadtfürst von Umma – und auch davon erfahren wir hier zum ersten Mal – fremdländische Söldner zur Verstärkung angeworben haben soll. Diese militärische Operation hat Enanatum mit zwei Sätzen ausgeschmückt, die noch nicht ganz verständlich sind. Den ersten Satz kann man mit "Am KID$_2$ des Lummagirnunta-Kanals zog er (Enanatum) hinter ihm (Urlumma) her" unter der Annahme übersetzen, daß a-ba-ne$_2$-še$_3$ hier, wie das R.D. Biggs[37] vorgeschlagen hat, für a-ga-ne$_2$-še$_3$ steht, wörtlich "nach seinem Rücken". Dabei zeigt /aba/ mit dem /b/ statt des /g/ eine für das Emesal typische Lautgestalt. Der

[37] R.D. Biggs, FS Kramer (AOAT 25), 1976, 40.

zweite Satz erwähnt ein Kleidungsstück, das t u g$_2$ - n i g$_2$ - b a r - b a, und schließt mit der Verbalform m u - š i - s i. Beim Verbum s i ist auch in Verbindung mit einem Kleid meist an die Bedeutung "füllen" u.ä. gedacht worden. Doch bedeutet das Verb auch, wie das übrigens H. Steible, der die Stelle unübersetzt läßt, richtig in seinem Kommentar notiert, das Wegreißen eines Kleides. Zu erinnern ist z.B. an die Zeile 275 des Epos "Gilgameš, Enkidu und die Unterwelt". Dort heißt es, als Gilgameš Enkidu über die verschiedenen Totenschicksale befragt, "Sahst du auch den jungen Mann, der das Gewand vom Schoße seiner Ehefrau nicht abstreifte" usw., wobei für das Abstreifen im Sumerischen s i verwendet wird. Wenn man diese Bedeutung des Verbums in die Stelle bei Enanatum einsetzt, ergibt sich folgender Inhalt: "Er (Enanatum) riß (dabei) sein (des Urlumma) Obergewand (?) an sich." Enanatum folgte dem fliehenden Gegner so dicht auf den Fersen, daß es ihm beinahe gelang, ihn gefangen zu nehmen.

Ningirsu spricht in dieser Inschrift von Enanatum als von "meinem starken Mann" (n i t a ḫ - k a l a g - g a - m u). Das ist die älteste Erwähnung jener Fügung, die später von den Königen der III. Dynastie von Ur wie ein Titel geführt wird und die Stelle des akkadischen *šarru dannu* einnimmt.

Bemerkenswert ist noch das Ende dieser Inschrift. Auf die Bekanntgabe des Sieges und der Verfolgung Urlummas schließt sich die Wendung "Enanatum, der Mann, der den Tempel des Ḫendursaga gebaut hat, – sein Gott ist Šulutul" an. Sie füllt das Ende der XI. Kolumne der Tafel. Die XII. Kolumne ist schriftfrei. Und auf einer letzten XIII. steht ein Kolophon, dessen Verständnis durch Bruchstellen erschwert wird. Doch soviel scheint sicher, daß auf dieser Tontafel schon zur Zeit Enmetenas die Inschrift wahrscheinlich vom kupfernen Sockel eines Ḫendursaga-Emblems kopiert wurde. Davon, daß ein Beamter im Dienste des Enmetena etwas ersetzt hat, ist die Rede. Die letzte Zeile könnte einen Personennamen enthalten, vielleicht den des Schreibers dieser Kopie.

Von einigen wenigen älteren privaten Weihgeschenken abgesehen, war es in Lagaš bisher nur der Herrscher selbst, der Bau- oder Weihinschriften verfassen ließ. Jetzt findet man neben seinen Angehörigen, wie der Frau und seinen Söhnen, auch hohe Beamte, die ihre Namen in eigenen Inschriften verewigten. Meanesi, einer der Söhne des Königs, der seine Statue dem Gott Ḫendursaga für das Leben des Vaters, der Mutter und sein eigenes, und Baragkiba, ein Wesir (s u k a l), der dem Gott Ningirsu für das Leben des Königs eine Keule aus weißen Kalkstein weiht, haben ältere Vorbilder. Neu ist, daß sich Lummatur, ein weiterer Sohn des Königs, ein Oberfriseur namens Šunealdugud, der auch das Amt eines Inspektors des Hausinneren bekleidete, Idlusikil, der Schreiber des Hausinneren, und ein Beamter, der wegen der starken Beschädigung seiner Inschrift unbekannt bleibt, an der Ausschmückung eines Tempels – es ist das Ibgal der Inana – beteiligen. Ihre Tonnagel-inschriften beziehen sich zunächst auf die Leistung des Königs als Bauherrn und halten dann das eigene Verdienst fest. Diese Tonnägel waren ursprünglich in die Tempelwand eingelassen. Was in diesem Zusammenhang verblüfft, ist die hohe Zahl von Duplikaten des Lummatur-Tonnagels – es sind davon an die 30 Exemplare bekannt – und die weite Streuung, denn, soweit man die Fundorte kennt, sollen sie außer aus Lagaš, wofür sie vorgesehen waren, aus Nimin und Uruk stammen. Dafür habe ich keine Erklärung.

Der Beitrag der genannten Personen an der Ausschmückung des Tempels besteht in der Anfertigung eines oder mehrerer KIB genannter Gegenstände. H. Steible[38] bezieht sicher zu Unrecht KIB auf die Tonnägel selbst. Aus Rechtsurkunden dieser Zeit geht hervor, daß bei Hausverkäufen die Rechtsurkunde auf einen Tonnagel geschrieben wird, um dann in die Wand des verkauften Hauses eingelassen zu werden. Dabei wird der Tonnagel einfach k a k "Pflock" genannt. Bei k i b, das vielleicht als Lehnwort ins Akkadische übernommen wurde (*kibbu*), scheint es sich eher, wenn die Gleichsetzung richtig ist, um einen Zierat, möglicherweise sogar aus Edelmetall, zu handeln.
Die Quellenlage erlaubt wieder einen Blick auf die Familie des Enanatum. Seine Frau Ašurmen und zwei seiner Söhne, Meanesi und Lummatur, lernten wir bereits kennen. Der Name des Lummatur ist uns allerdings noch vertrauter durch zwei Steintafeln und eine Urkunde auf Ton, die ihn als Feldkäufer ausweisen. Allein nach den erhaltenen oder mit Sicherheit zu ergänzenden Textpartien wechseln Liegenschaften von 143 i k u Größe, das sind über 50 ha, ihren Eigentümer.

2.1.6. Enmetena

Doch nicht Meanesi oder Lummatur, sondern ein dritter Sohn Enanatums I., Enmetena, wurde sein Nachfolger.
Der Name dieses Königs ist früher Entemena gelesen worden, wobei man wohl an den "Herrn des Fundaments" gedacht hat. Ich folge hier mit der Lesung Enmetena auch der Namenserklärung von B. Alster[39] als "Sein eigener Herr". Anlaß zu dieser Kontroverse sind die Zeichen ME und TE, die als Ligatur und in einer gegenüber der Leserichtung umgekehrten Reihenfolge geschrieben sind, also ganz ähnlich wie abz/su, das fast immer als Z/SU+AB dargestellt wird. Daß die Umstellung der beiden Zeichen in der vorsargonischen Wiedergabe des Namens richtig ist, beweisen Schreibungen aus sargonischer Zeit, die die Namensbestandteile ohne Ligatur in der Abfolge ihrer Lesung bieten (BIN 8, 221, 5; ITT 1, 1467, 2). (Eine syllabische Schreibung von t e m e n ist dagegen bisher altsumerisch nicht bezeugt.)
Bei der in neusumerischer Zeit verehrten Statue eines Enmetena kann es sich durchaus um ein Bildwerk des vorsargonischen Königs handeln (ITT 1, 1081). Nicht Enmetena, sondern Entena, den vergöttlichten Winter, gibt die Statue wieder, die der altbabylonische König Abīešuḫ anfertigen ließ[40].
Mit 27 Inschriften ist die Quellenlage für Enmetena deutlich besser als für seinen Vater. Sie bezeugen eine rege Bautätigkeit des Herrschers in allen Teilen des Staates Lagaš und für alle bedeutenden Gottheiten des lokalen Pantheons. Dem Ningirsu erneuerte er die Tempel Ahuš, Antasura, das den Beinamen "Haus, dessen Schreckensglanz alle Länder bedeckt" erhält, Eninnu und Dugru, mit dessen Neubau schon sein Vater Enanatum I. begonnen hatte.

[38] H. Steible, FAOS 5/II, 1982, 89.
[39] B. Alster, JCS 26, 1974, 178-180.
[40] A. Ungnad, RlA 2, 1938, 186 Nr. 198 (s.v. Datenlisten).

Dem Eninnu zuzurechnen sind auch das sogenannte Rohrheiligtum des Hochtempels, das Brauhaus, die Remise mit dem Streitwagen und der Stall für die Eselhengste seiner Bespannung. Auch der Garten des Hausinneren, den er anlegte und mit einem Brunnen und an seinem Eingang mit einem Gazellenhaus versah (Ent. 42 IV), gehörte wahrscheinlich zum Eninnu. Die letzte erhaltene Urkunde aus seinem 10. Königsjahr (Ukg. 38) berichtet, daß Uruinimgina 80 m e s -Bäume aus jenem Garten fortbringen ließ.

Enmetena versuchte auch durch den Bau eines eigenen Enlil-Heiligtums den Kult dieses Gottes in Lagaš einzubürgern. Der Name des Tempels lautet e_2 - a d - d a, was wohl 'Haus des Vaters' bedeutet und darauf verweist, daß schon seit längerer Zeit der mit Ninurta gleichgesetzte Gott Ningirsu als Sohn Enlils galt. Enmetena stattete den Tempel auch mit Grundbesitz aus, dessen einer Teil in der Umgebung von Nimin und ein anderer auf dem Guedena lag. Es scheint aber, daß Enlil in Lagaš nicht heimisch wurde. Während nämlich die Tempel der alten lokalen Götter nach jeder Katastrophe wieder aufgebaut wurden, ist dieser oder ein anderer Enliltempel auf lagašitischem Boden in neusumerischer Zeit nicht mehr nachweisbar.

Auch die nach Ningirsu wichtigste Staatsgottheit, Nanše, die Enmetena das Königtum verliehen hatte (Ent. 26), wird vom König durch Neubauten geehrt. Die Erneuerung ihres "Hauses" und der Bau des Hochtempels beziehen sich wohl auf das Sirara genannte Heiligtum von Nimin (Ent. 1; 23). Weiter baute der Herrscher ihr Šagepada von Lagaš und ließ in ihrem Sesegara in Girsu Türen aus Weißzedernholz anbringen.

Besonders aber hebt Enmetena den Neubau eines Tempels der Nanše mit Namen e_2 - e n g u r - r a, "Haus der Wassertiefe", in einer Gemarkung Zulum und seine Ausschmückung mit Gold und Silber hervor.

Erwähnt werden von Enmetena ferner der Bau des Tempels für Gatumdug, die Mutter von Lagaš, in Lagaš, eines Hochtempels für Ninḫursaga, einmal auch Ninmaḫ genannt, in einer Gegend, die der "Heilige Hain" heißt, die Vollendung des schon von seinem Vater begonnenen Egal für den Gott Lugal-URU×GAN_2/*tenû* in URU×GAN_2/*tenû*, eines Absu für Enki im Orte Pasira und eines Stauwehrs mit Wasserbecken am Kanal Lummagimdug aus 648'000 Backsteinen mit einem Fassungsvermögen von rund 223 hl (Ent. 35 IV). Es ist das größte, von dem wir im vorsargonischen Lagaš Kenntnis haben.

Werfen wir noch einmal einen Blick auf die von Enmetena neu erbauten Tempel, die nicht in Girsu lagen – es sind insgesamt 11 – , so fällt auf, daß 8 von ihnen auch in einem später genauer zu untersuchenden Dokument Uruinimginas aufgeführt werden, das die Zerstörungen im Staate Lagaš bei einem Angriff durch Lugalzagesi von Umma beklagt. Wenn nun diese Übereinstimmungen mehr als ein Zufall sind, kann das nur bedeuten, daß Enmetenas Bautätigkeit überwiegend zur Behebung von Zerstörungen notwendig wurde, die zur Zeit seines Vaters durch einen Angriff Urlummas entstanden waren. Die Invasion Urlummas folgte dabei derselben Route, die später auch Lugalzagesi nahm. Sie wird durch die topographischen Bedingungen vorgegeben gewesen sein. Enanatum mag Urlumma vertrieben und mit dem Wiederaufbau bereits begonnen haben, den entscheidenden Sieg über Umma und die Beseitigung des größten Teils der Kriegsfolgen mußte er seinem Sohn Enmetena überlassen.

Der Einflußbereich von Lagaš erstreckte sich, unter Urnanše, bis Ur im Süden. Seine größte Ausdehnung dürfte er dann im Gefolge der weiträumigen Feldzüge Eanatums erreicht haben, während die Regierung Enanatums I. eher eine Zeit des Stillstandes gewesen ist. Leider sind die Nachrichten zur Außenpolitik von Lagaš höchst unvollständig. So erfahren wir erstmals durch Enmetena von Bauarbeiten für das Götterpaar Inana und Lugalemuša an ihrem gemeinsamen Tempel Emuš (Ent. 45-73; 74; 79). Enmetena gelang es also, die Vorherrschaft über Badtibira aufrecht zu erhalten. Badtibira wird mit dem Ruinenhügel von al-Madāʾin oder Madīna identifiziert, der etwa 25 km südwestlich von Girsu liegt. Ausgrabungen haben dort bisher nicht stattgefunden. Wann die Stadt unter die Kontrolle von Lagaš geriet, ist unbekannt. Aber der Machtbereich von Lagaš erstreckte sich noch weiter, denn nach der Fertigstellung des Tempels Emuš verfügte Enmetena für die Bewohner von Uruk, Larsa und Badtibira die Befreiung von der Arbeitsverpflichtung und gab sie ihren Göttern Inana, Utu und Lugalemuša zurück. In welcher Form Lagaš seine Vorherrschaft ausübte, ist nicht zu erschließen, aber sie reichte aus, die Zwangsrekrutierung von Arbeitskräften und ihren Einsatz außerhalb der Heimatstädte im fremden Gebiet durchzusetzen. Da die Freigabe nicht als Akt reiner Menschlichkeit aufzufassen ist, deutet sich darin der Beginn des Niedergangs lagašitischer Macht an. Im Falle von Uruk hat sicherlich die Entlassung der Landeskinder erst die Voraussetzung für den Freundschaftspakt geschaffen, den Enmetena und der Stadtfürst von Uruk, Lugalkinešdudu nach Abschluß des Tempels in Badtibira schlossen. Dieser Text über die "Bruderschaft", wie es sumerisch heißt, ist das am häufigsten abgeschriebene Dokument jener Zeit. Über 30 Exemplare davon werden noch heute in den verschiedenen Museen der Welt aufbewahrt (Ent. 45-73; 81; 87-95).
Schwer zu beantworten ist die Frage nach dem Verhältnis von Lagaš und Ur zur Zeit Enmetenas. Seine Statue und ein Tonnagel wurden in Ur gefunden. Bei der Statue müßte es sich sogar um jene handeln, die einst im neugegründeten Tempel des Enlil, dem Eadda, aufgestellt war. Die Inschriften auf der Statue und dem Tonnagel behandeln ausschließlich lagašitische Belange, so daß man beide eher als verschleppte Beutestücke ansehen, denn als Beweis einer lagašitischen Vorherrschaft über Ur werten möchte.
Nach dem Abschluß der Bauarbeiten an den Tempeln des Ningirsu, des Lugal-URU×GAN$_2$/ *tenû* und der Nanše entband Enmetena auch die Einwohner von Lagaš von ihrer Arbeitsverpflichtung. Er ließ die Kinder zur Mutter und die Mutter zu den Kindern zurückkehren und verfügte einen allgemeinen Schuldenerlaß (Ent. 79). Es ist die erste Seisachtheia, die uns aus der Geschichte Mesopotamiens bekannt ist. Sie führte aber zu keiner dauerhaften Entlastung der unteren Volksschichten, da die Ursachen für die Verschuldung nicht behoben wurden. So mußte Uruinimgina sich erneut den sozialen Problemen stellen.
Sahen wir wie unter Enanatum I. verschiedene hohe Beamte durch eigene Leistungen und Inschriften hervortraten, so scheint sich unter Enmetena eine Persönlichkeit geradezu neben das Staatsoberhaupt zu stellen. Es ist Dudu, der oberste Priester (oder Tempelverwalter) des Ningirsu. Zwei Inschriften Enmetenas und eine Rechtsurkunde schließen mit dem Satz: "Damals war Dudu Priester des Ningirsu" (Ent. 34; 35; OrNS 42, 236). Dudu hinterließ darüberhinaus auch eigene Dokumente und zwar 2 Gewichtssteine, eine Weihplatte für Ningirsu vom Eninnu und einen Feldstein (Ent. 76-78; 16). In seiner Inschrift auf dem Feldstein nennt sich

Dudu bescheiden Diener (i r_{11}) des Stadtfürsten, und er beginnt sie, ähnlich den Tonnägeln der Söhne und Beamten Enanatums I., mit der Erwähnung von Leistungen seines Herrn für Ningirsu und geht dann auf die eigenen, nicht unbedeutenden Bauten ein. Es sind zwei Mauern, eine zur Seite des Sal-Kanals (oder Sal-Feldes) im Guedena, die andere eine Kaimauer für Fährschiffe in Girsu. Beide werden durch die Benennung mit einem Namen hervorgehoben. Wenn abschließend der Gott Šulutul bestimmt wird, vor Ningirsu für das Leben Dudus zu beten, so dürfte Dudu nicht zufällig den selben Schutzgott haben wie der Stadtfürst, denn gewiß waren ihre Familien miteinander verwandt. Nach der Familie des Stadtfürsten war die des Tempelverwalters des Eninnu die angesehendste und mächtigste. Eine der Gewichtsaufschriften fällt ins Auge, weil sich Dudu darauf s a n g a URU×X nennt. Das in URU eingeschriebene Zeichen ist am ehesten ein unvollendet gebliebenes GAN_2/ *tenû*, so daß man das ganze Zeichen als den häufig bezeugten Ortsnamen lesen kann. Damit stellt sich die Frage, konnte jemand gleichzeitig Tempelverwalter des Lugal-URU×GAN_2/*tenû* und des Ningirsu sein? Oder war Dudu erst, denn das ist zweifellos der geringere Rang, Priester des Lugal-URU×GAN_2/*tenû*, bevor er Oberpriester des Ningirsu wurde? In welcher Beziehung standen die beiden Tempel und Götter miteinander?

Die kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen mit Umma kamen auch unter Enmetena nicht zur Ruhe. Eine lange Inschrift, von der zwei Fassungen auf einem Tonkegel und einem Tonzylinder (Ent. 28-29) erhalten sind, hat der Stadtfürst der Vorgeschichte und dem Verlauf des Konfliktes gewidmet. Er knüpft dabei an die Zeit Mesalims an. Enlil hatte die Grenze zwischen Ningirsu und Šara, dem Hauptgott Ummas, gezogen, und der König von Kiš im Auftrage Ištarans, des Rechtsgottes der Stadt Der, die Vermessungsarbeiten durchgeführt und an entscheidender Stelle seine Stele errichtet. Die Zeit Urnanšes übergeht der Bericht Enmetenas und benennt den Stadtfürsten UŠ von Umma (Die Lesung des Namens ist noch unsicher.) als den ersten, der die Stele herausriß und auf das Gebiet von Lagaš vordrang. Dieser UŠ müßte ein Zeitgenosse Akurgals und der Gegner Eanatums gewesen sein; denn, während wir hier erstmals den Namen eines Gegners erfahren, wird die Rückeroberung dem Gott Ningirsu selbst zugeschrieben, dessen Vorgehen durch das Wort Enlils legitimiert war. Die beiden Stadtfürsten Eanatum und Enakale von Umma grenzen ihre Territorien erneut gegeneinander ab. Eanatum sichert die Grenze durch einen neuangelegten Kanal, richtet eine neutrale Zone von 1277 m Länge ein und errichtet an einer Namnundakigara genannten Stätte 4 Postamente (b a r a g), je eines für die Götter Enlil, Ninḫursaga, Ningirsu und Utu. Schließlich legt Eanatum dem Herrscher von Umma für die Nutznießung lagašitischen Getreides eine Abgabe auf, aus der Lagaš hohe Gewinne zufließen. An ihr entzündet sich der Konflikt neu, als Urlumma, Sohn und Nachfolger Enakales, diese Zahlungen verweigert. Er läßt aus dem Grenzgraben das Wasser austreten, legt an die Stele (oder die Stelen) Feuer und vernichtet sie dadurch endgültig. Er zerstört die Postamente der Götter im Namnundakigara, mietet fremdländische Söldner an und dringt in lagašitisches Gebiet ein. Daß ihm Enanatum I. entgegentrat, vernahmen wir schon aus seinen Inschriften, nur scheint im Gegensatz zu seiner eigenen Darstellung des Geschehens, sein Erfolg nicht entscheidend gewesen zu sein. Erst Enmetena, sein Sohn, konnte Urlumma besiegen. Urlumma floh, und Enmetena schlug ihn bis nach Umma zurück. Der Stadtfürst von Umma verschwindet damit

aus der Geschichte. Zwei Ereignisse aus diesem Krieg hält Enmetena noch für mitteilenswert. Einmal mußte der Feind eine Truppe von 60 Eselsgespannen am Ufer des Lummagirnunta-Kanals zurücklassen, und die Gebeine seiner Soldaten blieben in der Steppe liegen. Enmetena häufte sie zu 5 Leichenhügeln auf.
Auf Urlumma folgte Il als Stadtfürst in Umma. Er war der Neffe Urlummas und zuvor Tempelverwalter von Zabalam. Il ging noch rigoroser vor. Er entzog einem so großen Gebiet das Wasser, daß 3'600 Haufen (g u r_7) Getreide vernichtet wurden. Obendrein beanspruchte er noch ein Stück des lagašitischen Gebietes. Enmetena versuchte sich friedlich mit ihm zu einigen und schickte Boten zu ihm. Die Verhandlungen verlaufen offensichtlich ergebnislos. Aber Enmetena greift nicht zu den Waffen, sondern sichert die Wasserversorgung des Grenzgebietes, indem er einen Graben aus dem Tigris ableitet und bis zum Idnun-Kanal führt. Die Namnundakigara genannte Stätte stellt er wieder her und versieht sie mit einem steinernen Fundament. Die Inschrift schließt mit Verwünschungen gegen jeden, der den Grenzgraben überschreitet und sich Felder des Ningirsu und der Nanše aneignet. Obwohl ausdrücklich dasteht, daß Enlil und Ninḫursaga Il keine Felder gaben, kann man sich des Eindrucks nicht erwehren, daß Enmetena Land aufgab. Lagaš scheint der wachsenden Macht Ummas nicht mehr gewachsen zu sein. Ein allmählicher Niedergang hat eingesetzt, der schließlich zur Niederlage gegen Lugalzagesi von Umma führt.
Die ältesten erhaltenen Wirtschaftsurkunden stammen vom Ende der Regierungszeit Enmetenas. Die früheste ist auf das 19. Jahr Enmetenas datiert (NFT 181 AO 4156). Sie bezeugen eine lange, wenigstens 20jährige Regierungsdauer (ITT 5, 9241). Im 19. Jahr Enmetenas kauft Dimtur, die Ehefrau Enentarzids, eine Sklavin. Nach dieser Rechtsurkunde (RTC 16) war damals Enentarzid Priester/Tempelverwalter Ningirsus. Wann er seinen Vorgänger Dudu in diesem Amte ablöste, wissen wir nicht.

2.1.7. Enanatum II

Herrscher über Lagaš wurde nach Enmetena sein Sohn Enanatum II. Von diesem Stadtfürsten sind nur vier Exemplare einer einzigen Inschrift überkommen, in der er sich rühmt, das Brauhaus des Ningirsu wiederhergestellt zu haben. Erst sein Vater hatte es gebaut. Er vollendete ein Werk, das Enmetena nicht mehr fertigstellen konnte. Allein schon die Tatsache, daß man nur eine Inschrift des Stadtfürsten kennt, weist daraufhin, daß Enanatum II. nicht lange regiert haben kann. Auch unter den Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden findet sich keine, die sicher in die Zeit Enanatums II. datiert werden kann.

2.1.8. Enentarzid

Im Amt des Stadtfürsten folgte ihm Enentarzid. Dieser war zur Zeit seines Vaters Enmetena zur Würde des höchsten Ningirsu-Priesters aufgestiegen. Das bedeutet, daß die Lebenszeit Enentarzids die ganze Herrschaftsdauer Enanatums II. umschließt. Die Nebenlinie der Familie des Dynastiegründers Urnanše, die die letzten Herrscher über Lagaš gestellt hatte, ist mit ihm erloschen.

Die dramatischen Ereignisse, die sich damals abgespielt haben, beleuchtet ein Brief[41]. Der Verfasser des Briefes ist Luena, Tempelverwalter der Göttin Ninmara von Guaba im äußersten Südosten des Staates Lagaš. Der Empfänger ist Enentarzid, der noch als Tempelverwalter des Ningirsu angeredet wird. Der Brief weist einige Lücken auf, doch ist sein Inhalt im wesentlichen folgender: 600 Elamier versuchten, von Lagaš ihre Beute nach Elam zu schaffen. Luena stellte sich ihnen entgegen und schlug sie. 540 von ihnen überlebten den Kampf. Der Brief hat hier eine Lücke, so daß nicht klar wird, ob sie entkamen oder gefangengenommen wurden. 10 Prozent Verluste gelten als normale Quote. Bei den Elamiern befand sich ein gewisser UrbaU, ein Untergebener (?) des NiglunuDU, des Obmanns der Schmiede. Er erhielt im Tempel der Ninmara Quartier. Es folgt eine unvollständig erhaltene Auflistung von Gegenständen, darunter 5 silberne Spiegel, 5 Zeremonialgewänder und 16 b a r - u d u Wolle von hoher Qualität. Man darf vermuten, daß es sich um Gut aus der Beute der Elamier handelt. Wieder hat der Brief eine Textlücke. Dann heißt es: "Lebt der Stadtfürst von Lagaš noch? Lebt Enanatum-sipadzid, der Hausverwalter noch?" (Wir kennen diesen Hausverwalter von einer Verwaltungsurkunde der Zeit Enmetenas, sein Name "Enanatum (ist) der rechte Hirte" muß sich auf den ersten Stadtfürsten dieses Namens beziehen.) Der Brief schließt mit einem am Anfang weggebrochenen Satz, der die Bitte auszudrücken scheint, man möge der Göttin Ninmara eilig (?) Nachricht zusenden. Datiert ist er auf ein 5. Jahr. Man kann annehmen, daß Enanatum II. und seine Familie bei diesem Elamiereinfall den Tod fanden. Sei es, daß die Elamier auch Girsu, den damaligen Sitz des Herrschers, überrannten, sei es, daß sich der Stadtfürst zur Zeit des Überfalls gerade in Lagaš aufhielt. Dieses 5. Jahr, auf das der Brief datiert ist, gilt als das letzte Enanatums II.

Wenn die Vermutung richtig ist, daß nach dem verheerenden Elamiereinfall kein regierungsfähiges Mitglied der Fürstenfamilie mehr am Leben war, dann dürfte sich gegen die Übernahme der Macht durch Enentarzid kein Widerstand erhoben haben. Denn nach dem Stadtfürsten war der Priester des Ningirsu die angesehendste und mächtigste Persönlichkeit, und er war sicher mit der Familie des Regenten wenigstens weitläufig verwandt. Worauf sich die in CAD Š/1, 382b geäußerte Gewißheit gründet, daß der s a n g a des Ningirsu normalerweise der Sohn des amtierenden Ensi war, und in diesem Falle Enentarzid ein Sohn Enmetenas gewesen sei, ist mir unbekannt. Aus den Quellen ist dergleichen nicht herauszulesen, auch nicht aus der dort zitierten Rechtsurkunde RTC 16.

Als Enentarzid der Nachfolger Dudus Priester des Ningirsu wurde, stand er vermutlich schon in fortgeschrittenem Alter. Ein Hauskaufvertrag seiner Ehefrau Dimtur aus dem 17. Jahre Enmetenas (BIN 8, 352) und die schon erwähnte Sklavenkaufurkunde sind die ältesten sicher datierten Zeugnisse aus seinem Leben. Er überlebte Enmetena und dessen Sohn und Nachfolger Enanatum II. Aber nur eine kleine Anzahl von Wirtschaftstexten aus dem Archiv des BaU-Tempels zeigen seine Gemahlin an der Spitze der Verwaltung und ihn im Amt des Stadtfürsten. Nach den Datenformeln hatte er dieses Amt nur 5 Jahre inne. Im 1. Monat seines 6. Jahres folgte ihm sein Sohn Lugalanda. Bau- und Weihinschriften haben sich von Enentarzid keine erhalten. So läßt sich über den Grad der Zerstörungen nach der elamischen

[41] CIRPL 46; zuletzt: P. Michalowski, Letters from Early Mesopotamia, 1993, 11-12 (Nr. 1).

Invasion oder über Reparatur- und Aufräumungsarbeiten nichts sagen. Die Statue seiner Tochter GemebaU stammt noch aus seiner Zeit als Ningirsu-Priester, und auch Luena, spricht ihn im schon zitierten Brief noch mit diesem Titel an.

2.1.9. Lugalanda

Auch für seinen Nachfolger Lugalanda, oder mit vollem Namen l u g a l - a n - d a - n u - ḫ u n - g a₂, was "Ist der König nicht mit An inthronisiert worden?" bedeutet, fließen die Quellen nur spärlich. Außer Verwaltungsurkunden, nach denen Baragnamtara, seine Frau, die Verantwortung für die Wirtschaft des BaU-Tempels übernommen hatte, kennen wir Abdrücke seines Siegels, des Siegels seiner Frau und eine stark beschädigte Backsteininschrift. Sie spricht von Aufstellung und Benennung einer Stele für Ningirsu und der Schaffung und Benennung seiner Statue, die vermutlich ebenfalls Ningirsu geweiht war. Sie trug den Namen "Lugalandanuḫunga [ermüdet] nicht wegen Gi[rnu]n". Nach Aussage einer Opferliste (DP 66 VI 7-8) stand ein anderes Bildwerk Lugalandas mit dem ganz ähnlich klingenden Namen "Ningirsu ermüdet nicht wegen Girnun" im Heiligtum Tiras des Ningirsu. Eine dritte Statue mit dem Namen "Nanše ist die Mutter Lugalandas" befand sich im Sirara der Nanše (Nik 23 XI 4).
Nach den Datierungen der Wirtschaftsurkunden regierte Lugalanda 6 Jahre. Im ersten Monat seines 7. Jahres folgte ihm Uruinimgina.

2.1.10. Uruinimgina

Kaum etwas scheint schwieriger zu sein, als die genaue Lesung und Bedeutung des Namens dieses 9. und letzten Königs der I. Dynastie von Lagaš zu bestimmen, der konventionell immer noch Urukagina umschrieben wird. Im Jahre 1991 beschäftigte sich D.O. Edzard in einem kurzen Beitrag zur Festschrift für M. Civil[42] mit dem Namen und kam zu dem Ergebnis, Irikagina sei die richtige Lesung. Die Replik ließ nicht lange auf sich warten: 1992 im 10. Bande derselben Zeitschrift sichtete W.G. Lambert die Argumente kritisch[43] und verteidigte seine 1970[44] vorgeschlagene Lesung Uruinimgina. Die Lesung ist übrigens alt: Th. G. Pinches[45] hatte sie schon im Jahre 1908 erwogen. Auch P. Steinkeller[46] und G.J. Selz[47] haben sich in jüngster Zeit um Lesung und Deutung des Namens bemüht.
Unbestritten sind bei diesem Namen 2 Fakten:

1. stellt der Name eine genetivische Fügung dar, also etwa "Stadt des zuverlässigen Wortes" oder "Mundes" und
2. ist g i - n a die /a/- Ableitung von einer Basis g i - n "feststehen, zuverlässig sein".

42 D.O. Edzard, FS Civil, 1991, *77-79*.
43 W.G. Lambert, AulaOr 10, 1992, 256-258.
44 W.G. Lambert, OrNS 39, 1970, 419.
45 Th. G. Pinches, The Armherst tablets Part I: Texts of the period extending to and including the reign of Bûr-Sin, London 1908, 14.
46 P. Steinkeller, FS Civil, 1991, 227 Anm. 2; [ders., JAOS 115, 1995, 541-542].
47 G.J. Selz, N.A.B.U. 1992, Nr. 44.

Im Jahre 1970 hat W.G. Lambert auf eine phonetische Komplementierung aufmerksam gemacht, die für das Zeichen KA im Götternamen ^{d}l u g a l-KA- g i - n a die Aussprache i n i m sichert. Analog dazu hat er die Lesung auf den Personennamen u r u - i n i m - g i - n a übertragen.
D.O. Edzard sieht in der Lesung u r u für "Stadt" eine späte Lautform, die sich erst in relativ junger Zeit durchgesetzt habe. Er führt Argumente dafür an, daß im 3. Jahrtausend die Lesung für "Stadt" i r i gewesen sei, wobei er die schwer zu beantwortende Frage nach der Verteilung von /i/ und /e/ ausklammert. Möglich wären auch Formen wie e r e oder e r i wie in e r i d u g.
Was die Aussprache des KA als i n i m betrifft, so hält D.O. Edzard die Übertragung der für den Götternamen ^{d}l u g a l - i n i m - g i - n a erwiesenen Lesung auf den Personennamen u r u -KA - g i - n a für nicht möglich. Ein Personenname "Stadt des feststehenden Ausspruches" sei schwer vorstellbar, der zugrundeliegende Gedanke müße vielmehr sein: "Die Stadt NN ist die Stadt, welcher die Gottheit NN einen zuverlässigen Ausspruch hat zuteil werden lassen". Letztlich, meint D.O. Edzard, sei die Frage, ob k a oder i n i m zu lesen sei, allein vom Sumerischen her nicht zu entscheiden. Wegen der engen kulturellen und sprachlichen Kontakte – es fällt der Begriff des Sprachbundes –, die zwischen den Sumerern und Akkadern bestanden haben, sieht er sich berechtigt, inhaltlich Personennamen wie den altakkadischen Puśu-kēn "Sein (des Gottes) Mund ist zuverlässig" heranzuziehen und entscheidet sich für die Lesung k a. P. Steinkeller[48] führt zugunsten der Lesung k a noch die lexikalische Gleichung k a - g i - n a = (*pu-u*) *ki-nu* aus Sag B 145 an.
G.J. Selz greift das Argument D.O. Edzards, ein Personenname "Stadt des zuverlässigen Wortes" sei schwer vorstellbar, auf und schlägt als Lösung vor, in u r u ein Personenwort zu sehen und zwar die unorthographische Schreibung des von J. Krecher[49] untersuchten Wortes u r d u - d für den "Sklaven". G.J. Selz gelingt es nicht, das Argument E. Sollbergers zu entkräften, der auf eine altbabylonische Schreibung des Namens als u r u^{ki}-KA- g i - n a aufmerksam gemacht hatte[50]. Das Postdeterminativ k i bestätigt die Bedeutung "Stadt" für u r u.
W.G. Lamberts Argumente gegen die Vorschläge D.O. Edzards sind im wesentlichen die folgenden. Neben einer Lesung i r i könne auch eine Lautung u r u "Stadt" im 3. Jahrtausend nicht ausgeschlossen werden. Die aus ^{d}l u g a l - i n i m - g i - n a gewonnene Lesung i n i m sei durchaus auf den Namen Uruinimgina übertragbar, weil in Personennamen oft der Göttername durch einen Tempel- oder Ortsnamen oder die Wörter für Tempel und Stadt ersetzt werde.
Der Streit über i r i contra u r u berührt das schon oben gestreifte Problem regionaler Unterschiede und Dialekte im Sumerischen. u r u ist als Emesalform des Wortes für "Stadt" belegt, und da das Lagašitische dem Emesal nahegestanden zu haben scheint, spricht auch diese Überlegung außer dem, was W.G. Lambert angeführt hat, für u r u.

48 P. Steinkeller, FS Civil, 1991, 227 Anm. 2.
49 J. Krecher, WO 18, 1987, 7-19.
50 E. Sollberger, ZA 54, 1961, 9: note.

Was die Wahl zwischen ka und inim betrifft, so kommt, so lange Wortfelduntersuchungen fehlen, inim die größere Wahrscheinlichkeit zu, ohne daß ka definitiv ausgeschlossen werden könnte. Die von D.O. Edzard versuchte Trennung des Götternamens ^{d}lugal-inim-gi-na von uru-ka-gi-na überzeugt nicht. Während sich die Verbindung von inim mit gi-na außer durch den angeführten Götternamen auch durch das Emesal begründen läßt, fehlen meines Wissens bisher phonetische Komplementierungen oder unorthographische Schreibungen, die ein *ka-gi-na erweisen würden. Im Mythos von "Inanas Gang zur Unterwelt" redet Inana ihre Botin Ninšubura in Emesal an und spricht von ihr als ra-gaba-e-ne-em$_3$-ge-en-ge-na "Botin der feststehenden Worte" (Zeile 174b; 313)[51].

Man hat Uruinimgina einen Usurpator genannt und ihm die gewaltsame Machtübernahme und Beseitigung seines Vorgängers vorgeworfen. Beweisbar ist es nicht. Nichts spricht dagegen, daß Lugalanda eines natürlichen Todes starb und zwar im ersten Monat seines 7. Regierungsjahres. Denn die 1. Ausgabe der monatlich pränumerando fälligen Gersten- und Emmerlieferungen vollzieht der Inspektor Eniggal noch im Namen der Baragnamtara, der Ehefrau Lugalandas, (STH 1, 30). Die 2. Zahlung des Jahres leistet derselbe Inspektor bereits unter Uruinimgina (Fö 9). Für die Gersten- und Emmerlöhnung eines besonderen Personenkreises zeichnet Uruinimgina schon verantwortlich, als er noch das Amt des gal-un, eines hohen Befehlhabers, innehatte (VS 27, 33). Als die Urkunde niedergeschrieben wurde, scheint die Nachfolge noch ungeregelt gewesen zu sein. Allerdings folgte auf Lugalanda nicht sein Sohn Urtarsirsira. Ihm hatte Lugalanda in seinem 5. Regierungsjahr reiche Geschenke aus eigenem Besitz und dem seiner Frau Baragnamtara für Nineneše, dessen Ehefrau, gemacht (DP 75). Urtarsirsira war zur Zeit des Regierungswechsels ein erwachsener Mann. Er lebte auch im 1. Regierungsjahr Uruinimginas noch (DP 107). Ihm gehörte ein Garten in Girsu. Er war also nicht etwa getötet worden.

Als Baragnamtara, seine Mutter, im 2. Königsjahr des neuen Herrschers stirbt, erhält sie ein aufwendiges Begräbnis, für das von der jetzt der Sasag, der Frau Uruinimginas, unterstehenden Wirtschaftseinheit des BaU-Tempels 290 an einem ersten Ritual beteiligte Personen entlohnt werden (TSA 9). Eine zweite Veranstaltung unter der Leitung des obersten Kultsängers von Girsu sah 318 Personen beteiligt (Fö 137). Diese Zeugnisse sprechen meines Erachtens dagegen, daß Uruinimgina die Macht gewaltsam an sich riß und seinen Vorgänger beseitigte. Wenn er – allerdings nur in einer Inschrift (Ukg. 12) – Šulutul, den Schutzgott der Urnanše-Dynastie, auch als seinen Schutzgott benennt, dann aber Ninšubura als seine Göttin bezeichnet, so hat E. Sollberger[52] darin sicher zu Recht eine ängstliche Angleichung an die berühmte Dynastie seiner Vorgänger zu Beginn seiner Regierung gesehen. Eine Eigentümlichkeit bleibt noch zu erwähnen. Uruinimgina führt in seinem 1. Regierungsjahr, das mit dem angebrochenen 7. Lugalandas identisch ist, den Titel "Ensi von Lagaš", mit seinem 2. Regierungsjahr nimmt er den Titel "König von Lagaš" an und beginnt zugleich die Jahre

51 vgl. auch: G. Farber-Flügge, StPohl 10, 1973, 247 (s.v. ra-gaba).

52 E. Sollberger, L'opposition au pays de Sumer et Akkad in: Finet A. (ed.), La voix de l'opposition en Mesopotamie. Colloque organisé par l'Institut des Hautes Etudes de Belgique 19 et 20 mars 1973, Bruxelles 1973, 33.

noch einmal von 1 an zu zählen. Den Titel "König von Lagaš" trägt er bis in sein 7. Königsjahr, aus dem allerdings nur eine Urkunde mit diesem Titel erhalten ist (STH 1,47). Am Ende der wenigen anderen noch vorliegenden Wirtschaftsurkunden des Jahres steht nur die Jahreszahl. Der breite Strom der Verwaltungstexte bricht mit dem 6. Königsjahre ab. Die entscheidende Niederlage gegen Lugalzagesi von Umma fällt offenbar in den Anfang des 7. Königsjahres. Sie führte zum Verlust von Lagaš-Stadt und schnitt Uruinimgina von der Mitte und dem Süden des Staates ab. Aus dieser Beschränkung seines Machtbereiches auf die Stadt Girsu zieht Uruinimgina erstaunlicherweise die Konsequenzen und nennt sich von da an nur noch "König von Girsu". Der neue Titel ist bisher nur dreimal bezeugt: auf einer Tafel mit dem Bericht über die Zerstörung der Heiligtümer von Lagaš (Ukg. 16), in einer Fassung der sogenannten Reformtexte (Ukg. 1) und auf einem Gewichtsstein (Ukg. 58).
Einige wenige Wirtschaftsurkunden stammen noch aus einem 8., 9. und 10. Königsjahr, aber sie tragen entweder nur Jahreszahlen oder – so im Falle der einzigen Urkunde des 10. Jahres (Ukg. 38) – der Titel ist weggebrochen. Dann schweigen die Quellen überhaupt. Mit Sicherheit auszuschließen ist, daß der vorsargonsiche Herrscher mit dem Stadtfürsten Uruinimgina, dem Sohn des Engilsa, identisch ist, der ein Zeitgenosse Naramsuens war[53].
Während seiner kurzen ungestörten Regierungszeit erneuerte der König drei Kanäle. Der bedeutendste unter ihnen war "der, der nach Nimin fließt" (Ukg. 1; 14). Er verband die großen Städte Girsu, Lagaš und Nimin miteinander, oder wie Uruinimgina es ausdrückt: "An seiner Abzweigstelle baute er das Eninnu, an seiner Mündung baute er das Sirara". Er verband diese Mündung mit dem Inneren des Meeres (Ukg. 4/5). Den Kanal stattete er auch mit einem Stauwehr und einem Wasserbecken aus. Es hatte ein Fassungsvermögen von 1'820 Hauptgur, das sind über 220 hl. Man benötigte zu seinem Bau 432'000 Backsteine (Ukg. 7).
Auch den sogenannten "Kleinen Kanal" von Girsu hob er neu aus und gab ihm seinen früheren Namen zurück, "Ningirsu hat von Nippur her Ansehen". Er verband ihn mit dem Kanal, der nach Nimin fließt (Ukg. 4/5).
Der 3. Kanal mit dem Namen "Graben, der (so schnell) fließt, (wie) der Gott Saman (das vergöttlichte Wurfseil) eilt" (Ukg. 1;6;8) ist derselbe, der schon in den Inschriften Urnanšes vorkommt. Er ist vorläufig nicht sicher lokalisierbar, floß aber wohl auch in der Nähe von Girsu.
Unter den Tempelbauten für die großen Götter nennt Uruinimgina drei Heiligtümer des Ningirsu, das Eninnu, das Antasura und das Tiras, ferner den Tempel der BaU, das Sirara der Nanše und das Eadda des Enlil. Der Einzug der Göttin BaU in ihren renovierten Tempel wurde im 1. Königsjahr Uruinimginas begangen (DP 263). Das Antasura konnte Ningirsu erst im 4. Königsjahr wieder in Besitz nehmen, in einem Jahr, in dem erneut Feindseligkeiten ausbrachen. Im Verlauf des Krieges mit Umma wurde es drei Jahre später schon wieder zerstört (DP 116; 310; 311; 320 [Ul 4]; 543).
Die Bauarbeiten am Eadda fallen in das 2. Königsjahr Uruinimginas. Nach einer Lohnliste erhielten 69 RU-l u g a l und 13 Baumeister (š i t i m), Leute der Göttin Ninmara, und der

53 A. Deimel, AnOr 2, 1931, 75-76.

Tempelverwalter des Ebarbar Brote, Fisch, Bier und Salbfett nach getaner Arbeit (DP 123). Die aufgewendete Zeit ist nicht vermerkt. Es wird sicher weitere Urkunden über diese Bauarbeiten gegeben haben, die aber nicht erhalten, ausgegraben oder veröffentlicht sind.
Mit den Arbeiten am Sirara ist sicher die Urkunde DP 122 aus dem 3. Königsjahr Uruinimginas zu verbinden. Nach ihr werden 97 Arbeiter und ein Schreiber ausgelöhnt, die für Nanše Ziegel geformt haben. Auch ihre Löhnung besteht aus Broten, Fisch, Bier und Salbfett.
Bei den Häusern für kleinere Gottheiten wie die Ningirsu-Söhne Šulšaga und Igalima, den Metzger (?) Ninmu, die geliebte l u k u r-Priesterin des Ningirsu, Gangir (für Gangirnuna), und die "gute Schutzgöttin" handelt es sich wahrscheinlich nicht um selbständige Anlagen, sondern um Baulichkeiten, die den größeren Tempelkomplexen des Ningirsu und der BaU integriert waren. Ausdrücklich erwähnt wird, daß die Häuser der Gottheiten Zazaru, Nipae und Urnuntaea innerhalb des Tempels der "guten Schutzgöttin" lagen. Die drei Göttinnen gehören später zu den Siebenlingen der BaU und den kleineren Kindern des Ningirsu.
Bei anderen Bauten handelt es sich um Tempelteile für spezielle Aufgaben. Vier Tempel erhalten je ein b u r - s a g (Ukg. 4/5; 8; 10; 11), ein Gebäude, das zur Aufnahme der regelmäßigen Zuwendungen (s a_2 - d u g_4) bestimmt ist. Die erwähnte Remise, das Brauhaus und das e_2-PA, ein Haus, in dem man in altsumerischer Zeit Schafe raufte und Fertigwaren aus Wolle stapelte, gehören wohl zum Eninnu (Ukg. 1; 7-8; 10-12), ein g a_2 - u d u - u r_4, ein Gebäude zum Raufen von Schafen, zum Tempel der BaU (Ukg.4/5).
Sicher ist es kein Zufall, daß man von Uruinimgina erstmals etwas über viele Bauten kleinerer Gottheiten des lagašitischen Pantheons erfährt. Es spiegelt sich darin offenkundig ein Schwund an wirtschaftlicher Kraft wieder. Hatten frühere Stadtfürsten ganze Tempelkomplexe sanieren können, so zählt Uruinimgina jeden einzelnen Bau auf, um seinen Vorgängern wenigstens an Zahl gleichzukommen.
Als besonders wichtig sollte sich der Bau der Stadtmauer von Girsu erweisen (Ukg. 4/5), denn ohne sie wäre die Stadt sicher eher den feindlichen Angriffen erlegen.
Konnte C. J. Gadd 1962[54] noch schreiben, daß "Lagaš plötzlich durch den Angriff eines mächtigeren und glücklicheren Gegners überwältigt wurde", so war nur ein Jahr später bei M. Lambert[55] nachzulesen, an welch deutlichen Hinweisen der Wirtschaftsurkunden sich ein langjähriger Krieg und die hartnäckige Verteidigung der Selbständigkeit bei einer sich fortlaufend verschlechternden Wirtschaftslage ablesen läßt. Das Material hat sich inzwischen vermehrt und einige der von Lambert vorgetragenen Ansichten sind aus heutiger Sicht zu verbessern. Die kleine Urkunde DP 545 verbucht Gerstenlieferungen an Pflugführer und Rinderhirten. Ihre Unterschrift lautet:

> "Insgesamt (sind es) 61 Hauptgur 2 UL 4 Ban Gerste. Als Gerste für den Monat, als der Mann von Uruk die Stadt belagerte, hat Eniggal, der Inspektor, vom Garten (?)-Lagerhaus (sie) ihnen geliefert" usw.

Die Urkunde ist auf das 4. Königsjahr Uruinimginas datiert. Mit "der Stadt" ist Girsu gemeint, aber in dem "Mann von Uruk" hat man nicht Lugalzagesi von Umma, den späteren König

54 C. J. Gadd, CAH vol. 1 part 2, ^{3}1971, 143.
55 M. Lambert, Iraq 25, 1963, 192-193.

von Uruk, zu sehen, sondern Enšagkušana von Uruk oder seinen Feldherrn. Diesen Enšagkušana hatte man bisher zu früh datiert, doch konnte A. Westenholz[56] nachweisen, daß er nur eine Generation oder höchstens 40 Jahre vor Sargon anzusetzen ist. Enšagkušana, von dem 4 kurze eigene Inschriften und eine seines Großwesirs bekannt sind, stammte wahrscheinlich aus Ur, da sein Vater Elilin gewiß mit dem König Elili von Ur gleichzusetzen ist. Er trägt die Titel "Herr von Sumer" (e n k i - e n - g i) und "König des Landes" (l u g a l k a l a m - m a), in denen sich erstmals die neue Zeit eines mesopotamischen Großreiches ankündigt. Enšagkušana rühmt sich Kiš und Akšak zerstört und den König von Kiš, Enbiaštar, gefangengenommen zu haben. Einen Teil seiner Beute weihte er dem Enlil von Nippur. Jahresnamen gedenken der Belagerung von Kiš und eines Sieges über Akkad[57]. Er, nicht Lugalzagesi, unternimmt den ersten Versuch Mesopotamien in einem Gesamtreich zu einen. Seine Feldzüge zur Unterwerfung der sumerischen Kleinstaaten haben in Lagaš ihre Spuren hinterlassen. Im Lichte dieses okkasionellen Monatsnamens wird auch der Inhalt der stark beschädigten Inschrift Ukg. 14 verständlicher. In Kolumne III ist davon die Rede, daß Girsu eingeschlossen wurde. Nachdem es Uruinimgina gelungen war, die Belagerung durch Waffengewalt zu beenden, erhöhte er die Stadtmauer. Die Inschrift fährt fort, daß ein bisher unbekannter Ur-NI.NI- t i gegen seine Stadt zog. Auf die Worte "Beim zweiten Mal" folgt noch eine Zeile mit einem erhaltenen Zeichen am Ende, dann bricht der Text ab. Offenbar war hier von einem 2. urukäischen Feldzug gegen Girsu die Rede, und damit läßt sich die Inschrift in das 5. Königsjahr Uruinimginas datieren. Denn eine weitere Wirtschaftsurkunde (Nik 227) enthält als okkasionellen Monatsnamen "Monat, in dem der Mann von Uruk zum 3. Mal kam". Sie trägt als Datum das 6. Königsjahr Uruinimginas. Vom 4. bis zum 6. Königsjahr war also Girsu jährlich einem Angriff, an den sich auch eine kurze Belagerung anschließen konnte, ausgesetzt. Aber die sprechenden Monatsnamen sind keineswegs die einzigen Hinweise darauf, daß sich Lagaš im Krieg befindet. Die sich über Jahre hinziehenden Auseinandersetzungen hatten Auswirkungen auf das gesamte Wirtschaftsgefüge und diese lassen sich an den Verwaltungsurkunden ablesen. Es ist wichtig, hier noch einmal daraufhinzuweisen, daß es sich bei den erhaltenen Dokumenten fast ausschließlich um Texte aus dem Wirtschaftsarchiv des BaU-Tempels handelt.

Während die Aufzeichnungen vom 1. Regierungsjahr bis zum Ende des 5. Königsjahres Uruinimginas trotz des Kriegsbeginns keine Störungen erkennen lassen, war schon A. Deimel[58] die Reduzierung der Gersten- und Emmerausgaben vom Ende des 5. zum Anfang des 6. Königsjahres aufgefallen. Es lohnt sich, zwei Urkunden genauer zu vergleichen: TSA 35, die letzte Buchung der allgemeinen Gersten- und Emmerlieferungen vom 13. Monat des 5. Königsjahres, eines Schaltjahres, mit Nik 57, der Buchung der 1. Lieferung des neuen Jahres. Da sich die Reihenfolge, in der die Einzelposten erfaßt wurden, geändert hat, gehen wir beide Dokumente in der von TSA 35 vorgegebenen Reihung durch.

[56] A. Westenholz, OSP 1, 1975, 4.
[57] A. Westenholz, OSP 1, 1975, 115.
[58] A. Deimel, Or 32, 1928, 75.

Den ersten Posten erhält Girnun, der wahrscheinlich für das Transportwesen zuständig war. Er erhielt im 5. Jahr noch 17 1/2 Hauptgur Gerste, im 6. Jahr nur noch 6 1/4 Hauptgur. Er verfügte im 5. Jahr über 5 Gespanne zu je 4 Eseln und 4 einzelne Tiere, im 6. Jahr jedoch nur noch über 3 Gespanne. Aber nicht nur die Anzahl der zu fütternden Tiere hat sich verringert, auch die Rationen sind gekürzt. Ein Gespann, das früher täglich 3 Ban Gerste bekam, das sind rund 15 l Getreide, muß nun mit 2 Ban täglich auskommen, ein Gespann zu 2 Ban mit 1 Ban Gerste.
Eniggal, der Inspektor, versorgte früher 2 Gespanne und 1 einzelnes Tier und erhielt dafür über 5 1/2 Hauptgur Gerste monatlich. Jetzt untersteht ihm nur noch 1 Gespann mit einer ebenfalls um 1/3 gekürzten Ration. Er bekommt noch 11/4 Hauptgur Gerste im selben Zeitraum.
Der Posten n a g - e n s i$_2$ - k a, der "Stadtfürsten-Trunk", fehlt im 6. Jahre ganz. An seine Stelle ist ein s a$_2$ - d u g$_4$ - m u n u s, eine regelmäßige Aufwendung für die Frau (des Stadtfürsten), getreten. Auch dabei handelt es sich um Emmer und Gerste zur Herstellung von Bier, deren Empfänger der Brauer Amargirida ist. Auch diese Ausgabe liegt um rund 1/3 unter der für den Stadtfürsten-Trunk. Und noch etwas fällt auf. In der älteren Urkunde folgte auf den Posten "weißer Emmer" (z i z$_2$ - b a r$_6$ - b a r$_6$) im Verhältnis 6 : 1 z i z$_2$ - b a l, das man früher mit "'Verlust'-Emmer" übersetzte, und in dem man einen Verarbeitungs- oder Umwandlungszuschlag sah. In den neueren Urkunden ist an allen Stellen dieser Posten z i z$_2$ - b a l gestrichen, während paralleles š e - b a l weitergeführt wird. Wenn es sich dabei um den Ausgleich eines mit der Verarbeitung entstehenden Verlustes gehandelt hat, so wurde er jetzt bei dem kostbareren Getreide des Emmers nicht mehr ersetzt, sondern ging von der gelieferten Menge ab, d.h. die Menge des Endproduktes verkleinerte sich entsprechend. Sollte es sich um besondere Lohnkosten gehandelt haben, dann wurden sie jetzt nicht mehr gezahlt.
Der vierte Posten, die regelmäßigen Aufwendungen für die ANŠE, wird, bis auf den Fortfall von z i z$_2$ - b a l, in voller Höhe weitergeführt. Auch ihn empfängt der Brauer Amargirida. Das Zeichen ANŠE muß für eine bestimmte Menschengruppe stehen. Es ist vielleicht g i r$_3$ (- k) "Gefolgsleute" zu lesen (freundlicher Hinweis von P. Attinger).
Der Empfänger der nächsten beiden Getreidelieferungen, es sind die Ausgaben für dunkles und helles Bier, ist der Brauer Ilībēlī. Hier sind die Mengen der verschiedenen Getreidesorten für die Herstellung von Dunkelbier um ungefähr 1/3, teilweise sogar um die Hälfte gekürzt, während die Aufwendungen für das helle Bier in nahezu voller Höhe weiterlaufen.
Die monatlichen Aufwendungen für Küche und Bäckerei sind für die Herstellung verschiedener Mehl- und Brotsorten bestimmt. Hier entfällt ein Posten für š e - n a g$_x$ (GAZ), die im Mörser zerstoßene Gerste, ganz. Leicht eingeschränkt wird die Zubereitung von z i d$_2$ - k u m$_4$ - m a, von zerstoßenem Mehl aus Gerste (letzteres ist nur ein Deutungsversuch).
Die regelmäßige Ausgabe für das 'Schatzhaus' (e$_2$ - n i g$_2$) besteht aus einer einzelnen Zuweisung von weißem Emmer. Sie wird nur um den z i z$_2$ - b a l-Betrag gekürzt. Doch der jüngere Text führt genauer aus, daß dafür b a r - s i - Mehl hergestellt werden sollte.
In der älteren Urkunde folgte nun die monatliche Aufwendung für die Statue (der Sasag), die Urmud, der Hausverwalter, entgegennimmt. In noch früheren Texten war es Sasag, die Frau

des Stadtfürsten, selbst, die darüber verfügte. Dieser Posten von immerhin etwas über 3/4 Hauptgur an Gerste und Emmer ist im 6. Jahre völlig gestrichen.

Eine noch in der Mitte des 5. Jahres zu Händen des Urmud ausgezahlte "regelmäßige Ausgabe des Monats" in derselben Höhe wie die Aufwendung für die Statue (STH 1, 35; 36) fehlt schon in TSA 35 vom Ende desselben Jahres. Wohl nur zufällig verbucht sie eine Emmermenge für Brot nicht, die für die beiden Töchter Uruinimginas, Gemenanše und Munussaga, oder, wie G.J. Selz[59] erwog, möglicherweise für deren Statuen, bestimmt war, denn dieser Posten ist sowohl in den Texten vor TSA 35 als auch in den ersten des 6. Jahres aufgeführt.

Auch drei Hirten der Wollschafe wurden mit Gerstenzuwendungen bedacht. Es sind NIGINmud, EnDU und Lugaldanumea. Hatten sie früher insgesamt 3 wegen ihres Haares gehaltene Ziegenböcke (m a š - b a r - d u l_5) in ihren Herden, so erscheinen diese jetzt nicht mehr. Die Zahl der versorgten Wollschafe ist bei allen Hirten leicht rückläufig. Die erste Herde verkleinerte sich von 20 auf 18, die zweite von 21 auf 18, und die dritte von 21 auf 20 Tiere. Die Rationen für das einzelne Schaf werden nicht herabgesetzt. Daraus ist nicht zu ersehen, ob die Tiere, um die sich der Bestand nun verringerte, geschlachtet worden waren, oder ob sie nur kein Gerstenfutter mehr erhielten.

Als nächster Posten werden die Ausgaben für U_2.U_2, den Hirten für das junge Kleinvieh (k u r u š oder k u r u š d a), notiert. Er hatte 38 Schafe, 2 Fettschwanzschafe und 8 Ziegenböcke zu versorgen und erhielt dafür 9.1.2 Hauptgur Gerste. Zu Anfang des 6. Jahres ist auch seine Herde auf 22 Schafe und 3 Ziegenböcke geschrumpft, nur die Zahl der Fettschwanzschafe hat sich auf 5 erhöht. Die ihm zukommende Gerstenmenge ist, obwohl Platz genug dafür auf der Tafel wäre, nicht verbucht. Sie sollte ungefähr 6 Hauptgur betragen. Da er auf den nachfolgenden Tafeln DP 149 mit der 3. und DP 150 mit der 7. Lieferung des 6. Jahres nicht mehr aufgeführt wird, erhielt er schon zu Anfang des Jahres keine Zuwendungen mehr.

Ganz gestrichen sind bereits im 1. Monat des Sparjahres die Aufwendungen für die Schafe des Ginim, des Vorstehers des Öllagers, und die Zuweisungen für immerhin 25 Jungrinder, die bis dahin U_2.U_2, der Verwalter des Palastes (s a n g a e_2 - g a l), entgegengenommen hatte.

Es folgen die Aufwendungen für die Schweinezucht. Bis zum 5. Jahre bestand die Herde des Hirten Lugalpae aus 12 Röhrichtschweinen und 150 Weideschweinen. Für sie erhielt er insgesamt über 14 Hauptgur Gerste. Im 6. Jahre versorgte er nur noch 8 Röhrichtschweine. Die Weideschweine werden nicht mehr aufgeführt. Sie erhielten also keine Gerste als Zufutter mehr.

Im 5. Jahr folgten nun noch 8 Personen, von Beruf Gärtner und Heizer, die Kleinvieh hielten und dafür geringe Mengen Gerste bekamen. Ihre Zuwendungen sind im 6. Jahre alle gestrichen.

Das Gesamtvolumen der monatlichen Leistungen wurde so von 110.0.2 Hauptgur Gerste und 46.1.0 Hauptgur Emmer auf 59.3.5 Hauptgur Gerste und 37 Hauptgur Emmer herab-

[59] G.J. Selz, ASJ 14, 1992, 251.

gesetzt. Die Ausgaben an Gerste sind also fast nur noch halb so hoch wie vordem, und die Ausgaben an Emmer betragen noch ungefähr 4/5 der früheren. Das ist kein einmaliger Einbruch, sondern der Gerstenverbrauch wird von Monat zu Monat weiter eingeschränkt. Nach DP 149, der Buchung der 3. Lieferung des 6. Jahres, beträgt das Gesamtvolumen noch rund 56 1/2 Hauptgur. Es sinkt bis zur 7. Lieferung, verbucht auf DP 150, auf 47 1/2 Hauptgur und auf 42 1/4 Hauptgur bei der 8. Lieferung (DP 151). Damit ist die verausgabte Menge Gerste auf ein gutes Drittel gegenüber der letzten Lieferung des Vorjahres gesunken. Das ist die letzte uns zur Verfügung stehende Angabe.

Neu an den Urkunden dieses Typs ist auch, daß sich im 6. Jahre die Reihenfolge der Buchungen erheblich geändert hat. Gründe dafür lassen sich nicht finden. Eine weitere organisatorische Veränderung ist, daß Eniggal, der Inspektor, nur noch für die geringeren Emmerlieferungen zuständig ist. Das ist erstmals an der Urkunde DP 149 ablesbar. Die umfangreicheren Gerstenausgaben unterstehen von nun an dem Hausverwalter Enšugigi. Es ist nicht nachweisbar, daß diese Arbeitsentlastung für Eniggal mit einer stärkeren Inanspruchnahme durch militärische Aufgaben zusammenfiel.

Nicht nur an der Einschränkung des Getreideverbrauchs sind die Nöte des Krieges ablesbar, aus der Zeit Uruinimginas sind auch sogenannte Konskriptionslisten erhalten. Sie legen fest, wieviele und welche Männer aus den einzelnen Wirtschaftszweigen abgezogen und als Soldaten aufgeboten werden. Die älteste Liste dieses Typs, DP 120, stammt aus dem 2. Königsjahr Uruinimginas. Sie erfaßt 43 Männer aus dem Personal des BaU-Tempels. Ihre Unterschrift lautet: "Eniggal, der Inspektor, hat sie als u n ergriffen (u n - š e_3 e - d a b_5)", wobei u n hier nicht die allgemeinere Bedeutung "Volk, Leute" hat, sondern präziser als "(Heeres-)Volk" zu verstehen ist.

Bei den Männern handelt es sich um Angehörige der Arbeitstruppen unter den Obleuten Uršerda, KA.KA, U_2.U_2, Sesludug und Emelisu, dazu kommen Süßwasserfischer, Töpfer, Gärtner und Rohrmattenflechter. Die Zahl der Ausgehobenen ist verhältnismäßig gering, doch muß die Liste nicht alle in diesem Jahr aufgebotenen Truppen erfassen. Auch war das 2. Königsjahr Uruinimginas - soweit wir wissen - noch kein Kriegsjahr. Es fällt aber in eine Zeit, in der man die zukünftigen Auseinandersetzungen vielleicht schon voraussehen konnte. Rückschlüsse auf die Gesamttruppenstärke dieses Jahres sind daraus nicht möglich.

Mit DP 138 liegt aus dem 4. Königsjahr eine erste Liste vor, die Tote registriert. Es sind insgesamt 31 Männer. Für 11 von ihnen ist ein Ersatzmann eingetreten, für 20 steht keiner zur Verfügung. Wegen der Jahresangabe Uruinimgina 4 – es ist das Jahr der ersten Belagerung von Girsu – könnte man einen Zusammenhang mit dem Feldzug Enšagkušanas vermuten. Die Möglichkeiten sich des genauen Inhalts zu versichern, sind nur gering. Vergleicht man die Namen der Verstorbenen oder Gefallenen, beides wird durch die Verbalformen b a - u $š_2$ im Singular und b a - u g_7 - g e im Plural ausgedrückt, mit den Namen auf der 2 Jahre älteren Einberufungsliste, so findet man lediglich eine Namensübereinstimmung. Da es der Allerweltsname Urki ist, ergibt sich daraus nicht einmal zwingend die Identität der Personen. Es ist nicht zu erweisen, daß die Toten zu einem militärischen Aufgebot gehört haben. Eine weitere Probe ist möglich. Für 11 der 31 Toten traten Ersatzleute ein, von diesen 11 sind wiederum 9 namentlich aufgelistet. Ihre Namen können mit denen auf den um ein Jahr

jüngeren Konskriptionslisten DP 136 und Nik 3 verglichen werden. Auch hier ergibt sich nur eine Übereinstimmung bei dem wieder recht häufig vorkommenden Namen Meanesi. Der Befund ist also eher negativ zu deuten; bei den Toten handelt es sich wahrscheinlich um Todesfälle im zivilen Bereich. Darauf weist auch noch eine andere Beobachtung hin. An die Stelle zweier Toter treten die Väter ein, also Männer, die für den Militärdienst bereits zu alt, und daher nur bedingt tauglich waren. Durch die oben angestellten Vergleiche läßt sich mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit ausschließen, daß DP 138 eine Liste von gefallenen Soldaten ist. Bestehen bleiben aber die Möglichkeiten, daß die auf der Liste Verzeichneten eines natürlichen Todes starben, daß es sich um Zivilisten handelt, die während der Kampfhandlung umkamen, oder, daß die Liste alle Ausfälle unabhängig von der Art des Todes verzeichnet. Wenn die Liste aber Gefallene und/oder Opfer unter der Zivilbevölkerung erfaßt, kann sie sehr wohl im Zusammenhang mit den Angriffen Uruks stehen.
Die beiden nächsten erhaltenen Konskriptionslisten, DP 136 und Nik 3, stammen aus dem 5. Königsjahr Uruinimginas. Es ist das Jahr, in dem ein zweiter Angriff von Uruk auf Girsu erfolgte.
Die erste Liste erfaßt genau 100 Männer, davon stellte der Tempel der BaU 71 unter 4 Obleuten, oder hier besser Offizieren, der Ort Pasir 29 unter 2 Offizieren. Die Unterschrift bezeichnet alle erfaßten Leute als "ausgewählte Truppe" (ERIM- s u ḫ$_5$ - ḫ a). Die Liste zeigt deutlich das Überlappen ziviler und militärischer Organisationen. Von Kolumne I 1 bis Kolumne II 13 enthält sie z.B. die Namen der zum Zug des Ursag gehörenden Soldaten. Es ist derselbe Ursag, den die Unterschrift auch als Hauptmann (g a l - u n) des gesamten, 100 Mann starken Verbandes, benennt. Sein Zug – es sind mit ihm zusammen 16 Mann – setzt sich zusammen aus 9 Leuten, deren ziviler Obmann er ebenfalls war, dazu kommen 3 Mann des Obmanns KA.KA und weitere 3 Mann des Obmanns Enam. Auf dieselbe Weise sind auch die nachfolgenden Züge der Offiziere Uršerda, Sesludug und Inimanezid, also alle hier verzeichneten Einheiten des BaU-Tempels zusammengestellt.
Anders die zwei Züge unter den Offizieren aus Pasir. Bei ihnen ist keine weitere Untergliederung vermerkt. Möglicherweise fiel bei den Verbänden des kleinen Ortes zivile und militärische Organisation zusammen. Den Grund, warum die Männer des Enki-Heiligtums von Pasir unter die Leute der BaU gezählt werden, kennen wir nicht.
Der König selbst hat die 184 Mann der Liste Nik 3 gemustert. Es sind fast doppelt soviele wie in der vorigen. Und sie werden als a m a -ERIM bezeichnet, dessen wörtliche Wiedergabe als "Mutter" oder "Mütter der Truppe" keinen einleuchtenden Sinn ergibt. Ein Hauptmann wird nicht genannt. Führte sie der König an, oder war es selbstverständlich, daß der zuerst aufgelistete Offizier auch der Hauptmann der gesamten Einheit war?
Die ersten 4 hier mit ihren Mannschaften aufgeführten Offiziere sind dieselben wie auf der vorigen Tafel. Ihre Namen stehen in derselben Abfolge hintereinander. Aber die Truppe des Ursag ist jetzt um 7 Mann stärker, sie ist auch anders strukturiert. Nur 2 Mann gehören zu denen, die ihm auch als Obmann unterstellt waren. Hinzu kommen 7 Leute von anderen Obmännern, der Rest, 13 Mann, setzt sich aus 'Bauern' und Vogelverscheuchern / Flurhütern(?), einem Schweinehirten und 2 Obleuten von der Wollverarbeitungsstätte zusammen.

Nicht so stark verändert haben sich die Verbände der nachfolgenden 3 Offiziere, doch fehlt auch da mancher ihnen nach DP 136 zugeteilte Soldat. Die Stärke wurde einheitlich auf je 22 Mann aufgefüllt.
Ein weiterer Verband unter dem Offizier Emelisu schließt sich an. Seine Stärke kann wegen der Textlücken nicht genau ermittelt werden, lag aber über 12 Mann.
Hierauf folgen Süßwasserfischer, Schiffer und Handwerker wie Schmiede, Zimmerleute, Lederbearbeiter, Rohrmattenflechter und Walker. Ihre militärische Gliederung wird nicht recht deutlich. Bei Fischern und Schiffern könnten die Obleute auch die Offiziere gewesen sein.
Am Schluß der Tafel stehen die völlig unveränderten Einheiten, die Pasir stellte.
Schwer einzusehen ist, daß viele Namen aus DP 136 nicht wiederkehren. Es muß sich aber um eine Umstrukturierung handeln, die mit der Veränderung der Aufgaben zusammenhängen kann, wenn eine solche in der neuen Bezeichnung a m a - ERIM gegenüber der früheren als ERIM - s u ḫ$_5$ - ḫ a zum Ausdruck kommt. Es geht nicht um kriegsbedingte Verluste und anschließende Neugliederung; denn die Fluktuation ist nur bei den Leuten der BaU zu beobachten. Das Aufgebot der 29 Soldaten aus Pasir erscheint nach Zahl und Zusammensetzung völlig unverändert, was nach einer Schlacht nicht sehr wahrscheinlich wäre.
Die Liste Wengler 2 stammt ebenfalls noch aus dem 5. Königsjahre Uruinimginas. Der nicht besonders gut erhaltene Text kann nur in einer Umschrift von Deimel Or 26, 39-40 aus dem Jahre 1927 benutzt werden. Erfaßt sind insgesamt 100 Mann, Leute der BaU und Leute aus Pasir. Dieser Verband soll den Wachdienst auf der Mauer versehen (ERIM ... b a d$_3$ - d a n a$_2$ - a m$_6$). Gemeint sein kann nur die Stadtmauer von Girsu. Wieder ergibt sich die Frage, wieso dazu auch Männer aus Pasir herangezogen werden konnten. Denn, obwohl sich der Ort mit seinem Enki-Heiligtum nicht lokalisieren läßt, war er doch sicher kein Teil Girsus. Wären die Soldaten zur Verteidigung des eigenen Ortes nicht wichtiger gewesen, oder hatte man ihn schon aufgegeben?
Aus dem 6. Königsjahr Uruinimginas ist ebenfalls eine Musterungsliste erhalten geblieben (DP 135). Sie erfaßt insgesamt 167 Soldaten, die nach ERIM - s u ḫ$_5$ - ḫ a, "ausgewählte Truppe", und a m a-ERIM- r a unterschieden sind. Zu den ausgewählten Truppen gehören 155 Mann, nur 12 sind a m a - ERIM- r a . Alle Soldaten werden diesmal von der Wirtschaftseinheit des BaU-Tempels gestellt. Der Name des Hauptmanns ist stark beschädigt, eine Rasur scheint überschrieben worden zu sein. Wenn die Beobachtung zutrifft, daß der Hauptmann identisch mit dem ersten aufgeführten Offizier ist, dann sollte er Amarki heißen. Die Zeichenreste weisen aber eher auf einen Urninmara hin. Zusammengestellt sind hier wieder Züge von 13 oder14 Mann bis 25 oder 26 Mann Stärke unter einem Vorgesetzten. Außer Angehörigen der Arbeitstruppen werden besonders Süßwasser- und Meeresfischer, sowie Hirten ausgehoben.
Ein Vergleich mit den Musterungslisten des vorangegangenen Jahres zeigt keinerlei Übereinstimmungen, weder bei den Namen der Soldaten, noch bei denen der Vorgesetzten. Dafür kann es zwei Erklärungen geben: entweder wurde der Verband des 5. Jahres vollständig aufgerieben, und es mußte eine neue Truppe ausgehoben werden, oder der BaU-Tempel unterhielt die zwei Verbände nebeneinander. Die Begründung, daß die letzte Annahme zurtrifft wird später gegeben (S. 487).

Eine Schätzung kann man schon jetzt versuchen. Vom ersten Verband, so wie ihn die ausführlichere Fassung Nik 3 auflistet, stellte der BaU-Tempel 155 Mann, der zweite Verband bestand aus 167 Mann, und für den Wachdienst auf der Mauer stellte er etwa 70 Mann. Die genaue Zahl ist wegen zu großer Textlücken nicht zu bestimmen. Die Wirtschaftseinheit des BaU-Tempels unterhielt also in diesen Kriegsjahren allein ca. 400 Soldaten. Der Ningirsu-Tempel war sicherlich der größere, und man kann davon ausgehen, daß auch die Zahl der von ihm aufgebotenen Soldaten höher war. Wenn man wüßte, wieviele solcher Wirtschaftseinheiten Girsu beherbergte und welche ungefähre Größe sie hatten, bekäme man ein sehr genaues Bild von der Truppenstärke der Stadt. Die Zahl dürfte insgesamt 5mal, höchstens aber 10mal so groß wie die des BaU-Tempels gewesen sein, d.h. Girsu verfügte in diesen Jahren über eine Armee von 2'000 bis 4'000 Mann.

Mit Nik 14 liegt uns eine undatierte Personenliste vor. Sie führt, unterteilt nach 7 Obleuten, die Namen der Männer auf, die zur Verfügung stehen, verstorben, oder aus anderen Gründen nicht mehr verfügbar sind. Einsatzfähig sind 26, verstorben 7 und von einem heißt es, daß sein Bruder ihn zu sich genommen hat. Wie G.J. Selz[60] richtig gesehen hat, ist diese Liste auf die Konskriptionsliste DP 135 abgestimmt. Nicht nur die Namen der Obleute auch die der Soldaten stehen, soweit sie in Nik 14 mitgeteilt werden und soweit es die Aufteilung in Lebende und Tote zuläßt, in derselben Reihenfolge. Lediglich Nesag, einen Obmann der Meeresfischer, und seine Truppe (DP 135 IX 12 - X 15) hat Nik 14 ausgelassen. Durch den Vergleich läßt sich präzisieren, daß es sich um Gefallene handelt, deren Zahl bei einem Verhältnis von 26 : 7 erschreckend hoch ist. Die Liste Nik 14 folgt demnach zeitlich auf DP 135 und ist in das 6. Jahr zu datieren.

Was weiter auffällt, ist die große Zahl derer, die nicht erwähnt sind. DP 135 registrierte 155 Mann, davon ist zunächst der von Nik 14 ausgelassene Zug des Nesag mit 15 Mann abzuziehen. Von den verbleibenden 140 gehen die offensichtlich noch lebenden 7 Obleute und die 34 Personen ab, die Nik 14 aufführt. Es bleiben 99 Soldaten übrig, über deren Schicksal wir im Unklaren bleiben.

Noch 2 weitere Personenlisten, Fö 95 und DP 141, wollen wir behandeln. Fö 95 ist ohne Unterschrift geblieben. DP 141 nennt im Kolophon Uruinimgina als König, aber bereits der Ortsname Lagaš und das Datum sind weggebrochen. Zunächst zur Abhängigkeit der beiden Texte voneinander. Fö 95 ist eine Zusammenstellung von 14 Männern, von denen 13 als Leute der BaU und einer als Mann von Pasir bezeichnet werden. Die Namen der Leute der BaU sind weiter unterteilt und zwar entweder nach den gemeinsamen Obleuten oder nach den Berufen. Von den 14 Namen dieser Urkunde finden sich 13 auch auf DP 141. Nur einer, Sesneurin, der als letzter genannte zu BaU gehörige Mann (Fö 95 IV 1-2), findet sich dort nicht mehr. Dafür sind drei neue Namen hinzugekommen: Urninmara unter Damdingirmu, Gallabe unter KA.KA und Urantasura unter Udu. DP 141 ist also eine verbesserte und erweiterte Neufassung der Liste Fö 95. In DP 141 werden diese Leute zusammengefaßt als "Insgesamt 16 Männer. Männer der BaU, die zum Berge gezogen sind, sind sie (k u r - r e$_2$ l a ḫ$_5$ - ḫ a - m e)." Ich habe mich bemüht, den Ausdruck so neutral wie möglich wiederzugeben.

[60] G.J. Selz, FAOS 15/1, 1989, 118.

Als Interpretation kann man sich vorstellen: "Leute, die (als Gefangene) ins Fremdland getrieben wurden, sind sie", oder, wenn k u r für die Unterwelt steht, "Leute, die zur Unterwelt zogen, sind sie" als Umschreibung für im Krieg Gefallene. Durch weitere Vergleiche wollen wir versuchen, eine Deutung als richtig zu erweisen. Wir setzen dabei voraus, daß die beiden kleinen Listen Fö 95 und DP 141 die Männer gemäß ihrer Zugehörigkeit zu einer Arbeitstruppe oder Berufsgruppe in der zivilen Organisation zusammenfassen, und nicht nach ihrer Unterstellung im Kriege. Die Kontingente der Obleute Sesludug, Inimanezid, Eme und Lupad waren in der Musterungsliste DP 136 erfaßt. Der Vergleich zeigt, alle diesen Obleuten unterstehenden Männer aus den kleinen Listen finden sich auch in DP 136. Die Übereinstimmung betrifft 6 von insgesamt 17 Namen.
Nun verzeichnete DP 136 aus dem 5. Königsjahr nur die Namen von Angehörigen der Arbeitstruppen, die zum Kriegsdienst verpflichtet wurden, während die erweiterte Liste Nik 3 auch die Namen der aus anderen Berufszweigen Rekrutierten enthielt. So finden wir in der nicht vollständig erhaltenen Liste Nik 3 den Namen des Steinschneiders Luzid wieder. Wegen der den Obleuten Damdingirmu und Udu unterstellten Leute haben wir die Konskriptionsliste aus dem 6. Königsjahr, DP 135, zu befragen. Beide Männer des Damdingirmu finden sich auch in DP135, und von den 5 Männern des Udu, erscheinen in DP135 drei. Das bedeutet, von den insgesamt 17 Namen der kleinen Listen Fö 95 und DP 141 stimmen 7 mit den Musterungslisten des 5. und weitere 5 mit der Konskriptionsliste des 6. Jahres überein, oder zusammengenommen 12 der 17 Namen.
Die kleinen Listen verzeichnen also Gefangene oder Gefallene beider Heeresabteilungen. Aus dem Nebeneinander ist auf den gleichzeitigen Bestand wenigstens dieser zwei Abteilungen unter zwei Hauptleuten im 6. Jahre zu schließen, wie das schon weiter oben vorgetragen worden ist.
Nun haben wir mit Nik 14 eine Liste erhalten, die einsatzfähige und tote Männer der 2. Heeresgruppe zusammenstellte. Beim Vergleich der Namen von Nik 14 mit denen der kleinen Listen Fö95 und DP 141 gibt es 5 Übereinstimmungen. Es sind Urinana und Urninmara unter Damdingirmu und Urningirsu, Eki und UrbaU unter Udu. Sie werden in Nik 14 eindeutig als b a - u g$_7$ - g e (- e š$_2$), als "verstorben", bezeichnet. Woraus folgt, daß b a - u g$_7$ - g e - e š$_2$ und k u r - r e$_2$ l a ḫ$_5$ - ḫ a - m e dasselbe ausdrücken, letzteres ist mit "in die Unterwelt Gezogene" zu übersetzen. Zusammengefaßt ist festzustellen: Aus den ersten Kriegsjahren finden sich Verzeichnisse der ausgehobenen Soldaten und ihrer Verluste. Was den Sesneurin betrifft, dessen Name in Fö 95 aufgeführt ist, aber in der Neufassung der Liste DP 141 nicht mehr aufscheint, so dürfte dem Schreiber ein Fehler unterlaufen sein, und, als er es bemerkte, vollendete er die Liste nicht mehr. Aus welchem Grund aber wurde die fehlerhafte Liste aufbewahrt und nicht einfach vernichtet?
Die Bedrohung Girsus führte vielleicht auch zu Umsiedlungen. Eine Zusammenstellung aus dem 5. Königsjahr Uruinimginas (Nik 19) erfaßt 12 Gruppen oder insgesamt 55 Personen. Es sind 4 Witwen, 1 Mutter, 3 Ehepaare, 3 Männer und 1 Vater mit ihren Söhnen, Töchtern, Sklaven und Sklavinnen. Sie werden als "Leute, Eigentum der BaU" zusammengefaßt und sind nach Guaba in den äußersten Südosten des Staates gebracht worden. Das Datum der Liste legt einen Zusammenhang mit den Kämpfen zwischen Lagaš und Uruk nahe, doch sei

nicht verschweigen, daß es auch einen älteren Text aus dem 1. Jahr Enentarzids gibt (Nik 10), wonach 420 Personen in Nimin angesiedelt wurden, ohne daß eine Verbindung zu kriegerischen Ereignissen hergestellt werden kann. Umsiedlungen fanden auch dann statt, wenn – wie im 3. Jahr Uruinimginas – Ödland erschlossen worden war (Fö 122).

Sucht man weiter nach Spuren des Krieges, so kann man auch auf die Urkunde NFT 182 AO 4154 aus dem 6. Königsjahr Uruinimginas hinweisen. Sie verbucht Arbeiten, die bisher nur durch diese Liste belegt sind: k i n e_2 DI (vielleicht s a l i m zu lesen), was man als das Reparieren von Häusern verstehen kann. Verzeichnet werden einschließlich des Nachtrages 12 Einheiten mit Größenangaben von 45 g i n_2 bis 5 g i n_2 Fläche, d.h. ungefähr 26 1/2 bis 3 qm. Obwohl es nach den etwa gleichzeitigen Kaufurkunden auch kleine Häuser von nur 30 und 40 g i n_2 Grundfläche gegeben hat, liegen die normalen Größen doch zwischen 70 und 105 g i n_2, d.h. zwischen rund 41 bis 61 3/4 qm. Die Flächenangaben der Urkunde beziehen sich wahrscheinlich auf die beschädigten Teile. Außer den Namen bekannter Obleute, die mit ihren Mannschaften die Reparaturen an 2 oder 3 Tagen ausführten, gibt es auch zwei Einheiten, die den a b - b a - a b - b a auferlegt wurden. a b - b a ist der "Alte", der "Vater", das "Familienoberhaupt". Daß jetzt auch die Alten eingesetzt wurden, die sonst nie zu Arbeiten herangezogen wurden, zeigt einen empfindlichen Mangel an Arbeitskräften.

Viele Fragen bleiben offen. Wie konnten – die Richtigkeit der Interpretation vorausgesetzt – die Häuser beschädigt werden? Wenn dies bei einer Belagerung geschehen war, lagen sie dann vor oder hinter der Stadtmauer? Wie verlief eine Belagerung? Verfügte man über Waffen oder Belagerungsgeräte, um Häuser innerhalb der Mauer zu zerstören?

Durch die Lohnlisten sind wir sehr genau über die Zahl der für den BaU-Tempel arbeitenden Personen informiert. Auf einer Liste wie DP 113 mit der 8. Löhnung des 2. Königsjahres Uruinimginas stehen am Anfang der dort verzeichneten Handwerker 2 Schmiede (X 10 - 12). Ihre Zahl erreichte mit 7 ihren Höchststand gegen Ende des 3. Jahres (STH 1, 17 IX 19 - X 11: UI 3/10) und hält sich während des 5. und 6. Königsjahres auf dem Stand von 5 Schmieden (DP 114 X 9 - XI 3: UI 5/3; STH 1, 18 VIII 14 - IX 7: UI 6/12). Dagegen blieb die Zahl anderer Handwerker, etwa der Lederbearbeiter, Seiler (nach anderer Auffassung Filzmacher) oder Zimmerleute im Vergleichszeitraum konstant. Zur Herstellung von Waffen wurden eben mehr Schmiede gebraucht. Trotzdem war diese Berufsgruppe nicht vom Wehrdienst freigestellt, wie die Konskriptionslisten zeigten.

Schließlich befassen sich drei Urkunden mit Waffen. Sie stammen alle, und das wird kein Zufall sein, aus dem 4. Königsjahr Uruinimginas, dem Jahr der ersten Belagerung Girsus. Die erste Urkunde Nik 298 verzeichnet insgesamt 200 Doppeläxte und 82 Lanzenspitzen, die der Schmied Šubur hergestellt und an Sasag, die Frau des Königs, als Wirtschaftsleiterin abgeliefert hat.

Die zweite Liste Nik 281 verbucht im ersten Teil die Ausgabe von Lanzen und Schilden an 7 Offiziere und den bekannten Hauptmann Ursag, dem sie unterstehen. Im zweiten Teil werden Lanzen, Schilde, Doppeläxte und Äxte mit einem 'Zahn' an Obleute, Handwerker, Fischer und Hirten ausgegeben. Sie unterstehen Amarki. Insgesamt wurden 72 Lanzen, 60 Doppeläxte, 60 Äxte mit einem 'Zahn' und 28 Schilde ausgehändigt.

Nur mit der Jahreszahl 4 versehen, aber sicher in die Regierungszeit Uruinimginas zu datieren, ist die kleine Urkunde DP 445. Nach ihr wurden Amarki und KA.KA von Eniggal, dem Inspektor, mit insgesamt 80 Lanzen ausgerüstet. Amarki wird derselbe wie der in der vorigen Urkunde genannte Offizier sein.
Die erfolgreiche Abwehr der Angriffe aus Uruk und die militärischen Anstrengungen der vergangenen Jahre hatten an den Kräften des Staates Lagaš gezehrt. Der entscheidende Vorstoß, an dem der Staat zerbrach und nach dem lediglich noch die Stadt Girsu für einige Jahre ihre Selbständigkeit bewahrte, bis auch sie dem Einheitsreich eingegliedert wurde, kam aus einer anderen Richtung. Lugalzagesi aus Umma, der alten Rivalin, führte seine Truppen von Nordwesten heran und hielt sich anders als Enšagkušana nicht mit dem stark befestigten Girsu auf, sondern nach ersten Zerstörungen im Nordwesten verwüstete er die weniger geschützte Mitte des Staates. Die Stadt Lagaš und ihre Umgebung traf die ganze Wucht dieses Vorstoßes. Dokumentiert ist uns dieser Feldzug mit der Aufzählung der von Lugalzagesi geschändeten, niedergebrannten und zerstörten Heiligtümer in der Inschrift Ukg.16. Der Abfolge der Tempel liegt offensichtlich ein geographisches Prinzip zugrunde.
Die erste Stätte, die niedergebrannt wurde, war das Eki-ERIM-r a, "der Damm am Ort der Gespanne". Lokalisieren wird man sie im äußersten Nordwesten nahe der Grenze zu Umma. Die nächsten beiden in Flammen aufgehenden Heiligtümer sind das Antasura, das Umma schon so oft für sich beansprucht hatte, und der Palast Tiras, zwei Ningirsu-Kultstätten, die ebenfalls nördlich oder nordwestlich von Girsu gelegen haben werden. Auch das danach erwähnte Absubanda, das "kleinere Absu", gehört noch zu den im Vorfeld von Girsu nahe der Grenze zu Umma gelegenen Stätten wie die beiden Podeste (b a r a g) der Götter Enlil und Utu. Sie gehören sicher zu den von Eanatum nach seinem Sieg über Enakale von Umma im Namnundakigara errichteten und von Urlumma zerstörten Anlagen. Wenn hier nur zwei der 4 Postamente aufgeführt werden, so hatte Enmetena nach seinem Sieg über Urlumma nur zwei wiedererbaut; denn welchen Grund sollte Lugalzagesi haben, die Bauten Enlils und Utus zu zerstören, aber die von Ningirsu und Ninḫursaga zu verschonen. Derartige Postamente lagen oft im offenen Gelände außerhalb der Städte, wie das auch der Feldzugsbericht Utuḫegals gegen Tirigan beschreibt[61]. Die nächsten beiden Heiligtümer, die Lugalzagesi zerstörte, das Ebarbar und das Aḫuš, lagen sicher außerhalb der großen Städte. Sie waren Kerne kleinerer Ansiedlungen; ihre geographische Lage läßt sich jedoch nicht sicher bestimmen. Auch das Giguna, der Hochtempel, der "Ninmaḫ vom heiligen Wald" ist nicht lokalisierbar. Das Heiligtum wurde so gründlich zerstört, daß es aus der Kulttopographie von Lagaš verschwindet. Es ist in neusumerischer Zeit nicht mehr bezeugt. Hatte Lugalzagesi bisher verstreut auf dem Lande liegende heilige Stätten verheert, so wandte er sich jetzt gegen die alte Hauptstadt Lagaš selbst. Zwar hatte Urnanše die Mauern des alten Regierungssitzes erneuert, aber seitdem scheinen sie vernachlässigt worden zu sein. Sie hielten dem Angriff nicht stand. Die Reihe der zerstörten Tempel beginnt mit dem Bagara des Ningirsu. Es folgen das Dugru, das Absuega, das "Absu des Deiches", der Tempel der Gatumdug,

[61] Zuletzt: D. Frayne, RIME 2, 1993, 283-293.

das Ib(gal) "Eana der Inana" und das Šagepada, die Residenz der Nanše in Lagaš. Wenn das Bagara vor dem Ibgal aufgeführt wird, so behält der Text die Nord-Süd-Ausrichtung bei. Die Lage beider Heiligtümer innerhalb der Stadt konnte durch die Ausgrabungen in al-Hibā eindeutig bestimmt werden.
Es folgt in Ukg. 16 eine weitere Kultstätte, deren Lesung nicht ganz sicher ist, und die traditionell Ḫenda(k) umschrieben wird. Auch ihre Zerstörung scheint endgültig gewesen zu sein, denn sie kommt in Quellen der neusumerischen Zeit nicht mehr vor.
Nach diesen Erfolgen dringt Lugalzagesi offenbar weiter nach Süden vor. In Kiesa vernichtet er den Tempel des Gottes Nindara, des Gemahls der Göttin Nanše, und in Kinunira den der Göttin Dumuzidabsu. Lugalzagesi ist damit bereits in die Umgebung von Nimin gelangt. Als nächstes fällt seinem Angriff der Tempel des Lugal-URU×GAN$_2$ /*tenû* zum Opfer. Auch der kleine Ort URU×GAN$_2$ /*tenû* muß nahe Nimin gelegen haben. Nimin selbst oder gar Guaba, die "Meeresküste", erreichte der Feldzug nicht mehr. Das als nächstes zerstörte Eengura-Heiligtum der Göttin Nanše lag in dem kleinen Ort Zulum, der nicht genauer zu lokalisieren ist. Das zuletzt genannte Sagub mit dem Tempel der Göttin Amageštin ist eher der Region um Lagaš zuzurechnen[62], d.h. gegen Ende seines Vormarsches wandte sich Lugalzagesi wieder nach Norden. Die bewegte Klage schließt mit der Feststellung:

> "Der Mann von Umma hat dadurch, daß er Lagaš verheerte, eine Sünde gegen Ningirsu begangen. Die Hand, die dazu angelegt wurde, wird abgehauen werden. Eine Sünde Uruinimginas, des Königs von Girsu, besteht nicht."

Und nun kann man entweder übersetzen:

> "Die Göttin Nisabak, die persönliche Gottheit Lugalzagesis, des Stadtfürsten von Umma, trage diese Sünde auf ihrem Nacken"

oder:

> "Nisabak ..." usw. "lege diese Sünde auf seinen Nacken."

Die erste Wiedergabe findet sich bei älteren Übersetzern wie F. Thureau-Dangin, E. Sollberger und Th. Jacobsen, die zweite bei B. Kienast, H. Steible und J.S. Cooper. Für beide Interpretationen lassen sich Gründe anführen. Zu entscheiden wäre die Frage nur bei genauer Kenntnis des sumerischen Verständnisses von persönlicher Verantwortung in der 2. Hälfte des 3. Jahrtausends.
Über die allgemeine Auffassung dieser Inschrift bestehen keinerlei Unterschiede, nur, ob man in ihr eine Vorläuferin der späteren Klagelieder vom Typ der Städteklagen sehen darf, erscheint mir zweifelhaft. Doch bestehen bei der Übersetzung einzelner Kriegshandlungen erhebliche Meinungsverschiedenheiten. Dabei hebt sich von einer traditionelleren Deutung, die von F. Thureau-Dangin ausgeht, und der E. Sollberger zuzurechnen ist, eine neuere ab, die von H. Steible und J.S. Cooper vertreten wird, sowie, am weitesten von der älteren

[62] A. Falkenstein, AnOr 30, 1966, 109.

Auffassung entfernt, von J. Krecher, soweit man seine Interpretation aus zwei seiner Aufsätze[63] zusammenstellen kann.

Unbestritten ist i z i s u m "Feuer anlegen", nur daß Krecher i z i s i g_{10} einsetzen möchte. Das ist nach dem Zeichen möglich, empfiehlt sich aber nicht wegen einer Form wie i z i b a - s u m - m u bei Eanatum 62 IV 4:8. Keine Abweichungen finden sich bei g u l für das Zerstören von Statuen, ḫ u l für das Verwüsten allgemein und b u_x(PAD), das Ausreißen des Korns. Bei k e $š_2$ gibt es die ersten Verschiedenheiten. Weisen das wörtlichere "zusammenraffen" bei H. Steible und "bundle" bei J.S. Cooper noch in dieselbe Richtung wie das allgemeinere "rauben" von F. Thureau-Dangin, so schlägt J. Krecher dafür ein "mit Beschlag belegen" vor, wozu er durch seine abweichende Übersetzung von š u TIL gezwungen wird.

Weit weichen die Meinungen bei š u TIL ab, ja selbst die Identifikation des TIL als TIL ist umstritten. š u TIL ist für F. Thureau-Dangin und E. Sollberger "Blut vergießen" bzw. "töten", für J.S. Cooper und H. Steible "plündern", für J. Krecher aber, der es zu š u b a/b a r "freilassen" stellt, "(zur Plünderung) freigeben".

Noch größer sind die Unterschiede und Schwierigkeiten bei LAK 672 b a l, dem einzig im Ḫendak durchgeführten aggressiven Akt. F. Thureau-Dangin ließ die Wendung ganz unübersetzt, J.S. Cooper und H. Steible lassen LAK 672 aus und setzen für das Verbum b a l ein "overturn" bzw. ein "umstürzen" an. Für das PSD 2, 57a und J. Krecher bedeutet die Wendung "Blut vergießen".

Kehren wir zu š u TIL zurück. Das spätere Zeichen BAD geht auf zwei alte Zeichen zurück, ein altes TIL und ein altes BAD. Nur mit dem Zeichen TIL sind die Lesungen u $š_2$ und u g_7, "sterben, töten", verbunden. Es ist also erneut zu prüfen, welches Zeichen im Text steht. Ein Foto des Textes oder auch nur der einschlägigen Stellen ist nie veröffentlicht worden. Es steht damit zur Beurteilung nur die gewissenhafte Kopie von F. Thureau-Dangin zur Verfügung (NFT 1910, 47 und RA 6, 1904, 29). Sie zeigt ohne Ausnahme ein aus einem waagerechten Keil und einem Winkelhaken bestehendes, relativ kurzes Zeichen, dessen Winkelhaken sehr eng an den Kopf des waagerechten Keils herangerückt ist, oder, anders beschrieben, knapp hinter der dicksten Stelle des liegenden Keils befindet sich der Winkelhaken, hinter dem sich der liegende Keil noch ein Stückchen fortsetzt. In diesem Zeichen sehe ich die keilschriftliche Entsprechung des Zeichens ← der epigraphischen Texte, der Nummer 7 in der von P. Steinkeller der Unterscheidung der Zeichen gewidmeten Untersuchung[64], und damit eine Variante des Zeichens TIL. Beim Zeichen BAD ist ein weiter Abstand zwischen dem Kopf des waagerechten Keils und dem Winkelhaken unbedingt zu erwarten, denn das Zeichen BAD steht für "weit sein/machen" und stellt vermutlich die vereinfachte Wiedergabe einer Stütze oder Strebe dar. Man vergleiche mit dem Zeichen in Ukg. 16 ein allerdings schon Fara-zeitliches (š u) b a d, wie es zweimal in CT 50, 5 II 7 und VIII 3 bezeugt ist. P. Steinkeller hat die Paläographie der Zeichen untersucht, führt aber das aus Ukg. 16 nicht auf. J. Krecher

63 J. Krecher, OrNS 54, 1985, bes. 142-143 Anm. 23; ders., GS Kutscher, 1993, 107-118.
64 P. Steinkeller, ZA 71, 1981, 19-28, bes. 23-24.

beruft sich auf dessen Nr. 28, ein Zeichen, das recht ähnlich aussieht, jedoch deutlich länger als das hier in Frage stehende und tatsächlich zu den Varianten des BAD zu rechnen ist.

Kein Argument gegen ein šu $uš_2$/ug_7 ist – wie ja auch J. Krecher einräumt – aus dem Vokal des Präfixes zu gewinnen. Vor einem /u/-haltigen Verbum wäre ein Präfix bi_2- unauffälliger, mit seinem Präfix be_2- gehört $uš_2$/ug_7 zu jenen /u/-haltigen Basen, bei denen schon A. Poebel[65] analag die Präfixformen e- und i_3- oder gar nur e- feststellte.

Wenn J. Krecher weiter gegen ein Verbum "töten" oder ähnliches anführt, daß wegen der verschiedenen Funktionen der Präfixe ba- und be_2/bi_2 in Ukg.16 ein ba- zu erwarten sei, so ist ihm hinsichtlich der Verschiedenheit der Funktionen der Präfixe zuzustimmen, nur ist nicht anzunehmen, daß sich darin eine Opposition "bloße Ortsangabe": "essentielle Implikation" spiegelt, sondern daß durch beide Präfixe abweichende Ortsbezüge dargestellt werden.

Der wichtigste Einwand gegen šu $uš_2$/ug_7 ist, daß bisher ein Funktionsverbgefüge dieser Lesung nicht bezeugt ist. Aber es gibt ja auch sonst Wörter, die altsumerisch belegt, später nicht mehr vorkommen oder nur noch selten gebraucht werden. Als Bedeutung dieser Verbindung ist natürlich nicht, wie J. Krecher es tut, ein unsinniges "die Hand töten" anzusetzen, sondern ein "(durch) die Hand sterben lassen", wie ja auch šu du_7 nicht "die Hand vollenden" bedeutet, sondern "(durch) die Hand vollenden". Daß bei Funktionsverbgefügen durch Univerbierung Kasuspostpositionen fehlen können, ist auch sonst öfter beobachtet worden. Eine gewisse Schwierigkeit, die sich bei einer Übernahme der Krecherschen Auffassung ergäbe, wäre das gleichzeitige Vorkommen von šu ba und šu bad⌉ im selben Material. Man kann also bei šu $uš_2$/ug_7 "töten" bleiben.

Wenden wir uns dem geheimnisvollen LAK 672 bal zu. Für LAK 672 hat J. Krecher eine Lesung $uš_x$ sicher nachgewiesen, und er meint, sie sei hier einzusetzen und stünde für das Wort "Blut". So kommen J. Krecher und PSD 2 zur Übersetzung "Blut vergießen". Wären beide im Recht, dann wäre während des ganzen Feldzuges nur einmal und zwar im Ḫendak Blut vergossen worden. Das wird jeder für ein wenig unwahrscheinlich halten, der sich an die stolze Erwähnung vieler aufgeschichteter Leichenhügel erinnert. Oder sollte die Kriegsführung von Umma soviel humaner als die von Lagaš gewesen sein?

Ich denke, es ist vielmehr bei M. Civil[66] anzuknüpfen, der für LAK 672 die Bedeutung "ein Schutzdach aus Rohr für Bauten und Schiffe" mit der Lesung $sumur_3$ nachgewiesen hat. Dieser lange, aber hoffentlich nicht langweilige Exkurs vermag zu illustrieren, an welch dünnem Faden die Interpretation noch so mancher sumerischen Textstelle hängt.

Beachtenswert ist in diesem Dokument der veränderte Titel Uruinimginas, "König von Girsu", der klingt, als habe er nach dem Verlust der alten Hauptstadt sofort Konsequenzen gezogen. Verzichtete er damit auf alle Herrschaftsansprüche über Lagaš?

Zu datieren ist die bewegte Anklage und Selbstrechtfertigung in das 7. Königsjahr, mit dem sich die Zahl der erhaltenen Schriftzeugnisse drastisch verringert. Eine Urkunde wie STH 1,47

[65] A. Poebel, AS 2, 1931.
[66] M. Civil, RA 61, 1967, 64.

aus diesem Jahr, in der Sasag noch als d a m u r u - i n i m - g i - n a, l u g a l l a g a s^{ki}-k a bezeichnet wird, ginge demnach der Zerstörung voraus.
Auf eine kleine Verwaltungsurkunde aus dem 8. Jahre Uruinimginas, Nik 135, hat G.J. Selz[67] in seiner Edition aufmerksam gemacht, aber ihre Bedeutung für das Ende der 1. Dynastie von Lagaš sehr überschätzt. Nach erneuter Kollation folgte 1994 vom selben Autor eine nüchternere Stellungnahme[68]. Die Urkunde enthält zwei Abbuchungen über Gerstenmehl, für die zwei verschiedene Kommissare verantwortlich waren. Nach der Jahreszahl 8 kann es sich nur um ein Zeugnis aus der Zeit Uruinimginas handeln. Als zweiter erhält ein "Mann von Uruk", dessen Name mit l u g a l beginnt, rund 64 Liter Gerstenmehl. Wie G.J. Selz nach erneuter Kollation schreibt, folgt auf l u g a l nur ein Zeichen, und die geringen Reste weisen nicht auf ein ZAG oder TAR. Damit braucht man nicht mehr die Schwierigkeiten zu diskutieren, die das Einsetzen der hier ursprünglich von G.J. Selz erwarteten Namen Lugalzagesi, abgekürzt zu l u g a l - z a g, oder l u g a l -TAR, der Name eines chronologisch noch nicht sicher eingeordneten Königs von Uruk, mit sich brächten. Man braucht damit in der ausgegebenen Menge Mehl auch keine Tributzahlung mehr zu sehen, wie G.J. Selz vorgeschlagen hatte. Denn einmal ist der Betrag für eine solche Zahlung zu niedrig, und zum anderen ist dafür auch die Art der Buchung zu einfach. Denn es wird kein Grund für die Zahlung angegeben, und auch kein Zeitraum festgehalten, für den die Zahlung geleistet wird.
Es bleibt also zu vermuten, daß der "Mann von Uruk" ein Gesandter jener Stadt war, der verköstigt und mit Reiseproviant versehen wurde. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt kann es ein Abgesandter des letzten Herrschers eines selbständigen Uruk oder der Bote Lugalzagesis gewesen sein, der die Stadt inzwischen besiegt und den Titel eines "Königs von Uruk" angenommen hatte.

2.2. Umma

2.2.1. Lugalzagesi

Wegen der geringen Quellendichte sind wir über die Ereignisse in Umma schlechter unterrichtet als über die Geschehnisse in Lagaš. Nach Il, der ein Zeitgenosse Enmetenas war, und eine eigene Inschrift hinterlassen hat, gelangte sein Sohn Giššagkidug auf den Thron von Umma. Von der Ehefrau dieses Königs ist ebenfalls eine Inschrift bekannt. Danach hatte Giššagkidug seine Tante geheiratet. Er wird ein jüngerer Zeitgenosse Enmetenas gewesen sein und gleichzeitig mit Enanatum II. und Enentarzid regiert haben. Zu seiner Familie hat allem Anschein nach Lugalzagesi nicht gehört. Er nennt $U_2.U_2$ (oder b u_{11} - b u_{11} , w a_3 - w a_3 , w u_x- w u_x), der ebenfalls Stadtfürst über Umma gewesen sein soll, als Vater. Es wäre denkbar, daß dieser $U_2.U_2$ von Enšagkušana in Umma eingesetzt worden ist. Seine

[67] G.J. Selz, FAOS 15/1, 1989, 352-353.
[68] G.J. Selz, ASJ 16, 1994, 221.

Herrschaft über Umma müßte dann in die Zeit der lagašitischen Stadtfürsten Enentarzid und Lugalanda fallen. Sein Sohn Lugalzagesi könnte dann etwa gleichzeitig mit Uruinimgina zur Macht gekommen sein. Für die sumerische Königsliste ist Lugalzagesi der einzige Herrscher einer III. Dynastie von Uruk. Sie gibt ihm eine Regierungsdauer von 25 Jahren, die man sicherlich als Angabe ihrer Gesamtlänge verstehen darf, also das Stadtfürstentum von Umma und die Königsherrschaft über Uruk umfaßt.

Wann Lugalzagesi König von Uruk wurde, ist nicht genau zu bestimmen, wahrscheinlich bald nach dem verheerenden Angriff auf Lagaš. Wenn das so war, trat er die Nachfolge Enšagkušanas in Uruk an. Die von M.A. Powell[69] gesammelten und publizierten Urkunden aus Zabalam zeigen Lugalzagesis weitreichende Beziehungen auf, so sind in seinem 7. Jahre als Stadtfürst Landzuweisungen an die Stadtfürsten von Nippur und Adab, sowie einen lu_2-maḫ-Priester von Uruk bezeugt.[70]

In seiner großen Inschrift aus Nippur (Luzag. 1) feiert sich Lugalzagesi als König von Uruk und König des Landes (Sumer) (kalam) – ein Titel, den auch Enšagkušana getragen hatte, während er auf den Rang des en ki-en-gi, des "Herrn von Sumer", nicht zurückgriff. Lugalzagesi erhob weit höhere Ansprüche als sein Vorgänger. Enlil habe ihm von Sonnenaufgang bis Sonnenuntergang alle Fremdländer unterworfen, und ihn vom Unteren Meer, dem Persischen Golf, an Euphrat und Tigris vorbei, geradewegs bis zum Oberen Meer ziehen lassen. Dieses Ausgreifen bis zum Mittelmeer kann allerdings kaum mehr als ein einmaliges militärisches Abenteuer gewesen sein.

Betrachtet man seine Inschrift genauer, so fällt eine Dreiteilung ins Auge: sein engeres Herrschaftsgebiet, das übrige Sumer, die Fremdländer. Namentlich genannt sind Uruk, Ur, Larsa, Zabalam und KI.AN, die so etwas wie die Hausmacht Lugalzagesis darstellen. Es sind die Städte, um deren Wohlergehen sich der König im besonderen bemühte. In Nippur versorgt er Enlil mit reichen Gaben. Das übrige Sumer wird sehr pauschal behandelt und fast mit den Fremdländern in einem Atemzug genannt. Auch die religiösen Titel beleuchten nahezu ausschließlich die Verbindung zu den Hauptgöttern seines engeren Herrschaftsbereichs. Er ist der išib-Priester Ans, der ihn getreulich angeschaut hat, der Versorger Inanas, der Mann des Messangaunuga und der, den Ningirim, die Herrin von Uruk, großgezogen hat. Auf Ur weist der Titel "Großwesir des Suen", auf Larsa "Statthalter Utus" und "der von Utu mit Namen benannte", auf Umma lu_2-maḫ-Priester und leibliches Kind der Nisabak. Eine Verbindung zu KI.AN mag deshalb unauffindbar bleiben, weil diese Stadt in der Nähe Ummas dasselbe Pantheon wie Umma gehabt zu haben scheint.[71] Über diesen geographischen Raum weisen nur hinaus: Ensigal des Enlil und "mit guter Milch genährt von Ninḫursaga", sowie "dem Weisheit verliehen wurde von Enki", was die Anerkennung seiner Herrschaft durch Nippur, Keš und Eridug bedeutet hat. Auf Sumer allgemein bezieht sich der Titel "der oberste Hausverwalter aller Götter".

Interessant ist wie Lugalzagesi das Zustandekommen seiner Herrschaft über Sumer sieht. "Enlil, der Herr aller Länder, hat ihm das Königtum über das Land (Sumer) verliehen und die

[69] M.A. Powell, HUCA 49, 1978, 1-58.

[70] BIN 8, 86; HUCA 49, 34-35 Nr. 1; dazu: M. A. Powell, HUCA 49, 1978, 27.

[71] D.O. Edzard, RlA 5, 1976-1980, 586 (s.v. KI.AN^{ki}).

Augen des Landes (Sumer) auf ihn gerichtet" – was immer das heißen mag –, "hat ihm alle Fremdländer zu Füßen gelegt", "sie ihm von Sonnenaufgang bis Sonnenuntergang unterworfen", "von Sonnenaufgang bis -untergang ließ (ihn) Enlil keinen Gegner haben", das ist die überweltliche Ebene des Vorgangs, auf Erden entspricht dem ein "Alle Herrscher von Kengir und die Stadtfürsten aller Fremdländer haben sich gegen den Ort Uruk hin wegen der göttlichen Kräfte des Fürstentums verbeugt". Wieder hatte ein sumerischer König versucht die auseinanderstrebenden Kleinstaaten in ein Gesamtreich zu zwingen.

Wenn Lugalzagesis Regierungszeit 25 Jahe betrug, konnte er vielleicht über ein Jahrzehnt seine Herrschaft über das gesamte Mesopotamien behaupten, doch dann stürzte ihn ein Mächtigerer. In Akkad war Sargon vom Gefolgsmann Urzababas von Kiš zum selbständigen Herrscher aufgestiegen. Er wandte sich gegen Lugalzagesi und schlug ihn in drei Schlachten bei Uruk, NaGURzam und Ur. Sargon nahm ihn schließlich gefangen und ließ ihn gefesselt zum Tor des Enlil-Tempels von Nippur bringen. Das ist das letzte, was wir von Lugalzagesi hören.

Gegen Sargon von Akkad stand eine Koalition von 50 Stadtfürsten, unter denen sich mes-e$_2$, als Stadtfürst von Umma, und mes-zi, der Stadtfürst von Lagaš, befanden. Meszid, den wir aus den lagašitischen Überlieferungen nicht kennen, war wohl ebenso wie Mese von Lugalzagesi eingesetzt worden. Sargon eroberte auch Eninmara, den "Tempel der Ninmara", den Ort, der in den lagašitischen Quellen Guaba heißt, und wusch seine Waffen im Wasser des Meeres. Zwar hatte Sargon Vorgänger, doch brach erst eigentlich mit ihm ein neues Zeitalter an, die Zeit des mesopotamischen Einheitsstaates.

3. Zur Religion

3.1. Einleitung

Ein Versuch, die mesopotamische Religion (oder Religionen) umfassend darzustellen, ist zum Scheitern verurteilt und sollte nach den Worten A. Leo Oppenheims gar nicht erst unternommen werden. In einem noch viel höheren Maße gilt dieses Verdikt für die Schilderung eines zeitlich begrenzten Ausschnittes. Für weite Gebiete des religiösen Lebens fehlen die Zeugnisse. Die persönliche Frömmigkeit und der religionsinterne Pluralismus sind zu keiner Zeit wirklich faßbar. Denn auch die Aussagekraft der Personennamen wird oft überschätzt. In Personennamen spiegeln sich familiäre und lokale Traditionen und Konventionen ebenso wie Neuerungen und Moden, und der Inhalt einer im Namen getroffenen Aussage muß nicht Ausdruck eines unmittelbaren religiösen Gefühls sein. Die Aussage braucht weder von seinem Träger noch gar von seiner Umgebung voll bejaht worden zu sein. Namen unterliegen außerdem einem starken Abnutzungsprozeß. Für die vorsargonische Zeit werfen die Königsinschriften und Verwaltungsurkunden des BaU-Tempels Licht auf einen kleinen Teil der offiziellen Religion. Zwar läßt sich anhand der sogenannten Opferlisten ein Überblick über die den Göttern an Festtagen dargebrachten Gaben gewinnen, jedoch fehlt jeglicher Hinweis auf

ihre tägliche Versorgung. Mythen fehlen weitgehend, die vorhandenen sind noch zu großen Teilen unverständlich. Gebete, Götterlieder, Ritualtexte, wie Festbeschreibungen, fehlen ganz, und selbst von der schon in der Fara-Zeit gut vertretenen Gattung der Beschwörungen haben sich aus der letzten Phase des Frühdynastikums nur wenige Beispiele erhalten.
Man ist daher gezwungen, die aus altsumerischen Quellen gewonnenen, meist isolierten Daten zu ergänzen, um ein Bild zu erhalten. Da die Religion ein äußerst konservativer Bereich der Kultur war und ist, bietet sich für die vorsargonischen Erscheinungen der Vorgriff auf die neusumerische Überlieferung an. Vieles, was erstmals über 200 Jahre später unter Gudea aufgezeichnet wurde, scheint bereits Glaubensgut der älteren Zeit gewesen zu sein. Nicht nur mesopotamische Quellen, auch das Material der vergleichenden Religionswissenschaft kann gelegentlich zur Erhellung beitragen. Doch besteht so die Gefahr, alte Tatbestände durch das Abstützen mit späteren Vorstellungen zu verfälschen und einer älteren Religiosität ihr eigenes Gesicht zu nehmen, oder – im Falle, da fremdes Ideengut herangezogen wird – die Eigenbegrifflichkeit der sumerischen Welt zu verdecken.
Ich werde mich im folgenden auf einige Aspekte beschränken, für deren Darstellung hinreichende Quellenaussagen zur Verfügung stehen.
Ein vielbeachtetes Konzept sumerischer Weltdeutung ist die Vorstellung von den me, den "göttlichen Kräften", wie der Ausdruck traditionell wiedergegeben wird. Die einzige Stelle an der die me im Altsumerischen nicht in einem Personen- oder Tempelnamen eingebunden sind, steht in der Lugalzagesi-Inschrift 1 II 21-25. Die Zeilen lauten:

> barag-barag ki-en-gi, ensi$_2$ kur-kur-ra, ki-unug^{ki}-ge, me nam-nun-še$_3$, mu-na-gam-e-ne
> "Alle Herrscher von Sumer und die Stadtfürsten aller Fremdländer haben sich gegen den Ort Uruk hin wegen der göttlichen Kräfte des Fürstentums verbeugt."

Häufig kommt me in Personennamen, gelegentlich auch in Namen von Tempeln vor. Zur Herkunft der me wird gesagt: me-kulab$_x$(NUMUN.UNUG)^{ki}-ta, me-ki-kug-ta, me-NIGIN$_3$ (wahrscheinlich nigar$_x$ zu lesen)-ta und me-girim$_3$-ta, "die göttlichen Kräfte (stammen) aus Kulab, "dem heiligen Ort", einem bestimmte nigar genannten Gemach, oder aus einem Gewässer (girim$_3$ nach der Bestimmung von M. Krebernik[72]).
Mit si "füllen, erfüllen" ist ein Name gebildet: me-an-ne$_2$-si "die göttlichen Kräfte füllen den Himmel", und in me-kisal-le ist si wahrscheinlich zu ergänzen "die göttlichen Kräfte (erfüllen) den Tempelvorhof".
Der Besitzer göttlicher Kräfte ist der König oder die Königin. Namen mit en und me haben sich nicht gefunden. lugal-me-gal-gal "der König (besitzt) die großen me" oder "(besitzt) große me". nin-me-dug$_3$-ga, "die Königin/Herrin der guten me", nin-me-zi-da, "die Herrin der rechten me", und nin-me-sikil-an-na, "die Königin (besitzt) die reinen me Ans" oder "des Himmels".
Nicht ganz deutlich ist das in diesem Zusammenhang vorkommende Verb DU (vielleicht verbirgt sich auch hinter dem Zeichen mehr als ein Verb). me-sirara$_3$-DU, "die me

[72] M. Krebernik, Die Beschwörungen aus Fara und Ebla, TSO 2, 1984, 242-252.

befinden sich(?) im Sirara", š u l - m e - š a r_2 - r a -DU, "der junge Mann befindet sich (?) bei den unzähligen m e. m e - l u_2 - n u -DU, "die m e befinden sich (?) nicht bei dem" oder "einem Menschen" bleibt seltsam und ist wohl eher als Frage zu verstehen: "Stehen die m e dem Menschen nicht bei?".

Die m e haben bestimmte Eigenschaften, von denen nur die positiven in den Personennamen beschworen werden. Sie sind rein: n i n - m e - s i k i l - a n - n a, sie sind gut: n i n - m e - d u g_3 - g a und m e - a n - n e_2 - d u g_3, "An hat die m e gut gemacht", sie sind richtig: ni n - m e - z i - d a, die göttlichen Kräfte sind unzählbar: š u l - m e - š a r_2 - r a-DU oder jedenfalls sehr zahlreich: GAN_2 m e - l u - l u (ein Feldername), sie sind erhaben: m e - m a ḫ - p a - e_3, "die erhabenen m e treten strahlend hervor", sie können nicht umgestürzt werden: m e - s a g_3 - n u - d i, die m e sind heil oder sie machen heil: m e - s a l i m, wenn der ganze Name nicht akkadisch zu erklären ist. In Tempelnamen sind die m e auch furchterregend: e_2 - m e - ḫ u š - g a l - a n - k i, "Haus(, das) die großen, furchterregenden m e von Himmel und Erde (besitzt)".

Dem Begriff der m e verwandt ist m e - l i_9 - m (traditionell m e - l a m_2), der "Schreckensglanz", eine furchteinflößende Seite des Phänomens. Für m e - l i_9 - m gibt es nur wenige Belege. In gleichlautenden Wendungen werden der Ningirsu-Tempel Antasura und die Remise des Gottes (e_2 - g i š - g i g i r_2 - r a) beschrieben als e_2 m e - l i_9 - b e_2 k u r - k u r - r a (a -) d u l_5, als "Haus, dessen Schreckensglanz alle Fremdländer bedeckt". Ähnliches drückt der Personenname e_2 - m e - l i_9 - s u_3 aus, "das Haus (besitzt) weitreichenden Schreckensglanz". Schwierig bleibt ein Name wie m e - l i_9 - k u r - r a, der sicherlich keine Vollform darstellt. Ist es aber eine Kurzform, dann muß ein passendes Verbum ergänzt werden. Nach den vorherigen Namen etwa "der Schreckensglanz (reicht) bis ins Bergland".

Die mit den m e verbundenen Vorstellungen, wie sie sich im altsumerischen Namenmaterial ausdrücken, fügen sich gut in das Bild, das die späteren Mythen, Götter- und Tempellieder von ihnen entwerfen. Eine ältere Schicht, die sich im Mythos von Enki und Inana erhalten hat, hinterließ keine Spuren. Dagegen ist G. Farber[73], die den vorläufig letzten Versuch unternommen hat, Wesen und Funktion der m e zu bestimmen, über die Zusammenstellung der m e in diesem Mythos der Meinung, daß "diese Liste der m e wohl eher ad hoc entstanden (ist) und keine Schreibertradition oder gar ein sum(erisches) Weltbild wieder(spiegelt)". Scheut man sich jedoch nicht, ethnologisches Vergleichsmaterial heranzuziehen, wie das J. van Dijk[74] bereits vor ihr unter Berufung auf den melanesischen Begriff des Mana getan hat, so erweist sich, daß gerade die in jenem Mythos aufgezählten und unter die m e gerechneten Erscheinungen, mühelos unter der Vorstellung des außergewöhnlich Wirksamen vereinen lassen, wie F. R. Lehmann 1922 Mana umschrieb[75], während die in anderen Mythen, vor allem aber Götter- und Tempelhymnen ablesbare Unterstellung der m e unter die Götter und Verortung bei den Heiligtümern dem Verständnis einer späteren Zeit entspricht.

[73] G. Farber, RlA 7, 1987-1990, 610-613 (s.v. me (ĝarza, *parṣu*)).

[74] J. van Dijk, Sumerische Religion in: Asmussen, J.P., Laessøe, J.,Colpe, C. (ed.), Handbuch der Religionsgeschichte 1, Göttingen 1971, 440.

[75] F.R. Lehmann, Mana. Der Begriff des "außerordentlich Wirkungsvollen" bei Südseevölkern, Leibzig 1922.

Das sumerische Wort für die personalisierte und anthropomorphe überweltliche Macht ist d i n g i r "Gott". Es ist etymologisch undurchsichtig, denn es wurde aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach aus einer der Substratsprachen entlehnt. Wiedergegeben wird es in der Keilschrift durch einen einzelnen Stern, der bekanntlich nie für das Wort "Stern", sondern stets symbolisch für das "Hohe" und konkret für den "Himmel" eintritt. Hierin drückt sich die Verbindung der Gottesvorstellung mit der himmlischen Sphäre aus, obwohl das nur ein Teilbereich des Raumes ist, in dem Götter lokalisiert und wirksam gedacht werden. Sie spiegelt eine gewisse Dominanz uranischer Götter gegenüber den chthonischen Mächten wieder. Das verwundert nicht, wenn man sich in Erinnerung ruft, das die Keilschrift sehr gut in Uruk, der Stadt des An, erfunden worden sein könnte. Sie fügt sich darüberhinaus auch in das Bild Mesopotamiens und der frühen Hochkulturen allgemein, in deren Pantheen meist Gestalten himmlischer Herkunft die höchste Stellung errungen haben.
Mit dem vom Zeichen für Gott abgeleiteten Determinativ, das in Uruk seit den ältesten Texten der Schicht IVa nachweisbar ist, wurden in der Folge die Namen aller zu einem Pantheon gehörigen und kultisch betreuten großen und kleinen Gestalten versehen. Doch scheint sich diese Kennzeichnung in den einzelnen lokalen Schreiberschulen verschieden rasch durchgesetzt zu haben, denn wie sollte man sich sonst erklären, daß immer wieder einmal in den Texten Urnanšes das Determinativ auch vor hervorragenden Vertretern der lagašitischen Götterwelt fehlt. Das einmalige Auslassen des Hinweiszeichens vor n i n - k i auf der Geierstele Eanatums (1 Rs. V 40) ist sicher nur ein Fehler, in den Inschriften Urnanšes jedoch fehlt es dafür viel zu häufig. (e s $_3$ - i r 24 III 1; g a$_2$ - t u m$_3$ - d u g$_3$ 51 IV 6; k i n d a$_2$ - z i 51 VI 11; l u g a l-URU×GAN$_2$ /*tenû* 25 III 4; n i n - g i r$_2$ - s u 21 und 22a 5; n i n - m a r^{ki} 51 V 1; š u l - š a g$_4$ 51 VI 9). Daneben bleiben auch in der späten FD IIIb-Phase eine Reihe von Namen ohne Determinativ oder werden nur gelegentlich mit ihm geschrieben. Dafür sind offenbar ganz verschiedene Gründe maßgeblich.
Um Verwechlungen zu vermeiden, wird dem Himmelsgott An kein Hinweiszeichen vorangestellt, denn die doppelte Setzung des Zeichens AN führt zur Lesung n a b. Dies aber ist eine eigene in Lagaš verehrte Göttergestalt. In altbabylonischer Zeit wird sie als d u m u - s a g - a n - n a, als "Erstegeborene(r) Ans", oder als d u m u - s a g-/gašanmungara/, als "Erstegeborene(r) der Göttin Gašanmungar(a)", bezeichnet. Der Name der letzteren könnte als "Herrin (, die eine) Bäuerin (ist)" oder als "Herrin der Bauern" übersetzt werden. Nab bleibt in alter Zeit stets und selbst noch in altbabylonischer Zeit meist ohne Determinativ, damit eine Verwechslung mit m u l "Stern" ausgeschlossen wird.
Kein Determinativ steht weiter vor dem Namen des dem Zwischenreich der Dämonen verhafteten vogelgestaltigen Zud oder Anzud, der nach dem Lugalbandaepos wie ein Gott das Schicksal eines Menschen bestimmt. Das a n gehört hier als bedeutungshinweisender Zusatz zur volleren Namensform. Auch der Name eines Heros wie des vergöttlichten Königs Gilgameš von Uruk wird bald mit dem d i n g i r - Zeichen versehen, bald fehlt es.
Nicht mit dem Determinativ geschrieben werden Götterepitheta, aus denen sich noch keine selbständigen Wesenheiten entwickelten. Hierher zu rechnen sind k u g - n u n, der "heilige Fürst", l u g a l - e d e n - n a, "der Herr des Eden/der Steppe", und s u b i$_3$, "der Glänzende", wahrscheinlich ein Beiname des Mondgottes.

UD befindet sich in der FD IIIb-Zeit in einem Übergangsstadium. Die Königsinschriften und die Urkunden der Tempelverwaltung schreiben den Sonnengott ^{d}utu. Aber in den konservativeren Schreibungen der Personennamen stehen sich einfaches UD und ^{d}utu gegenüber. Hinter UD scheint sich auch manchmal, wie G.J. Selz[76] erwogen hat, der Name seiner Gemahlin ^{d}/šerda/, des "Morgens", zu verbergen. Göttliche Kraft besitzen die Tür und ihre Teile. Vor za-ra dem "Polschuh", wird in den Personennamen von Girsu manchmal ein Determinativ gesetzt. Sonst bleiben kleinere Götter wie Lumma und Mama oder Kollektiva wie die en-ki und die nun-ki, "die Herren" und "die Fürsten der Erde", in Lagaš ohne Determinativ, während das gleichzeitige Umma Lumma das Götterzeichen voranstellt. Ohne Determinativ stehen noch Stelen (na-du_3-a), Embleme (urin-du_3-a) und Harfen (balag), heilige Pauken (ub_5-kug) und die Stake des Nindara (gi-muš-^{d}nin-dar). Damit unterscheidet sich die altsumerische Zeit deutlich von der neusumerischen Gewohnheit, alles, was mit einer Gottheit in Verbindung steht wie Waffen, Symbole, Embleme, Stelen, Musikinstrumente, Throne und Schiffe mit dem Determinativ zu versehen. Das bedeutet nicht, daß der Glaube an machtgeladene Gegenstände eine relativ späte Erscheinung ist, sondern daß man den geweihten Gegenständen wahrscheinlich keine eigenständige Göttlichkeit zuerkannte.
Die FD IIIb-Zeit stellte sich die großen Götter anthropomorph vor. Die übergroße Gestalt auf der Vorderseite der Geierstele stellt den Gott Ningirsu dar, erkennbar auch ohne die weggebrochene Hörnerkrone. Dennoch haben sich Spuren erhalten, die auf einen älteren, noch nachwirkenden Zustand hinweisen. Noch bei Gudea, Fragment 5 heißt es "Ningirsu, rechter Same Enlils, vom Gebirge geboren (ḫur-sag-e tu-da)"; für das Gebirge ist an anderen Stellen längst Ninḫursaga, die "Herrin des Gebirges" und Ehefrau des Enlil, eingetreten. Bekannt ist auch die Erscheinung, daß man beim Verfolgen eines Götternamens über einen längeren Zeitraum hin von vielen Namen zwei der möglichen drei Stadien finden kann. Das älteste Stadium zeigt die Vergöttlichung eines Phänomens durch das Voranstellen des Götterdeterminativs, z.B. ^{d}tu-r; in einem zweiten Stadium tritt vor das Phänomen eine Personenbezeichnung als anthropomorphisierendes Element, aus ^{d}tu-r wird ^{d}nin-tu-r. Solche Personenbezeichnungen sind vor allem nin, lugal und en, aber auch šul und NU.NUS. In einem dritten Stadium schließlich wird das Phänomen dem Personenwort durch einen Genetiv untergeordnet. Aus ^{d}nin-tu-r würde *^{d}nin-tu-ra(k), was allerdings bei diesem Namen nicht belegt ist. Oder in Übersetzung: aus der "(vergöttlichten) Geburtshütte" – wenn diese Deutung von Th. Jacobsen[77] zutrifft – wird eine "Herrin (, die die) Geburtshütte (ist)" und weiter eine *"Herrin der Geburtshütte". Verfolgt man die Namen der großen, bekannten Götter, so zeigt sich, daß diese bereits in der FD IIIb-Zeit ihre verbindliche Form gefunden hatten, daß also etwa ^{d}en-ki-k oder ^{d}nin-ḫur-sag(+ak) genetivisch gefügt ist, aber ^{d}en-lil_2 und ^{d}nin-tu-r Zusammenrückungen waren. Bei weniger prominenten Göttergestalten, wie sie vor allem wieder in Personennamen enthalten sind, hat die Umwandlung der Namensformen ohne nin und ähnliche Personenwörter in solche mit diesen Elementen in der FD IIIb-Zeit begonnen, sie setzt sich aber noch über die

[76] G.J. Selz, ASJ 16, 1994, 220-221.
[77] Th. Jacobsen, OrNS 42, 1973, 279-281.

neusumerische bis in die altbabylonische Zeit fort, also bis die sumerischen Personennamen auch in Babylonien durch die akkadischen verdrängt werden. Aus der FD IIIb-Zeit finden sich nur zwei Beispiele, der größere Teil des Materials gehört erst in die Ur III-Dynastie. Der Name der Göttin lautet in der Fara-zeitlichen Fassung der Keš-Tempelhymne[78] schlicht ^{d}t u - r, in der altbabylonischen Version[79] steht dafür selbstverständlich ^{d}n i n - t u - r, und so heißt sie auch schon in vorsargonischer Zeit. Der Name ein und desselben Fischers lautet nach den Wirtschaftsurkunden einmal u r - ^{d}n i n - u r u - a - m u - DU und ein anderes Mal u r - ^{d}u r u - a - m u - DU. Der Name der im Personennamen enthaltenen Gottheit, die männlich oder weiblich sein kann, läßt sich als "(Herrin:) sie steht in der Stadt" oder als "(Herrin:) sie bringt der Stadt Wasser" übersetzen. Es gibt keinen Grund, die zweite Namensform zu emendieren[80].

Götternamen in den Stadien 1 und 2 weisen auf eine ehemals nicht menschliche Erscheinung der Gottheit hin, oder auf einen Zustand, da die Gottheit als nichtanthropomorphe Erscheinung und als menschengestaltiges Wesen simultan existierte. Wann eine Metamorphose zu reiner Menschengestalt stattgefunden hat, läßt sich aus der Veränderung der Namensform nicht erschließen. Der geistige Akt war sicher längst erfolgt, bevor mit der Veränderung des Namens die vielleicht längst fällige Konsequenz gezogen wurde.

Die simultane Existenz einer Gottheit ist aus verschiedenen nordamerikanischen Mythen gut bekannt, in denen die Erde, die sich zu Füßen der Menschen ausdehnende Fläche ist, deren Brust man nicht mit dem Pflug zerschneiden darf, aber dem Menschen gleichzeitig auch als alte Frau begegnen kann. Oder ein näherliegendes Beispiel: In der altbabylonischen Hymne auf die Göttin Nisabak, die D. Reisman zuletzt in der Festschrift für S.N. Kramer bearbeitete[81], heißt es in Zeile 10-11: n i n - m u e_2- k u r - r a ku_2- b i z a - e - m e - e n, e_2- a n - n a - k a ku_2- b i - m e - e n "Meine Herrin, du bist die Speise des Ekur, die Speise des Eana bist du." – Nisabak ist gleichzeitig Göttin und das Getreide, das verzehrt wird. Den Naturerscheinungen verhaftet sind An dem Himmel, Enlil der Atmosphäre, Utu der Sonne, Šerda dem Morgen und Gibil dem Feuer.

Machtgeladene Gegenstände sind ursprünglich Igalima die "Tür des Wisenttieres", Zara der "Polschuh", Nintur die "Herrin: Geburtshütte" und Saman das "Wurfseil" oder "Lasso". Ḫendursaga ist "der Stab des Ersten" und hier anzuschließen sind wahrscheinlich auch ^{d}PA-IGI.DU und ^{d}PA.KAL als "Stab des Vorangehenden" und als "der geschätzte Stab". Eine ursprünglich vegetabile Erscheinung ist für Ašnan als Getreide anzunehmen, für Gišzid, den "rechten Baum", vielleicht auch für Gišbare, wenn das "der Baum, der ausschlägt (?)" bedeutet, und für Kugsug, den "heiligen Halm".

Theriomorph sind oder waren Ningilin als Mungo, Nin-MUŠ×MUŠ - d a - r u, hinter der sich nach einer Götterliste aus Šuruppak ein Fisch verbirgt[82], Ninpirig als Löwe, Ninšara (und Šara) als Raubvogel, Šamagan als Vierfüßler der Steppe und Ašbar[83].

78 R.D. Biggs, ZA 61, 1971, 193-207.
79 G.B. Gragg, TCS 3, 1969, 155-188.
80 G.J. Selz, FAOS 15/2, 1993, 606.
81 D. Reisman, FS Kramer (AOAT 25), 1976, 357-365.
82 M. Krebernik, ZA 76, 1986, 199.
83 M. Krebernik, ZA 76, 1986, 199 (s.v. ^{d}nin-PEŠ$_2$.aš-bar).

Das häufige n i n in Namen von Göttern bereitet immer noch gewisse Schwierigkeiten. Daß mit n i n gebildete Namen männliche wie weibliche Gottheiten bezeichnen können, ist von der Religionswissenschaft gern als Beweis einer frühen Doppelgeschlechtlichkeit der Götter angeführt worden[84].
Die Keilschriftphilologie urteilt hier nüchterner und sieht in n i n ein Wort, das ursprünglich geschlechtlich nicht festgelegt war wie etwa d u m u "Kind" und sowohl den "Herrn" wie die "Herrin" bezeichnen konnte. Neuere paläographische Beobachtungen haben ergeben, daß das Zeichen NIN aus den zwei Zeichen MUNUS und NAM_2 zusammengefügt ist. Die zugrundeliegende Idee ist "Frau(, die) ein Fürst (ist)". Das aus Deuter + Deuter zusammengesetzte Zeichen enthält also von allem Anfang an eine geschlechtliche Festlegung. Da es sehr unwahrscheinlich ist, daß alle mit n i n beginnnenden männlichen Gottheiten in Folge eines geschichtlichen Umwandlungsprozesses ihr Geschlecht gewechselt haben, bleibt nur die Möglichkeit, daß n i n schon zu der Zeit, als das Schriftzeichen des Wortes geschaffen wurde, also wenigstens seit der Ǧemdet-Naṣr-Zeit, im lebendigen Wortschatz nur noch für "Herrin" und "Schwester" benutzt wurde.
"Das älteste unmißverständliche Zeugnis, das von einer Gottheit überliefert wird, ist ihr Name", schreibt G. Radke[85]. Götternamen sind aus Mesopotamien reichlich bezeugt. Man schätzt die Zahl der in A. Deimels "Pantheon Babylonicum", 1914 aufgenommenen Namen auf 3'300, und das Werk ist längst nicht mehr auf dem neuesten Stand. Es sind schon fast 80, wenn man sich auf die des vorsargonischen Lagaš beschränkt. Sie zeigen für Lagaš dieselbe Mischung von Entlehnungen aus wahrscheinlich mehreren Substratsprachen, aus dem Adstrat oder Substrat des Akkadischen und Namen von sumerischer Bildung, wie man sie überall in Babylonien antrifft. Nicht nachweisbar sind im Süden hurritische Elemente, was entweder an der weiten Entfernung vom Kern des hurritischen Siedlungsraumes, oder an der noch mangelhaften Kenntnis besonders des Althurritischen liegen kann. Nicht nachweisbar sind elamische Götternamen, mit denen bei den engen kommerziellen und kriegerischen Beziehungen zwischen Mesopotamien und Elam gerechnet werden muß. Auch daran könnten die geringen Kenntnisse des Altelamischen schuld sein. Die Fara-zeitliche Götterliste aus Tell Abū Ṣalābīḫ enthält Namen elamischer Götter im sprachlichen Gewand des Sumerischen. Die sumerische Sprache ist inzwischen so gut erforscht, daß sich vor ihrem Hintergrund das nichtsumerische Namenmaterial deutlich genug abhebt. Dagegen gelingt es nicht, protosumerische Götter zu ermitteln, d.h. Götter, die die nach Mesopotamien einwandernden (Proto-)Sumerer aus ihrer Heimat mitgebracht hätten.
Rein äußerlich kann man zwischen einer Gruppe mit konsonantischem und einer mit vokalischem Auslaut unterscheiden; ob die beiden Gruppen auf verschiedene Substrate zurückzuführen sind, muß offen bleiben.
Zur ersten Gruppe gehören: ^{d}a š n a n, die Getreidegöttin, wenn für sie nicht die dialektale Nebenform ^{d}e z i n u einzusetzen ist, weiter ^{d}g a_2 - t u m_3 - d u g_3, die "Mutter von Lagaš",

[84] G. Widengren, Evolutionistsche Theorien auf dem Gebiet der vergleichenden Religionswissenschaft in: G. Lanczkowski (ed.): Selbstverständnis und Wesen der Religionswissenschaft, Darmstadt 1974, 110 mit Anm. 68.
[85] G. Radke, Zur Entwicklung der Gottesvorstellung und der Gottesverehrung in Rom, Darmstadt 1987, 3.

^{d}i š k u r, der Wettergott, der auch in Nimin verehrt wurde, ^{d}l a m a r, die Schutzgöttin, die Göttin ^{d}l i$_{9}$ - s i$_{4}$ - n, die in Lagaš wohl keinen Kult besaß, sondern nur mit einigen Monatsnamen übernommen wurde, ^{d}s a m a n$_{3}$, das "Wurfseil", ^{d}a š $_{10}$ - b a r und die bei Uruinimgina als Schutzgöttin Lugalzagesis von Umma bezeugte ^{d}n i d/s a b a - k.
Gegen diese Zuordnung könnte eingewendet werden, daß in jüngerer und jüngster Zeit W.G. Lambert[86] und G.J. Selz[87] den Versuch gemacht haben, den Namen der Göttin aus dem Sumerischen zu deuten. Lambert nahm den Ausgang des Namens auf - k als Hinweis auf eine genetivische Fügung und zerlegte ihn in n i n + d/s a b, "Herrin eines noch unbekannten d a b oder s a b". Noch einen Schritt weiter ist G.J. Selz gegangen, der unter Hinweis auf ihre Funktionen als Göttin des Getreides und der Schreibkunst den Namen als n i n + š e - b a + a k, "Herrin der Gerstenzuteilungen", erklärte. Gegen G.J. Selz lassen sich zwei, und gegen W.G. Lambert ein Argument anführen. Gegen die Etymologie von G.J. Selz spricht, daß er keine plausible Erklärung für die Nebenform n i d a b a k anführen kann. Gegen beide ist einzuwenden, daß, wenn ihre sumerischen Etymologien richtig wären, man dann eine andere Schreibung erwarten dürfte, nämlich nicht durch éin Wortzeichen, sondern durch eine mit n i n beginnnende Zeichenfolge. Als Beispiel einer Schreibung mit einem Wortzeichen ist nur MUŠ$_{3}$ für i n a n a geläufig, aber der Name Inana beruht wahrscheinlich auf der Volksetymologie eines älteren nichtsumerischen Namens.
Vokalisch lauten aus: ^{d}a - d a - n a (kultisch verehrt, aber nur einmal bezeugt (DP 223 X 3). Das auslautende -/a/ ist vielleicht die sumerisierende Partikel), ^{d}b a - U$_{2}$ oder ^{d}b a - w a$_{3}$ oder ^{d}b a - w u$_{x}$ zu lesen, ^{d}a s a r i oder ^{d}a s a r u (wenn ^{d}a s a r[88] zu lesen ist, gehörte er in die vorige Gruppe. Der Name ist eine Verkürzung des bekannteren ^{d}a s a r (i) - l u$_{2}$ - ḫ i, des Gottes der Beschwörungskunst und Vorgängers des Marduk). Ferner gehört hierher ^{d}a b - U$_{2}$, dessen Name, nur in topographischen und Personennamen belegt, ähnlich verschieden gelesen werden kann wie der der Göttin BaU. Weiter ^{d}n a n š e oder ^{d}/nazi/, die Herrin der Fische, vielleicht, wenn so zu lesen, ^{d}e z i n u, dann ^{d}z a - z a - r u$_{9}$, eine der Siebenlinge der BaU und der kleineren Kinder des Ningirsu. (Zarmu und Zurmu sind altsumerisch noch nicht bezeugt, die Namen der vier anderen Siebenlinge sicher sumerisch zu deuten.) Und schließlich ^{d}š a r a$_{2}$, der Hauptgott von Umma, dem Uruinimgina Gaben nach Nippur sendet. Es sind zusammen 14 Götter. Namen vom sogenannten Banana-Typ, wie ihn Zababa, der Kriegs- und Hauptgott der Stadt Kiš, trägt, sind aus dem Raum von Lagaš nicht belegt.
Demgegenüber sind nur drei sicher akkadische Namen nachweisbar. Es sind ^{d}s i - b i$_{2}$, die Siebenergottheit, ^{d}s u : e n, der Mondgott, und ^{d}/šerda/, der "Morgen", die Gemahlin des Sonnengottes. Bei $^{(d)}$z a - r a, dem "Polschuh", ist zwar das zugrundeliegende Wort aus dem Akkadischen entlehnt, deshalb muß nicht auch der Gott als solcher von den Akkadern übernommen sein. Die Deutung von ^{d}PA.KAL als ^{d}p a - d a n, der "Pfad" von J. Bottéro[89] ist abzulehnen.

86 W.G. Lambert, JAOS 103, 1983, 64-65.
87 G.J. Selz, FS Sjöberg, 1989, 491-497.
88 Der Agentiv lautet bei Gudea, Zyl. B IV 1 ^{d}asar-re.
89 J. Bottéro,Les divinités sémitiques anciennes en Mésopotamie in: Moscati, S. (ed.), Le antiche divinità semitiche, StSem 1, Roma 1958, 44.

Bei den sumerisch deutbaren Namen, die die Masse des überlieferten Materials ausmachen, kann man natürlich nur darüber spekulieren, wieviele Namen Volksetymologien, Übersetzungen oder durch den Vorsatz von n i n, e n oder l u g a l ins Sumerische gewendete vorsumerische Namen sind. S. Morenz[90] hält die Benennungen von Göttern nach einem Ort wie z.B. "der von (der Stadt) Nechen" für Tabunamen. Viele Namen gerade dieses Typs sind auch in Mesopotamien bezeugt, man denke nur an Ningirsu.
Die große Zahl der im Bereich des Kleinstaates Lagaš von altersher verehrten Götter und die Schar der Gottheiten, die im Laufe der Zeit von auswärts zuwanderten, stellte für die Theologen eine Herausforderung dar. Sie schufen Ordnung, indem sie die Gottheiten in differenzierte Beziehungen zueinander setzten. Als Interpretationsmodelle dienten einmal das Vorbild der menschlichen Familie, wobei durch ein Vater-Sohn- oder Mutter-Tochter-Verhältnis Über- bzw. Unterordnung, durch ein Ehegatten- oder Geschwister-Verhältnis ein gleichrangiges Nebeneinander ausgedrückt wurde. Zum anderen konnten kleinere Gottheiten auch nach dem Vorbild des königlichen oder stadtfürstlichen Hofstaates dem bedeutenderen Gott als Inhaber einzelner Hofämter untergeordnet werden. Diese Struktur des lagašitischen Pantheons ist nach dem Vorgang von Th. Pfaffraths[91] durch A. Falkenstein[92] unter Heranziehung aller verfügbaren Quellen, also auch der altsumerischen, eingehend nachgezeichnet worden. In jüngerer Zeit hat sich G.J. Selz in seiner Dissertation "Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des altsumerischen Staates 'Lagaš'" erneut mit dem Gegenstand beschäftigt. Doch da diese Arbeit noch nicht erschienen ist, kann man vorläufig nur auf seinen diesbezüglichen Aufsatz zurückgreifen[93].
Allgemein besteht Übereinstimmung darüber, daß die Unter- oder Nebenordnungen der Götter nicht willkürlich erfolgten, sondern sich in ihnen historische Gegebenheiten und Vorgänge zu erkennen geben. G.J. Selz unterscheidet zwei Kreise: Als sich die drei alten Zentren Girsu, Lagaš und Nimin, die offenbar eine Zeitlang als selbständige politische Gebilde bestanden hatten, zum Kleinstaat Lagaš zusammenschlossen, wurde es notwendig, die jeweiligen Hauptgötter der neuen Landesteile miteinander zu verbinden. Dieses Gefüge bildet einen inneren Kreis.
Für den äußeren Kreis stehen die Kultstätten auswärtiger Götter auf dem Territorium von Lagaš, die von den verschiedenen Kontakten zu Nachbarstaaten zeugen. Diese Berührungen haben teils schon vor, teils erst nach der Vereinigung zum Kleinstaat stattgefunden. G.J. Selz zieht vor allem drei Nachbarn in Betracht. Es gibt Beziehungen von Girsu zu Nippur, die erst spät wirksam wurden, weiter haben massive Einflüsse von Uruk besonders auf Lagaš in der Mitte des Staates eingewirkt, und schließlich bestehen alte Verbindungen des Südens zu Eridug. Damit sind die drei Kultzentren, die sicherlich am stärksten auf Lagaš eingewirkt haben, richtig bestimmt, doch lassen sich die Einflüsse von wenigstens 6 oder

[90] S. Morenz, Ägyptische Religion, Die Religionen der Menschheit 8, Stuttgart 1960, 23.

[91] Th. Paffraths, Zur Götterlehre in den altbabylonischen Königsinschriften. Mit einem ausführlichen Register der auf die altbabylonische Götterlehre bezüglichen Stellen, Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums 6/V-VI, Paderborn 1913.

[92] A. Falkenstein, Zum Pantheon des Stadtstaates von Lagaš und zur Kulttopographie, AnOr 30, 1966, 55-170.

[93] G.J. Selz, ASJ 12, 1990, 111-142.

7 weiteren Städten, nämlich Keš, Badtibira, Larsa, Kiabrig, Karkara, Enegir und vielleicht Kuar feststellen. Diese Einflüsse waren nicht nur von unterschiedlicher Stärke, sie schlugen sich auch auf verschiedene Weise nieder und entsprangen sicherlich ebenso vielfältigen Motiven.

Was G.J. Selz übersieht, oder bei der Kürze des Aufsatzes nicht darstellen konnte, ist, daß bereits jene drei der Vereinigung zum Kleinstaat vorausgehenden Einheiten in sich strukturierte Gebilde sind, in denen sich eine Vormacht größere und kleinere Siedlungen und Heiligtümer ihrer Umgebung untergeordnet hatte; denn das Zeitalter gleichrangiger dörflicher Gemeinschaften liegt auch im südlichen Mesopotamien lange zurück. Damit ist es mehr als wahrscheinlich, daß bereits das älteste Pantheon jedes der drei Zentren Gottheiten umliegender Siedlungen in sich aufgenommen hatte. Der Nachweis für diese Annahme ist freilich schwer zu erbringen, da die zur Verfügung stehenden Quellen nur selten Rückschlüsse auf jene weit entfernte Vergangenheit zulassen. Das Selzsche Zweierschema wäre damit um einen innersten Kreis zu einem Dreierschema zu erweitern.

3.2. Girsu

Girsu ist das Zentrum der Nordwest-Region und, seitdem die Stadtfürsten ihre Residenz hierher verlegt haben, auch die Hauptstadt des gesamten Staates. Der Hauptgott dieses Landesteiles wie des ganzen Staates ist Ningirsu, der "Herr von Girsu". In den altsumerischen Quellen treten die kriegerischen Züge der Gottheit stark in den Vordergrund, und es ist nicht auszumachen, ob er wie Ninurta, der Sohn Enlils, mit dem er gleichgesetzt wurde, auch ein Gott des Ackerbaus gewesen ist. Aus einigen Metaphern hatte bereits A. Falkenstein[94] auf die Möglichkeit geschlossen, daß Ningirsu ein regionaler Sonnengott gewesen sein könnte. Ein e_2-bar$_6$-bar$_6$, ein "weißes Haus", einen Tempel mit demselben Namen wie der des Utu von Larsa, besaß Ningirsu schon in vorsargonischer Zeit irgendwo im Westen oder Nordwesten von Girsu. Die These von G.J. Selz[95], Ningirsu habe auch die Züge eines Vegetationsgottes getragen, nur weil von ihm wie von Lugal-URU×GAN$_2$/*tenû*, einer tatsächlich mit Amaušumgalana gleichgesetzten Gestalt, erwähnt wird, daß er ein Bad genommen habe, halte ich für abwegig.

Nur nebenbei sei erwähnt, daß die Götterliste von Tell Abū Ṣalābīḫ neben Ningirsu auch einen ^{d}gir$_2$-su aufführt[96], den wir aus den einheimischen Quellen gar nicht kennen.

Ningirsus bedeutendster Tempel war das e_2-ninnu, das "Haus Ninnu", in Girsu. Ich sehe in Ninnu einen vorsumerischen Tempelnamen, hervorgegegangen aus einer topographischen Benennung. Ein Zusammenhang mit ninnu "fünfzig" besteht nur insoweit, als die alten Schreiber in der Ziffer 50 ein handliches Zeichen sahen, den ihnen nicht mehr verständlichen Namen schriftlich darzustellen. e_2 ist, wie bei vielen Tempelnamen, ein bedeutungs-

[94] A. Falkenstein, AnOr 30, 1966, 94.
[95] G.J. Selz, ASJ 12, 1990, 117.
[96] P. Mander, Il Pantheon di Abu-Sālabīkh. Contributo allo studio del pantheon sumerico arcaico, 1986, 29:298.

hinweisender Zusatz. Außer dem Eninnu besaß Ningirsu noch einige Heiligtümer im Umkreis von Girsu, von denen das Aḫuš, das Tiras und das Antasura die wichtigsten waren.
Als seine Gemahlin galt BaU, eine Göttin, die sowohl in den altsumerischen wie in den späteren Zeugnissen blaß bleibt. Ihr einziges Epitheton ist in alter Zeit m u n u s - s a_6 - g a, die "gute", die "wohlwollende Frau"; sie ist die Göttin der "Heiligen Stadt" und ihr wichtigster Tempel, das e_2 - t a r - s i r_2 - s i r_2 - r a, lag dort. Es gibt keinen Grund BaU als girsuitische Erscheinungsform der Gatumdug anzusehen und die "Heilige Stadt" mit dem Tarsirsira in Lagaš anzusiedeln, wie A. Falkenstein[97] dies getan hat. Es ist gut möglich, daß das früh-dynastische Girsu bereits aus einem synoikismos der beiden Teile Girsu mit dem Mittelpunkt Eninnu und der "Heiligen Stadt" um das Tarsirsira hervorgegangen ist.
Als Kinder sind dem Götterpaar die Götter Šulšagana, "der Jüngling nach seinem (gemeint ist Ningirsus) Herzen" und Igalima, "die Tür des Wisentstieres" zugeordnet. Ihr Kult scheint auf Girsu beschränkt. Ihre Tempel waren das k i - t u š - a k k i l - l i_2, "der Wohnsitz der Klageschreie", und das e_2 - m e - ḫ u š - g a l - a n - k i, "der Tempel(, der) die gefürchteten göttlichen Kräfte von Himmel und Erde (besitzt)". Über eine auswärtige Herkunft der beiden Götter ist nichts bekannt. Von der Göttergruppe, die bei Gudea "die Siebenlinge der BaU und die kleineren Kinder Ningirsus" genannt werden, kommen in altsumerischer Zeit nur drei zu einer Gruppe vereint vor, Nipae, "die selbst strahlend erscheint" oder "die sich selbst leuchtend offenbart", Urnuntaea, "die aus fürstlichem Schoße hervorgegangen ist" und Zazaru. Diesen dreien baute Uruinimgina "Häuser", gemeint sind Kapellen, innerhalb des "Tempels der wohlwollenden Schutzgöttin". Es ist sehr fraglich, ob die Siebenergruppe Gudeas in vorsargonischer Zeit schon bestand, denn noch spielte die später diesen Siebenlingen zugerechnete Gangir(nun)a, die "Dienerin des 'Hohen Weges' (einer Prozessionsstraße in Girsu)" eine selbständige Rolle. Sie allein trägt in altsumerischer Zeit den Beinamen "l u k u r-Priesterin Ningirsus". Nach ihrem Epitheton, und auf die Urkunden der vorsargonischen Zeit gestützt, würde man sie eher dem Hofstaat Ningirsus als seinen Kindern zurechnen. Sie besaß nach Ukg. 6 eine eigene Kultstätte in Girsu und erhielt dort ihre regelmäßige Versorgung.
Aus vorsargonischer Zeit sind uns nur noch zwei weitere Mitglieder des Ningirsu-Gefolges bekannt, nämlich ^{d}n i n - m u_2 und ^{d}k i n d a_2 - z i. Die Lesung von ^{d}n i n - m u_2 basiert auf der Schreibung ^{d}NIG$_2$- m u_2 in einer Fara-zeitlichen Urkunde aus Girsu (RTC 8 II 6), die nach dem Vorbild von gleichzeitigem ^{d}n i g_2 - g i r_2 - s u offenbar als ^{d}n i m_5 - m u_2 zu umschreiben ist, und damit die Lesung - m u_2 bestätigt. Ninmu wird g i r_2 - l a_2, wörtlich "Dolchträger", das bedeutet "Schlachter/Metzger des Ningirsu" genannt, da man ein solch blutiges Handwerk eher einem Mann zutraut. Aber nach dem zuletzt von P. Attinger bearbeiteten Mythos "Enki und Ninḫursaga" ist Ninmu die dem Götterpaar zuerst geborene Tochter und als "Herrin(, die) wachsen läßt" eine Göttin der Vegetation. Konsequenterweise spricht G.J. Selz von einer "butcher-woman"[98].

[97] A. Falkenstein, AnOr 30, 1966, 64-65, 72.
[98] G.J. Selz, ASJ 12, 1990, 114.

Zu Ningirsus Hofstaat gehört auch noch ein Gott mit dem sprechenden Namen Kindazid, der "rechte Barbier". Damit ist der heimische Götterkreis von Girsu abgehandelt, denn den aufgeblähten göttlichen Verwaltungsapparat, den die Gudea-Zeit Ningirsu zuspricht, kennen wir aus vorsargonischer Periode nicht, sei es, daß die darin versammelten Gestalten noch ihr Eigenleben führten, sei es, daß unsere Quellen nicht ausführlich genug sind.
Die Vereinigung der ehemals selbständigen drei Landesteile scheint dadurch gefestigt worden zu sein, daß man der Hauptgottheit eines Teils ein eigenes Heiligtum in den beiden anderen Zentren baute. Bei genauerer Betrachtung stellt sich allerdings heraus, daß die Bindung Girsus zur Mitte – also zu Lagaš (al-Hibā) – nur dünn geknüpft war. Ningirsu hatte in Lagaš ein bedeutendes Heiligtum, das Bagara vorsumerischen Namens. Die Vertretung der BaU – man wird an die Einrichtung von Botschaften zwischen Staaten, die sich gegenseitig anerkannt haben, erinnert – in Lagaš war das e$_2$-d a m, "das Haus der Gemahlin", das eine gesonderte Anlage oder ein Teil des genannten Ningirsu-Tempelkomplexes gewesen sein kann. (Man vgl. das weiter unten erwähnte e$_2$-d a m von s u r$_3$-g a l^{ki}; S. 509) Wenn BaU nicht mit Gatumdug identisch war, besaß die große Göttin von Lagaš keine Niederlassung in Girsu. Sie erhielt dort auch keine Opfer; jedenfalls nicht aus dem Teil der Opfer, der aus den Einkünften des BaU-Tempels aufgebracht werden mußte.
Stärker sind die Bindungen Girsus an Nimin. Nanše galt als Schwester Ningirsus, ob als ältere oder als jüngere, erfährt man nicht. Ihr göttlicher Bruder hatte in Nimin einen Tempel mit dem Namen n i n - n e$_2$ - g a r - r a, "der von der Schwester gesetzte", dem entspricht ein s e s - e - g a r - r a, "das vom Bruder gesetzte" als Heiligtum der Nanše in Girsu. Eine zweite Kultstätte der Nanše befand sich in dem nahe Girsu gelegenen Kisala, dem "Ort von Sal?". Wenn der Gott Šulutul, der "junge Mann, der Hirte", in Nimin über zwei Kultstätten verfügte – man unterscheidet zwischen e$_2$-m a ḫ und e s$_3$ – dagegen nur eine in Girsu, könnte man daraus schließen, das dieser Gott im Süden des Landes beheimatet war und in die Residenzstadt verpflanzt wurde, als Urnanše König wurde. Urnanše, der Dynastiegründer, stammte allem Anschein nach aus dem Süden, und es wäre verständlich, wenn er die Nähe seines Familiengottes auch in Girsu nicht missen wollte.
Die Götter Ḫendursaga und MesanDU besaßen Kultstätten in Girsu und Nimin. Da Ḫendursaga als Herold eng mit dem Nanše Kreis verbunden ist, wird er mit der Göttin aus Nimin zugewandert sein. Zur Herkunft MesanDUs läßt sich vorläufig nichts sagen. Der Gott scheint der neusumerischen Zeit nicht mehr bekannt gewesen zu sein.

3.3. Lagaš

Über Lagaš sind wir nur schlecht unterrichtet, denn bei den amerikanischen Grabungen in al-Hibā sind bisher kaum mehr als ein halbes Dutzend Wirtschaftsurkunden der vorsargonischen Zeit gefunden worden. Die Texte aus Girsu gewähren nur wenig Einblick in das Leben dieser Stadt. Es war üblich, daß die Frau des Stadtfürsten an den großen Festen der Nanše Girsu verließ und zu einer Reise aufbrach, die sie über Lagaš nach Nimin führte. Wie Gudea, der, um sich seinen Traum deuten zu lassen, ein Schiff bestieg und auf dem

Weg zum Sirara der Nanše in Lagaš anlegen ließ, um vor Gatumdug Opfer darzubringen und zu beten, brachte die Frau des Herrschers, die allem Anschein nach den Landweg benutzte, bei ihrem Aufenthalt in Lagaš den wichtigsten Gottheiten der alten Hauptstadt ihre Gaben dar. Zu diesen Gottheiten zählen nicht jene kleineren Gestalten, die den innersten Kreis der einheimischen Götter bilden und durch ihre Beziehungen untereinander und zur Hauptgottheit der Zentrale Einblick in die Binnenstruktur dieses mittleren Landesteiles ermöglichten. Bezeugt sind Opfer an Gatumdug, die schon damals den Beinamen "Mutter von Lagaš" trug, an Ningirsu vom Bagara, Inana vom Ibgal, Nanše vom Šagepada, Enki vom Tardagal und in zwei weiteren Stätten, die Absue(ga), das "Absu des Kanals", und ki-^{su_3}sug$_x$(PA.SIKIL), "Ort der (Getreide-)Halme", genannt werden. Der Rundgang endet beim ki-a-nag der Stadt, der Libationsstätte für die Toten. Außer den ursprünglich fremden Göttern, Inana und Enki, über die noch zu reden sein wird, sind in Lagaš Ningirsu als Herr des nördlichen und Nanše als Hauptgöttin des südlichen Landesteiles vertreten. Das Geschwisterpaar hat eine deutlich hervorgehobene Stellung. Die Wendung e-ki-sur-ra ^{d}nin-gir$_2$-su-ka e-ki-sur-ra ^{d}nanše, "Grenzgraben des Ningirsu, Grenzgraben der Nanše", kommt viermal in der großen Inschrift des Enmetena vor (Ent. 28/29). Und auf ein inim-si-sa$_2$ ^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$-ta, "das gerechte Wort Enlils", folgt in ihr ein inim-si-sa$_2$ ^{d}nin-gir$_2$-su-ka-ta, inim-si-sa$_2$ ^{d}nanše-ta und später ein še-^{d}nanše še-^{d}nin-gir$_2$-su-ka, "das Getreide der Nanše, das Getreide des Ningirsu", und noch Gudea, Stat. B VII 38-41 sagt von sich, daß "er das Recht der Nanše (und) das Recht des Ningirsu gepflegt habe". An diesen Wendungen ist ablesbar, daß der Staat Lagaš in seiner Gesamtheit durch die Nennung des Götterpaares umschrieben wird. Dies entspricht einmal der aspektivischen Seh- und Aussageweise einer frühen Geistigkeit und trägt gleichzeitig den realen Größenverhältnissen und der Bedeutung der Städte im Staate Lagaš Rechnung. Denn hinter Girsu und Nimin ist Lagaš-Stadt damals auf den dritten Platz zurückgefallen. Eine Lohnliste (DP 159) verbucht die Ausgaben an die Beteiligten an einer großen, die einzelnen Kommunen übergreifenden Kultfeier. Aus allen Teilen des Landes kamen Kultsänger zusammen, und man darf annehmen, daß jede Stadt und jedes Heiligtum ihrer Größe entsprechend Personal dazu bereitstellte. Aus Girsu nahmen insgesamt 63 Sänger teil, aus Nimin 42 und aus Lagaš nur 20. Girsu könnte damals also dreimal und Nimin doppelt so groß wie Lagaš gewesen sein.

3.4. Nimin

Für Nimin liegen wieder erheblich mehr Angaben vor, die erlauben, etwas über das innere Gefüge dieses südlichen Landesteils zu sagen. Unmittelbar an dem "nach Nimin führenden Kanal" lag der Tempel mit dem Namen Sirara. Geschrieben wird dieser, den sumerischen Schreibern unverständliche Name, mit einer Zeichenfolge die in altsumerischer Zeit UD.MA$_2$.NINA(.KI).TAG lautet und sich als "Wenn ein Schiff Nimin berührt" verstehen läßt. Die Herrin dieses Heiligtums und die mächtigste Gottheit des Südens war Nanše (oder Nazi). Wenig ergiebig für ihren Charakter sind die Epitheta nin-uru$_{16}$-n, "gewaltige

Herrin" oder nach M. Civil[99] "Herrin der Meeresstille", und n i n - k u r - s i k i l, was nach H. Steible[100] "Herrin(, die) einen 'Reinen Berg' (hat) (?)" bedeutet. Die Wiedergabe erscheint sinnvoll, wenn man sich daran erinnert, daß ihr Tempel als "Berg, der sich aus dem Wasser" oder "aus den Häusern erhebt" beschrieben wird. Bei der Übersetzung von H. Steible fragt man sich nur, warum das "Haben", das er zum Verständnis hinzufügen muß, nicht schlicht durch ein Genetivverhältnis ausgedrückt ist. Doch das Epitheton ist, wie der Agentiv beweist, keine Genetivfügung. Daher fügt sich ein "Herrin(, die) den Berg läutert" oder "die Herrin ist ein reiner Berg" besser der Konstruktion. Der genaue Inhalt derartiger Aussagen entgeht mir allerdings.

Das Leben in diesem südlichen Landesteil scheint besonders in alter Zeit ganz auf Seen, Sümpfe und Meer ausgerichtet. Der Fisch ist nicht nur Hauptnahrung, sondern steht auch im Mittelpunkt der religiösen Symbolik. Das Ideogramm für Nimin ist AB×ḪA, das ist das Zeichen für "Heiligtum", in das ein "Fisch" eingeschrieben ist. Dasselbe Zeichen, versehen mit dem Götterdeterminativ, steht für den Namen der Hauptgöttin. Es gab in Nimin eine i b - k u_6 - k u_2 genannte Opferstätte, ein "Ib-Gebäude", (in dem man) Fisch verzehrt". Und das ursprüngliche Wesen der Göttin Nanše, das legen Götterlieder wie VS 10, 199 III 42-IV 23 nahe, war das einer Herrin der Fische. In ihr haben sich Züge der ältesten noch greifbaren Gottesvorstellung erhalten, die einer Tiereignerin oder Herrin der Tiere.

Als Gemahl der Nanše galt Nindara, der, auch in Nimin verehrt, aus einem kleinen Ort der Umgebung k i - e s_3^{ki} (a), "Ort des Heiligtums", stammte und dort seinen eigenen Tempel hatte. Er führt den Namen e_2 - s u k u d - DU, etwa "Haus der Tiefe" o.ä., wird aber immer wieder falsch als e_2 - l a l_3 - DU gelesen. Altsumerisch ist der Name noch nicht belegt.

Als Tochter wird dem Ehepaar Ninmara zugeordnet. Sie ist die Göttin einer kleineren, Nimin untergeordneten Stadt namens Guaba. Ninmara ist verheiratet mit einem Lugalmušbar genannten Gott, dessen Name vielleicht der "Herr (mit) dem fremden Antlitz" bedeutet. Der Ort, an dem er ursprünglich verehrt wurde, ist noch unbekannt. Das Paar hatte eine gemeinsame Verehrungsstätte in Nimin; ob es sich dabei um einen eigenen Tempel oder nur um einen Teil des Sirara handelte, ist ebenfalls noch unklar. Auch der Kult des Gottes Lugal-URU×GAN_2/*tenû* war nach Nimin verpflanzt worden. Das kleine Städtchen, in dem er zuhause war, lag zwischen Nimin und Lagaš. Ob ihn mit Nanše verwandtschaftliche Beziehungen verbanden, ist bislang unbekannt.

Im Bereich zwischen Nimin und Lagaš ist auch ein Ort mit dem Namen k i - n u - n i r^{ki}, "Ort: die Ziqqurat", zu suchen. Der Kult seiner Göttin Dumuzidabsu, "des rechten Kindes des Absu", war ebenfalls nach Nimin hereingeholt worden. Während bei Ḫendursaga, dem "Stab des Ersten", dem Herold der Nanše, wie er in der späteren Überlieferung genannt wird, nicht auszumachen ist, ob und woher er zugewandert ist. Mit Blick auf seine spätere Zuordnung zu Nanše, wird man seinen altsumerisch belegten Titel "Oberherold des Absu" (En. I 29 I 1-2) nicht als zwingenden Beweis seiner Herkunft aus Eridug ansehen dürfen. Auch das absu im Namen der Dumuzidabsu scheint nicht auf Eridug zu verweisen.

[99] M. Civil, FS Sjöberg, 1989, 55.
[100] H. Steible, FAOS 5/I, 1982, 174 Ean. 62 IV, II 1'.

Zum inneren Götterkreis von Nimin gehören Ašnan, Esirnun, Gantura, Ninura und Šulutul mit seinen zwei Kultstätten im "Heiligtum" (e s_3) und im "Höchsten Haus" (e_2 - m a ḫ). MesanDU, der auch in Girsu verehrt wurde, könnte von Girsu nach Nimin gewandert sein. Über die ursprünglichen Kultorte, wie die Art der Zuordnung dieser Götter zu Nanše sagen die Quellen nichts aus. In den Opferlisten werden sie und die ihnen dargebrachten Gaben einzeln aufgeführt. So heben sie sich von einer Anzahl noch kleinerer Gabenempfänger ab, die nicht einmal in allen Nimin betreffenden Listen vorkommen, und, wenn sie erscheinen, buchungstechnisch zu einer Gruppe von 19 oder 20 zusammengefaßt werden. In dieser Gruppe sind Kultsymbole, Musikinstrumente im Dienste der Götter, die Statue Urnanšes und weniger bedeutende Gottheiten vereinigt. Götter sind: ᵈa m a - n u - m u - d i b, "die Mutter geht nicht vorbei" oder vielleicht besser "der, der an der Mutter nicht vorbei geht", ᵈd u m u - z i g u_2 - e n, "rechtes Kind der Ratsversammlung" – es ist nicht klar, ob es sich wie bei Dumuzidabsu um eine Göttin handelt, oder ob sie/er mit dem Hirtengott in Verbindung zu bringen ist –, Nintur, differenziert durch die Zusätze z a g - g a, "der Seite" oder "des Heiligtums", und a m a - u r u - d a - m u_2 - a, die "Mutter, die mit der Stadt zusammengewachsen ist", ferner Ninšubura, ᵈPA-IGI.DU, ein Esirnun vom Heiligtum, der also an zwei Stellen verehrt wurde, ᵈi š k u r, ᵈPA.KAL und ᵈa s a r (i/u).

Vor dem Hintergrund der erwähnten Numina hebt sich die Schicht der nach der Vereinigung des Staates Lagaš in Nimin ansässig gewordenen Götter ab. Die Mutter von Lagaš, Gatumdug, war eingeführt worden, und es ist nicht auszuschließen, daß auch die Kulte der Inana und der Ninšubura, ihrer Botin (nach den Quellen der späteren Zeit), nicht auf direkte Einflüsse von Uruk zurückgehen, sondern auf dem Umweg über Lagaš nach Nimin gelangten.

Vom Zusammengehen mit Girsu zeugt die schon erwähnte Verehrung Ningirsus im Ninegara. Auch in dem kleinen bei Nimin gelegenen Ort Surgal, "großes Wadi", gab es ein e_2 - d a m (Fö 93), doch ist nicht zu beweisen, daß es wie das e_2 - d a m von Lagaš eine Kultstätte der BaU war.

Zwei Texte aus dem Archiv des BaU-Tempels in Girsu (DP 55 und 60) bezeugen, daß die Frau des Herrschers wenigstens zu einem Festtermin in Guaba weilte. Aus den knappen Angaben dieser Listen, deren einzige Aufgabe es war, eine Ausgabenübersicht zu ermöglichen, ist nichts über die Verwandschaft der Götter untereinander zu erfahren. Die beiden Listen unterscheiden sich dadurch, daß die eine die Gaben an die bedeutenden Götter enthält, und die andere zusätzlich noch eine Gruppe von 11 zusammengefaßten Empfängern aufführt. Das auffälligste Ergebnis beim Vergleich der Listen ist, daß Lugalmušbar weder nach der kurzen noch nach der ausführlicheren Liste mit Gaben bedacht wird, obwohl er doch nach dem gemeinsamen Kult in Nimin als Gemahl der Ninmara angesehen werden muß. Zu den in Guaba ansässigen Gottheiten scheint der oder die Igiamaše, "Vor die Mutter", gehört zu haben. Nach dem Namen vielleicht ein Kind der Ninmara. Als einheimische Gestalten geringerer Bedeutung kommen aus der längeren Liste noch ein Lugalpaea und eine Erscheinungsform der Nintur hinzu.

Deutlich präsent sind die Gottheiten des übergeordneten Nimin. Nanše verfügt über ein eigenes Heiligtum namens i g i - g a l_2, vielleicht "das (, auf das man) blickt", ihr Gemahl

Nindara und ihr Herold Ḫendursaga werden bedacht. Der fernen Hauptstadt erweist man durch einen Kult des Ningirsu seine Reverenz.
Verweilen wir noch in Guaba und beginnen mit der Erwähnung der Gottheiten, die von Kultzentren außerhalb der Grenzen des lagašitischen Kleinstaates stammen.

3.5. Auswärtige Einflüsse

Im südlichen Teil des Landes ist der Kult des Enki weitverbreitet. In Guaba besitzt er zwei Kultstätten im Pasir, dem "weiten Graben?", und im Ki(giš)gigid, dem "Ort des langen Röhrichts". Nur einmal belegt ist der Kult einer Inana von $MUŠ_3^{ki}$ (DP 55 VI 2). Über die Lage des Ortes läßt sich nichts sagen.
Die wichtigste Gottheit Nimins nach Nanše ist ebenfalls Enki mit dem Zusatz g i - g u_3 - n a, "vom Hochtempel". Er gilt als Vater der Göttin und wird in den Opferlisten noch vor dem Paar Ninmara und Lugalmušbar und vor ihrem Gemahl Nindara aufgeführt.
Weitere Einflüsse aus dem Südwesten Mesopotamiens werden in der Verehrung des Gottes Asar(i/u) greifbar, der sicher zu ^{d}a s a r - l u_2 - ḫ i zu stellen ist. Dieser Gott der Beschwörungen, ein Sohn Enkis und Vorläufer Marduks, stammt aus dem Ort Kuar, der in der unmittelbaren Nähe Eridugs vermutet wird. Die Frage, ob die Einflüsse von Kuar ausgingen, oder Nimin seine Bekanntschaft über Eridug machte, ist vielleicht zugunsten direkter Verbindungen zu Kuar zu entscheiden, da im Personennamenmaterial solche, die den Ortsnamen enthalten, belegt sind: a m a r - k u_6 - a^{ki}, "Kalb von Kuar", und k u_6 - a - k i - d u g_3, "Kuar ist ein schöner Ort". Ein sicherer Nachweis ist auf diese Weise natürlich nicht zu erbringen. Auch der Gott Ninduba, der "Herr der (Ton-)Tafeln", der "Höchste i š i b-Priester von Eridug" (Gudea, Zyl. B IV 4) kam aus dem Götterkreis um Enki nach Nimin.
Die Gestalt des Lugal-URU×GAN_2/*tenû* wurde fremdem Ideengut angeglichen. Dieser Gott, der in der näheren Umgebung Nimins beheimatet war, wird, in Herrscherinschriften als Amaušumgalana angesprochen (En. I 26; Ent. 26), über diese Identifikation auch zum d a m k i - a g_2(a), zum "geliebten Gemahl", der Inana (Ean. 1 Rs. VI 7-9). Weist die Beziehung zu Inana auf eine Verbindung mit der Mythologie Uruks, so führt der Name Amaušumgalana in die Region um Eridug. Der erste Namensbestandteil wird zwar mit einem Zeichen geschrieben, das sonst für "Mutter" verwendet wird, doch der üblichen Wiedergabe des Namens als "die Mutter (ist) der große Himmelsdrache" ist die als "der Herr (ist) der große Himmelsdrache" vorzuziehen. Ich sehe in a m a eine dialektale Nebenform zu /umun/ im Emesal und dem rekonstruierten /emen/ des Emegir. Das auslautende /n/ ist entweder graphisch nicht realisiert, oder ausgefallen. Versucht man den geographischen Raum dieses Dialektwortes zu bestimmen, ist auf /amanki-k/ als Nebenform für den Namen des Enki zu verweisen. Amanki ist meines Erachtens die originale Lautung des Namens in Eridug, während das geläufige Enki die Emegir- oder hochsprachliche Version ist. /Amaušumgalana/ kam demnach aus dem Südwesten Sumers.
Beziehungen zu Uruk spiegeln sich vielleicht in der Verehrung des Gottes Nab, des Erstgeborenen des An, sofern nicht wieder durch ihn eine direkte Verbindung zu seiner noch unbekannten Herkunftsstadt greifbar wird. Der Kult der Inana weist entweder direkt auf Uruk

oder auf Lagaš als Zwischenstation hin. Dasselbe Problem wie beim Gott Nab stellt sich bei der Anwesenheit der Ninšubura in Nimin. Die Tempelhymnen der Enḫeduana, der Tochter Sargons von Akkad, verbinden sie mit einem Ort namens e_2/a - a k k i l[ki] (TCS 3, 30:228-229) und es ist nicht zu entscheiden, ob sie unmittelbar von dort übernommen wurde, oder bereits als Botin Inanas mit ihr nach Nimin kam.
Der Götterhimmel der Nanše-Stadt scheint farbiger als selbst der von Girsu gewesen zu sein. Auswärtige Götter, die in ihm aufgenommen wurden, waren auch Iškur, der Wettergott und nach späterer Überlieferung der Zwillingsbruder Enkis, aus Karkara, und der Heil- und Unterweltsgott Ninasu aus Enegir. Die Frau des Stadtfürsten bringt bei ihrem Aufenthalt in Nimin auch im Eadda Gaben dar (DP 43). Diesen Tempel des Enlil hatte erst Enmetena gegründet und ihn mit Feldern im Bereich der Nanše und auf dem Guedena ausgestattet (Ent. 1). Der Tempel lag demnach in der Nähe von Nimin. Er steht für die späteteste Entwicklung, die Ausrichtung des Gesamtstaates Lagaš auf die Theologie Nippurs.
Lagaš-Stadt war in Phasen seiner älteren Geschichte den Einflüssen Uruks ausgesetzt. Die alte Göttin Gatumdug galt jedenfalls nach späterer Überlieferung als Tochter Ans. Am greifbarsten wird der Einfluß jedoch in der Gestalt der Inana, die in Lagaš einen bedeutenden Tempel mit dem Namen e_2 - a n - n a, "Haus des Himmels", hatte, den auch ihr Heiligtum in Uruk trug. Er wird als i b oder genauer als i b - g a l bezeichnet, und da die Grabungen in al-Hibā einen ovalen Tempelkomplex freilegten und als Eana identifizierten, bedeutet i b - g a l möglicherweise "Tempeloval". Unerklärlich bleibt, daß allen Verbindungen zu Uruk zum Trotz ein alter Kult des Himmelsgottes weder in Lagaš-Stadt noch im Staat nachweisbar ist. Erst durch Urkunden der Akkad-Zeit sind Opfer an An bekannt. Eine Kultstätte des Enki, des Gottes von Eridug, lag in oder bei Lagaš.
Wie A. Falkenstein nachgewiesen hat, geht durch die Überlieferung um Ningirsu ein Riß, der von einer relativ späten Veränderung der Genealogie Ningirsus herrührt und nie übertüncht werden konnte. Der Bruder der Nanše muß früher als Sohn des Enki gegolten haben, zur Zeit der Herrscher der I. Dynastie von Lagaš jedoch war er der Sohn des Ehepaares Enlil und Ninḫursaga, obwohl dies in altsumerischer Zeit nirgends deutlich ausgesprochen wird. Denn er wird nicht "Sohn des Enlil" genannt, sondern sein gängiger Beiname ist u r - s a g ^{d}e n - l i l_2 - l a_2 "Held Enlils". Aus dieser Hinwendung zur Theologie Nippurs, die zuerst zweifelsfrei bei Eanatum nachgewiesen werden kann, zog Enmetena dann die Konsequenz durch den Bau eines Enlil-Tempels in der Nähe von Nimin. Die Lösung der Enki-Sohnesschaft scheint nicht schwer gewesen zu sein, war sie doch nur ein Theologumenon. Auch die Stellung Enkis im Raum Girsu war eher schwach; es fehlte ihr ein wirklich bedeutendes Heiligtum als Rückhalt.
Es hat den Anschein, daß die späte Ausrichtung auf Enlil von Nippur eine ältere Enlil-Beziehung überformte. Wenn bis in die Zeit Gudeas Enlil und Ninḫursaga als Paar galten, so entstammt diese Vorstellung nicht dem System von Nippur, sondern rührt aus der Theologie von Adab und Keš. Das Paar Enlil und Ninlil ist auch in Girsu bekannt, jedoch nur im Mythos, s. Ukg. 15. Daß Ninhursaga in Keš beheimatet war, war den Herrschern von Lagaš gegenwärtig. Als Eanatum, um die Götter vom Schwure des Stadtfürsten von Umma in Kenntnis zu setzen, Tauben aufsteigen läßt, sollen die Tauben, die Enlil informieren, sich

nach Nippur (?) auf den Weg machen. Sicher ist dies allerdings nicht, der Name der Stadt und der wahrscheinlich auf ihn folgende Name seines Heiligtums sind zerstört. Die Tauben für Ninḫursaga werden nach Keš entsandt. Das Hauptheiligtum der Ninḫursaga befand sich bei der "Heiligen Stadt" am sogenannten Bilgames-Ufer; es heißt š e - d a (oder š e - d). Die Göttin Lisin, die in späterer Überlieferung als Tochter Ninḫursagas erscheint, ist in Girsu bekannt. Sie hatte keinen Kult, sondern der Name ihres Festes, enthalten in einem Monatsnamen, war mit anderen Monatsnamen eines fremden Kalenders von Keš(?) übernommen worden. Den Namen der Göttin Lisin findet man noch in einem Personennamen dieser Zeit: u r - ^{d}l i$_{9}$ - s i$_{4}$. Der Ninḫursaga-Sohn Ašgi ist bisher nur einmal in einem Personennamen bezeugt. Ein ma š - a š$_{8}$ - g i$_{4}$ kommt in einer Wirtschaftsurkunde vor, die zwar in Tello ausgegraben, sicher aber nicht dort geschrieben wurde (NFT 180 MIO o.Nr.)[101], dafür gibt es in Girsu Personenkurznamen, die den Ortsnamen Keš enthalten: k e š$_{3}$^{ki}- t a, "aus Keš", und l u g a l - k e š$_{3}$^{ki}, der nach dem Vorbild vieler Ur III-zeitlicher mit l u g a l beginnender Namen wohl als "der König (ist nach) Keš (gegangen)" zu deuten ist. Die Verbindungen zu Keš sind, wenn man alle Hinweise berücksichtigt, deutlich.

Urukäische Einflüsse haben sich vor allem in der "Heiligen Stadt" niedergeschlagen. BaU galt als Tochter Ans, überliefert ist dies wieder nur aus späterer Zeit. Nicht zu entscheiden ist, ob damit BaU die Göttin Ninšubura als Botin beigegeben wurde wie Inana, einer anderen Tochter des Himmelsgottes, oder ob Ninšubura direkt aus ihrem Hauptkultort Eakkil her Eingang fand. Bei der "Heiligen Stadt" lag ein Kultplatz namens "Ufer des Bilgames". Hier erhielten Bilgames, Ninḫursaga vom š e - d (a) und ein gewisser Mekulabta ihre Opfergaben. Seiner Struktur nach ist "die göttlichen Kräfte (stammen) aus Kulab" am ehesten ein Personenname, aber es ist nicht zu ermitteln, wer es war. Auch ein Hügel in Girsu ist nach ihm benannt. Bilgames und Lugalbanda, die beiden vergöttlichten Könige von Uruk, sind theophores Element in je einem mit ur beginnenden Personennamen. Schliesslich lag in der "Heiligen Stadt" noch ein "Uruk-Haus".

Badtibira (der heutige Hügel al-Madāʾin) zählte längere Zeit zum Staate Lagaš. Diese Suprematie versuchte man zu festigen, indem man Lugalemuša, den Hauptgott der Stadt, in Girsu eine Verehrungsstätte einrichtete (z.B. Fö 119). In oder bei der "Heiligen Stadt" gab es dazu noch ein i b - b a d$_{3}$ - d i b$_{2}$ - r a.

Wie in Nimin verehrte man auch in der "Heiligen Stadt" den Unterweltsgott Ninasu, den "Herrn Arzt". Zusätzlich schickte man noch Opfergaben für ihn und seinen n u - s a g -Priester, gelegentlich auch für Ereškigala und die e r e š - d i n g i r -Priesterin der Göttin von Girsu nach Enegir, oder k i - e n - g i$_{4}$ $^{(ki)}$, wie es in Lagaš hieß (DP 46; 51; 203; VS 25, 72).

Auch die Götter Ningublaga und Utu wurden auf dem Staatsgebiet von Lagaš verehrt. Ningublaga galt in altbabylonischer Zeit als Sohn des Mondgottes Nanna/Suen und war damit in das Pantheon der Stadt Ur eingegliedert. Er stammte jedoch ursprüglich aus der kleinen Stadt Kiabrig in der Nähe Urs. Da Suen oder Nanna keine Kultstätte in Lagaš besaßen, dürfte der Gott Ningublaga von Kiabrig her nach Lagaš gekommen sein. Er hatte

[101] J. Bauer, FS Hirsch, 1996, 43-44.

ein Heiligtum außerhalb der großen Zentren (Fö 159 III 3), das uns nicht namentlich bekannt ist. Ein theophorer Personenname ist überliefert: ur-^{d}nin-gubalag (Ukg. 31).
Von Ur ausgehende stärkere religiöse Impulse scheinen Lagaš nicht erreicht zu haben. Nanna kommt als Element nicht in der heimischen Anthroponymie vor. Auch der Anteil an Namen, die mit Suen gebildet sind, ist gering. Es gibt amar- und puzur$_4$-^{d}su:en. Dem läßt sich noch ein amar-subi$_3$ hinzufügen, wenn subi$_3$, der "Glänzende", als Beiname des Mondgottes verstanden werden darf.
Utu, der Sonnengott, besaß ein Heiligtum noch unbekannter Lage außerhalb der Zentren, das den selben Namen hatte wie sein Tempel in Larsa: e$_2$-bar$_6$-bar$_6$. Dieses "Weiße Haus" darf nicht mit dem gleichnamigen Tempel des Ningirsu verwechselt werden. Zur Existenz zweier Ebarbar s. RTC 44 III 7 und VI 3, ferner VS 25, 46. Ein barag hatte Eanatum Utu an der Grenze zu Umma errichtet. Der Sonnengott ist in der Personennamengebung sehr beliebt, wenigstens 12 oder 13 Namen sind mit ihm gebildet. Als seine Ehefrau gilt eine Göttin mit dem aus dem Akkadischen entlehnten Namen Šerda, der "Morgen". Ihr Name steckt im Personennamen ur-$^{d\,še_3}$šer$_7$-da und, wenn sich der erwägenswerte Vorschlag von G.J. Selz[102] zu Nik I 125 II 9 bewährt, auch in anderer Schreibung in UD-ama-mu.
Zusammenfassend ist festzustellen, daß der Austausch von Kulten der Bildung und Festigung staatlicher Einheiten diente und zwar sowohl in einer frühen Phase, als es einzelnen Städten gelang zu Zentren aufzusteigen und sich die umliegenden Siedlungen unterzuordnen, als auch in einer zweiten Phase, als diese Zentren sich wiederum zu einem Staatswesen zusammenschlossen. Es entsteht der Eindruck, daß, gäbe es nur ausreichende Quellen, sich jedes örtliche Pantheon in eine Versammlung von Numina kleinster geographischer Einheiten wie Dörfer oder Stadtteile auflösen ließe, die in ihren jeweiligen Herkunftsgebieten monolatrisch verehrt worden sind.
Schwerer auszumachen sind die Gründe für die Aufnahme von Kulten außerhalb des eigenen Gemeinwesens verehrter Gottheiten. Auch hier ist die Bindung vormals unabhängiger Nachbarstaaten an den eigenen Staat, wenn sich denn ein Vormachtstreben glaubhaft machen läßt, der einleuchtendste Grund. Sicher aber kann das nicht das einzige Motiv für Kultübertragung gewesen sein. Während der FD IIIb-Zeit beherrschte Lagaš auch das nahegelegene Badtibira und so erklärt sich die Einbeziehung des Hauptgottes dieser Stadt, Lugalemuša, in den offiziellen Kult von Girsu leicht. Weniger sicher ist, ob der Gründung des ib-bad$_3$-dib$_2$-ra in der "Heiligen Stadt" dasselbe Motiv zugrunde lag. Die zeitweilige Herrschaft der Lagašiten über Ur scheint dagegen keine Spuren im religiösen Leben Girsus hinterlassen zu haben. Lagaš war nicht nur das Subjekt, sondern auch das Objekt hegemonialen Strebens anderer Staaten. Wenn Uruk, um seine Handelswege zu schützen, schon in der mittleren und jüngeren Uruk-Zeit Kolonialstädte wie Habuba Kabira und Tell Scheich Hassan am mittleren Euphrat gründete, muß es auch Maßnahmen getroffen haben, die Wege bis zu diesen Pflanzstädten zu sichern. Hier können die urukäischen Kulte, wie sie in Lagaš-Stadt und in der "Heiligen Stadt" nachweisbar sind, ihren Ursprung haben.

[102] G.J. Selz, ASJ 16, 1994, 221.

Eridug unterstellt man kaum ein ausgreifendes Streben nach Macht – was ein Vorurteil sein kann –, und so wäre zu überlegen, ob es sich bei den zahlreichen Kultorten Enkis, besonders im Süden des Staates Lagaš, um ehemalige Siedlungen von Kolonisten aus Eridug handeln könnte.
Nippur war mit Sicherheit nie die Hauptstadt einer mächtigen Dynastie, und so bleibt weitgehend im dunkeln, woher die Enlil-Theologie ihre Durchsetzungskraft bezog.
Weiter fragt man sich, welchen Niederschlag im kultischen Bereich die durch Siegelabdrücke der FD I-Zeit aus Ur bekannt gewordenen Städtegemeinschaften gefunden haben.
Schließlich verbreiteten sich Kulte auch, weil sie bisher nicht berücksichtigte religiöse Bedürfnisse befriedigten. Das scheint der Grund für die Einführung des Ningišzida in Girsu durch Gudea gewesen zu sein, die freilich nicht mehr in die hier zu behandelnde Epoche fällt.
Die einzelnen Götter abzuhandeln lohnt nicht, da – wenn man sich streng auf die FD IIIb-Zeit beschränkt – von den meisten kaum mehr als ihr Name bekannt ist. Auch die wenigen und oft stereotypen Epitheta der Königsinschriften verhelfen nicht zu einer befriedigenden Wesensbestimmung. Die Mythen der Fara-Zeit sind noch weitgehend unverständlich. Aus vorsargonischer Zeit sind gerade zwei veröffentlicht[103], wobei das aus Girsu bekannte Fragment eines Schöpfungsmythos für den Charakter der Kultgötter nichts hergibt, da es bereits vor der Entstehung dieser jüngeren Göttergeneration abbricht. Eine umfassende Sammlung des altsumerischen Personennamenmaterials und die religionsgeschichtliche Auswertung stehen noch aus und bleiben eine wichtige Aufgabe für die Zukunft. Aus diesem Material sind noch mancherlei Aufschlüsse über die Gottesvorstellung im allgemeinen, die Eigenschaften einzelner Götter und über das Verhältnis Gott – Mensch zu erwarten.

3.6. Einzelgottheiten

Nur für zwei Gestalten soll versucht werden, die Personennamen zum Sprechen zu bringen: für den bisher trotz aller Präsenz urukäischer Götter und Heroen in Lagaš vermißten An und für Lumma.

3.6.1. An

An, der höchste Gott des späteren sogenannten Reichspantheons, hatte im vorsargonischen Lagaš weder einen Tempel, noch erhielt er offizielle Opfer. Die später bezeugte Vorstellung von An als Vater der Göttinnen Gatumdug und BaU mag schon bestanden haben, ist aber für die vorsargonische Zeit noch nicht nachweisbar. Nach diesem negativen Befund erstaunt es umsomehr, eine Reihe von Personennamen zu finden, die mit a n gebildet sind. Allerdings ist nicht immer mit letzter Sicherheit zu klären, wann in ihnen der Himmelsgott und wann der Himmel als Bezeichnung des überirdischen Raums gemeint ist. Es überrascht weiter, daß An keineswegs ein deus otiosus ist, den die vergleichende Religionswissenschaft nach dem

[103] Ukg. 15; MBI 1 (B. Alster, A. Westenholz, ASJ 16, 1994, 15-46).

Vorbild anderer Himmelsgötter so gern in ihm gesehen hat, sondern eine recht aktive Rolle spielte; denn etliche Namen enthalten ihn in der Form des Agentivs. An nimmt auf den König und das Königtum Einfluß. lugal-an-ne$_2$-ki-ag$_2$, "An liebt den König", lugal-igi-an-na-ke$_4$-ṣu, "Das Auge Ans kennt den König", eine Wendung, die nach A. Falkenstein[104] Schutz und Fürsorge durch den Himmelsgott bedeutet. Auch der parallele Name nin-igi-an-na-ke$_4$-zu ist nachweisbar. Schließlich ergibt lugal-an-da-nu-ḫun-ga$_2$ in einer Wort-für-Wort-Übersetzung "Der König ist nicht mit An inthronisiert worden", und da dies ganz offensichtlich unsinnig ist, wird man das Ganze als rhetorische Frage aufzufassen haben: "Wurde der König (etwa) ohne An inthronisiert?".
Ähnliche Aussagen wie für den König galten meist auch für den en, der außerhalb von Uruk nur als Oberpriester amtierte. Mit en gebildete Namen sind in Girsu wesentlich seltener als solche mit lugal. Man findet die Kurzform en-an-ne$_2$, und steht vor der Frage, welches Verbum zu ergänzen ist. Nach dem Vorbild des Namens mit lugal ist er vielleicht zu *en-an-ne$_2$-ki-ag$_2$ zu vervollständigen.
en-an-na-tum$_2$, der Name zweier Könige der I. Dynastie von Lagaš, ist als "Der en ist des Himmels" oder "Ans würdig" zu deuten.
An verfügt selbstverständlich auch über die me, die göttlichen Kräfte. Man findet me-an-ne$_2$-dug$_3$, "An macht die göttlichen Kräfte gut", und nin-me-sikil-an-na, "die Königin (besitzt?) die reinen me des Himmelsgottes" oder "Himmels", beides ist in diesem Fall möglich. Der "Himmel" ist sicher in folgendem Namen gemeint: me-an-ne$_2$-si, "Die me (er)füllen den Himmel".
Mit dem Namen mu-an-ne$_2$-dug$_3$, wörtlich "Den Namen hat An gut gemacht", ist gemeint, daß An das Wesen des Neugeborenen wohlgestaltet hat.
Mit der Vorstellung von der Gründung besonders alter Heiligtümer durch den Himmelsgott sind vielleicht die beiden folgenden Namen zu verbinden, die bis jetzt nur in ihrer Kurzform belegt sind: barag-an-ne$_2$ und e$_2$-an-ne$_2$. Man kann sie durch ki gar-ra vervollständigen und übersetzen "Das Podest" bzw. "Den Tempel hat An gegründet".
Unklar bleibt amar-an-ne$_2$, "An hat das Tierjunge/Kalb....", da nicht zu ermitteln ist, welches Verbum ergänzt werden kann.
amar-an-pa bedeutet "Kalb der Himmelshöhe" oder "Das Kalb macht die Himmelshöhe..." – wieder fehlte dann das Verbum. Sicher bezieht sich das auf den Himmel als kosmische Region.

3.6.2. Lumma

Lumma, dessen Lesung unsicher ist, war ein göttliches Wesen niederen Ranges, das in Lagaš außerhalb des offiziellen Kultes steht und nur noch in Namen faßbar ist. In vorsargonischer Zeit schwankt die Setzung des Götterdeterminativs vor dem Namen. In Girsu wird das Determinativ nie gesetzt, auch nicht im Namen des endgültig von Enmetena besiegten Stadtfürsten Urlumma von Umma, der seinen Namen in seinen Inschriften ur-

[104] A. Falkenstein, AnOr 30, 1966, 59.

^{d}l u m - m a schreiben läßt. Als ^{d}l u m - m a wird ihm noch in der Ur III-Zeit in Puzrišdagan 1 Schaf geopfert (PDT 2, 1173 I 5). Im Reallexikon der Assyriologie[105] findet man das seinerzeit verfügbare Material zusammengestellt, wobei die Zeile eines Emesal-Kultliedes am wichtigsten ist: m u - u n - g a r_3 - z u ^{d}l u m - m a n u m u n - n a m - n u n - n a "Dein Landmann ist Lumma, der fürstliche Sproß" (Th. Jacobsen, JCS 8, 1954, 84, CNMA 10050:8). Leider ist der Zusammenhang so schlecht erhalten, daß man nicht sagen kann, welchen höhergestellten Gottes Landmann er war. Doch weist ihn dieser Vers wie das häufige Vorkommen Lummas in Kanal- und Feldernamen ganz allgemein der Sphäre von Bodenbestellung und Fruchtbarkeit zu. Kehren wir noch einmal zu jener Inschriftenstelle Eanatums (Ean. 2 V 9-19) zurück, die da lautet:

> "Damals hat Eanatum, dessen eigener Name Eanatum, dessen ... -Name Lumma ist, dem Ningirsu einen neuen Kanal gegraben (und) ihm (dem Ningirsu zu Ehren) Lummagimdug als Namen genannt."

Auch den Namen des Kanals kann man leicht übersetzen, er heißt "Wie Lumma gut", und daß der zweite Name Eanatums in irgendeiner Weise auf den Namen des Kanals anspielt, ist nicht zu bezweifeln. Dennoch ist der Kanalname sicher nicht mit dem zweiten Namen des Königs gebildet. Lumma ist primär ein Göttername und von ihm werden mit Lumma beginnende Namen abgeleitet, die als Kurznamen auf das theophore Element beschränkt werden. Es ist vielmehr die Frage zu stellen: Für wen ist ein Kanal gut? Und es ist zu antworten: Für die zu bewässernden Felder. Bedeutet nicht, wenn ein Kanal wie Lumma gut ist, daß die Felder eigentlich Lumma brauchten, der Kanal nur Lumma ersetzt? Von diesem Ausgangspunkt her sei die Hypothese gewagt, daß Lumma ein gutsumerischer Name ist, und der Gott mit dem Regen zu tun hat, der die Felder bewässert. Weiter kann man sich überlegen, ob der Name des Gottes nicht als a-Ableitung zu l u m (Glosse l u - u m)= akkadisch *urpû* "die Wolke" zu stellen ist. Wäre dies der Fall, wäre auch die Lesung des Namens als Luma gesichert. Die feststellbare Affinität zwischen Ningirsu und Lumma erklärte sich leicht, wenn man für Ningirsu wie für Ninurta, mit dem er gleichgesetzt wurde, den ursprünglichen Charakter eines Wettergottes annehmen dürfte. Das allmähliche schwächer Werden der Regenfälle und die damit verbundene Abhängigkeit der Bodenbewirtschaftung von der Bewässerung wäre auch eine ausreichende Erklärung für das nachlassende Interesse an diesem ehedem weitverbreiteten Gott.

3.7. Mythen

Aus der FD IIIb-Zeit sind etwa zehn literarische Texte bekannt[106]. Die Datierung ist bei einigen nicht ganz sicher, sie könnten auch jünger sein und schon in die frühe Akkad-Zeit gehören. Unter diesen literarischen Texten finden sich auch drei Aufzeichnungen von Mythen.

[105] J. Bauer, RlA 7, 1987-90, 168-170 (s.v. LUM-ma).

[106] Ukg. 15; MBI 1; FTS 106, fig. 6a; FT 2, S. 130: AO 12779 = CIRPL N. 10; R.D. Biggs, JNES 32, 1973, 26-33 = BiMes 3, Nr. 26; OIP 14, 53-56; und als Kopie der Ur III-Zeit: TMH NF 4, 46 = ECTJ 219.

Eine von ihnen ist noch nicht publiziert und zur Zeit nur in einem Foto zugänglich[107]. Der zweite, der sogenannte Barton-Zylinder, wurde in Nippur gefunden, wahrscheinlich aber in Adab geschrieben. Er ist jüngst durch B. Alster und A. Westenholz neu ediert worden[108]. An der Bearbeitung, die sich auf dem neuesten Stand befindet, ist für jedermann leicht erkennbar, wie wenig von einem alten Mythos derzeit verständlich ist.
Nicht geringer sind die Schwierigkeiten bei einem in Girsu gefundenen Täfelchen mit dem Anfang eines Ursprungsmythos (Ukg. 15). Ihrer äußeren Gestalt nach ist es eine typische Tontafel der FD IIIb-Zeit. Die Vorderseite ist in vier Kolumnen eingeteilt, aber nur die Kolumnen I und II sind voll beschrieben. Von der III. ist ungefähr das letzte Drittel schriftfrei geblieben und die IV. Kolumne ist ganz leer. Auf der Rückseite fanden sich nur die Spuren einiger vom Schreiber getilgter Zeichen. Die erste Zeile ist ganz abgebrochen, dazu ein Stück der zweiten Zeile. Einige Stellen der Tafel sind abgeschürft. Von den erhaltenen 13 Zeilen sind 8 weitgehend oder gut verständlich. Die ersten drei erhaltenen Zeilen sind mir größtenteils unverständlich; die letzte Zeile der I. Kolumne lautet dann in Übersetzung: "Er füllte das Erdloch mit Wasser." Wer das Subjekt der Handlung ist, ist nicht zu erkennen. Aber dieses "Erdloch" (sum. ki-bur$_3$), wenn es so richtig übersetzt ist, ist ein kosmologischer Ort, ein im damaligen Weltbild offenbar bedeutender Punkt; denn er kommt auch in einigen präsargonischen und sogar noch in einem Ur III-zeitlichen Personennamen aus Lagaš vor. Ein Name lautet "Im Erdloch wird er wohnen" (ki-bur$_3$-a-bi$_2$-ti-le (DP 195 VI 7')), ein anderer "Die Herrin/Schwester (kommt) aus dem Erdloch" (nin-ki-bur$_3$-ta (RTC 399 = DAS 47 IX 12 und XI 42), wieder ein anderer "Aus dem Erdloch wird er (oder sie) heraufsteigen" (ki-bur$_3$-[x$^?$-]ta-⌜e$_{11}$⌝-de$_3$ (SR 44 = RTC 17 VII 1)). Weiter heißt es im Mythos:

> "An, der en, trat zum Jungmannestum hin; Himmel und Erde riefen einander zu. Zu dieser Zeit wohnten (oder lebten) die Herren der Erde (und) die Fürsten der Erde (noch) nicht, Enlil wohnte (oder lebte) (noch) nicht, Ninlil wohnte/lebte (noch) nicht".

Die beiden nächsten Zeilen verstehe ich nicht. Danach folgt:

> "Die Sonne leuchtete nicht, Mondlicht trat nicht hervor".

Mit diesen Zeilen hat der Schreiber seine Arbeit eingestellt. Mit seiner Berufung auf das Götterpaar Enlil und Ninlil und nicht Enlil und Ninḫursaga gehört der Mythos zur Nippur-Theologie. Er schildert eine Urzeit, in der wesentliche Teile der Welt wie Himmel und Erde schon existierten, aber noch nicht ihr heutiges Gesicht erhalten hatten. Die jüngeren Götter, die diesen endgültigen Zustand herbeiführen werden, gibt es noch nicht. Die Welt ist noch in Dunkel gehüllt, der regelmäßige Wechsel von Tag und Nacht noch nicht in Gang gesetzt worden. Himmel und Erde sind bereits getrennt, sie schreien einander zu. Das bekannte Mythologem der Trennung des Paares durch Enlil, das J. Krecher[109] in den Texten aus Tell

[107] FTS 106, fig. 6a.
[108] B. Alster, A. Westenholz, ASJ 16, 1994, 15-46.
[109] J. Krecher, Sumerische Literatur in: W. Röllig (ed.), Altorientalische Literaturen, 1978, 108-109.

Abū Ṣalābīḫ für die Fara-Zeit nachgewiesen hat, war hier noch nicht eingearbeitet. Die "Herren" und die "Fürsten der Erde" sind eine Gruppe chthonischer Wesen, die man auch aus einer Inschrift Urnanšes kennt (Urn. 49). Sie werden ohne Götterdeterminativ geschrieben und waren, wenn der Mythos ursprüglich in Nippur beheimatet war, in Nippur und Lagaš bekannt.

Der Kult einer Heroengruppe fand vielleicht an der AN.KI geschriebenen Opferstätte statt, die eine Fara-zeitliche Liste erwähnt (RTC 7 III 2). Vorsargonisch nicht belegt, ist die wieder für die Akkad-Zeit als Stelle eines Schlachtopfers bezeugt (ITT 1, 1081 I 10). Dieses AN.KI verband G.J. Selz[110] mit der Ur III-zeitlichen Erwähnung eines AN.KI ur-sag-e-ne in Nippur (MVN 10, 144 III 2), für das ein Selz unbekannter Paralleltext ki ur-sag-e-ne einsetzt (PDT 1, 527, 13). Dabei könnte es sich um einen Kult der von Ningirsu bwz. Ninurta überwundenen Dämenen handeln, wie er für das neusumerische Girsu durch Gudea, Zyl. XXV 24 - XXVI 19 nachgewiesen ist. Die Kultstätte der "getöteten Helden" Gudeas war allerdings ein ki-a-nag im Bereich des Eninnu. Sicher unzutreffend ist die Wiedergabe von AN.KI durch Selz als "(those of) heaven (and) earth (?)". Die Belege aus Nippur verweisen auf eine "(numinose) Stätte der Helden".

Folgt man der Phänomenologie, so ist nach der Welt der Götter die der Menschen zu behandeln. Wir haben uns den in der Religionssoziologie von J. Wach[111] sogenannten Typen religiöser Autorität zuzuwenden.

3.8. Ämter

Wenn man in den "Untersuchungen zum Priestertum in altbabylonischer Zeit" von J. Renger[112] weit mehr über die Verwaltungstätigkeit und die Kreditgeschäfte eines s a n g a nachlesen kann als über seine kultischen Aufgaben, so spiegelt dies die Quellenlage wieder. Schon der Wechsel der Wiedergabe von s a n g a "Priester" zu "Tempelverwalter" in jüngerer Zeit ist bezeichnend. Da die Zeugnisse jeder älteren Epoche nur geringer an Zahl aber nicht aufschlußreicher sind, bleibt auch bei den Typen religiöser Autorität wieder nur die Beschränkung auf einige Aspekte.

Wie wir schon im Kapitel zur Geschichte gehört haben, nahmen die Stadtfürsten und Könige göttliche Abstammung für sich in Anspruch. Die Geburt durch eine Göttin wird oft, seltener die Zeugung durch einen Gott erwähnt. Damit waren die Herrscher auf Erden wandelnde Götter und die Schreibung des Gottesdeterminativs vor dem Namen und die Darstellung mit der Hörnerkappe, wie sie die Akkad-Könige einführten, logische Konsequenz. Wie reagierten die Untertanen auf diese Forderung? Steht dem Anspruch auf Gottgleichheit auf der einen, die Herrscherverehrung auf der andern Seite gegenüber? Wieder sind die Personennamen die einzige Quelle.

[110] G.J. Selz, ASJ 12, 1990, 128-129.

[111] J. Wach, Religionssoziologie. Nach der 4. [engl.] Aufl. übersetzt von H. Schoeck, Tübingen 1951, 375-427.

[112] J. Renger, ZA 58, 1967, 110-188; ders., ZA 59, 1969, 104-230.

A. Westenholz[113] war aufgefallen, daß mit dem Wort l u g a l "König" in Nippur, das nie einen König hatte, mehr Namen gebildet sind als selbst mit dem Gott Enlil. Aber, wie er einräumt, ist es nicht völlig auszuschließen, daß mit l u g a l ein göttlicher Herr und nicht der irdische König gemeint ist. Ebenso erwähnt A. Westenholz kurz, daß die Zahl der mit n i n gebildeten Namen ähnlich stattlich und vielfältig ist. Doch muß man mit diesen Namen noch vorsichtiger verfahren; denn n i n kann außer für "(göttliche) Herrin" und "Königin" auch für die "Schwester" stehen. Das Zeichen n i n_9 "Schwester" wird in den meisten Schreiberschulen nicht gebraucht. Die zahlreichen e n enthaltenden Namen sollen hier unberücksichtigt bleiben, da sie sich entweder auf den Herrscher von Uruk oder auf den Hohenpriester der BaU beziehen. Namen mit e n s i_2 "Stadtfürst" fehlen ganz, und mit e n s i_2 - g a l, das zur Ur III-Zeit "Altstadtfürst" bedeutet, ist gerade ein Name (e n - e n s i_2 -g a l) zusammengesetzt.
Den Namen mit den allgemeinen Bezeichnungen l u g a l und n i n stellen wir die Personennamen voran, die einen Herrschernamen enthalten. Der älteste Name dieses Typs gehört einem Hausverwalter und lautet e n - a n - n a - t u m_2 - s i p a d - z i, "Enanatum (ist) der rechte Hirte". Dieser Hausverwalter amtierte zur Zeit Enmetenas. Er wurde also nach Enanatum I. von Lagaš benannt.
Schwierig bleibt l u m - m a - e n - m e : t e - n a, der wohl nicht den Namen des Stadtfürsten enthält, sondern einfach als "Lumma (ist) Herr durch sich selbst" wiederzugeben ist.
Eindeutig sind die Namen ^{d}n a n š e - a m a - l u g a l - a n - d a, "Nanše (ist) die Mutter Lugalandas", und ^{d}u t u - i g i - d u - l u g a l - a n - d a, "Der Sonnengott schreitet Lugalanda voran".
Mit u r u - i n i m - g i - n a finden sich drei gleichgebildete Namen: u r u - i n i m - g i - n a - ^{d}e n - l i l_2 - l e - s u, u r u - i n i m - g i - n a - ^{d}n a n š e - s u und u r u - i n i m - g i - n a - ^{d}n i n - g i r_2 - s u - k e_4 - s u, die Gottheiten Enlil, Nanše und Ningirsu kennen Uruinimgina.
Die Frauen der Stadtfürsten von Lagaš trugen besondere Priesterinnen(?)-Titel. Gut sind wir über Baragnamtara, die Ehefrau Lugalandas, unterrichtet. In Opferlisten, die die Gaben in Sirara und während ihres Zuges dorthin verbuchen, wechselt m u n u s "Frau" mit PAP.PAP. Man würde dies für ein zweimal hingesetztes Merkzeichen halten, wenn PAP.PAP nicht in einer Fara-zeitlichen Berufsnamenliste aufgeführt wäre, und wenn es nicht einmal in einer Urkunde hieße: "Man hat PAP.PAP, der/als Mutter der Stadt, (die Abgabe) in den Palast gebracht" (RTC 44). Ein anderer derartiger Titel scheint auch NI.A.A mit unbekannter Lesung zu sein. G.J. Selz[114] nimmt an, daß ihn Dimtur, die Ehefrau des Stadtfürsten Enentarzid, getragen hat.
Da die Zahl der Urkunden aus der Zeit dieses Stadtfürsten beschränkt ist, finden sich nur zwei mit NI.A.A gebildete Namen: NI.A.A- a m a - m u und NI.A.A- a m a - d a - r i_2, "N. (ist) meine Mutter" und "N. (ist) die ewige Mutter", a m a "Mutter" ist auch im ersten Namen sicher nicht wörtlich zu verstehen, sondern es ist eine respektvolle, aber auch vertrauensvolle Anrede für eine höhergestellte Frau oder Göttin, vergleichbar dem für den Gott gebrauchten a - a "Vater" in den altbabylonischen Mythen und Götterliedern sumerischer Sprache.

113 A. Westenholz, OSP 1, 1975, 6-8.
114 G.J. Selz, FAOS 15/ 1, 1989, 382.

Bedeutender an Zahl und Inhalt sind die PAP.PAP enthaltenden Namen. Man findet ^{d}n i n - m a r^{ki} - a m a-PAP.PAP, "Ninmara ist die Mutter der PAP.PAP", was inhaltlich den Namen PAP.PAP - ^{d}b a - U$_{2}$ - m u - t u und PAP.PAP - ^{d}n a n š e - m u - t u, "die PAP.PAP hat die BaU" bzw. "die Nanše geboren" entspricht. Eindeutig ist PAP.PAP - d i n g i r - m u "PAP.PAP (ist) meine persönliche Schutzgöttin". Hinzukommen noch PAP.PAP - z i - m u, "P. (ist) mein Lebenshauch" und – wie bei NI.A.A – PAP.PAP - a m a - d a - r i$_{2}$. Weniger sicher deutbar sind ^{d}i n a n a - UR- PAP.PAP, "Inana (ist) die Lebenskraft der P.", PAP.PAP - ^{d}i n a n a - r a - DU, etwa "P. steht der Inana bei", PAP.PAP - ^{d}i n a n a - d a - g a l - d i, "P. ist mit Inana heldenhaft" und schließlich ^{d}b a - U$_{2}$ - m e n - z i - PAP.PAP, "BaU (ist) die rechte(?) Krone der P."
Beweisen diese Namen durch ihre Ausrichtung auf eine ganz bestimmte Persönlichkeit der regierenden Dynastie, daß die Herrscherverehrung unter den Angestellten der dem Königs- oder Stadtfürstenpaar unterstehenden Wirtschaftseinheiten verbreitet war, so wird man auch die meisten l u g a l oder n i n enthaltenden Personennamen auf die irdischen Regenten beziehen dürfen. Es sollen hier nur noch die Namen folgen, die auf die eingangs gestellte Frage, ob man den Göttlichkeitsanspruch des Herrschers akzeptierte, eine Antwort geben können.
Mit l u g a l finden sich l u g a l - a n z u d$_{2}$ - m u š e n, "der König (ist) der (dämonische Riesen-)Vogel Anzud", l u g a l - ^{d}n a n š e - m u - t u, "Den König hat die Göttin Nanše geboren", und l u g a l - d i n g i r - m u, "Der König (ist) mein persönlicher Schutzgott". Dem entspricht der Name n i n - d i n g i r - m u für die Königin.
Die Personennamen enthalten ein deutliches Echo auf die Königsideologie, wie sie uns in den Inschriften der Herrscher entgegentritt, die Vorstellung von der Göttlichkeit der Regierenden eingeschlossen. Die Personennamen berichtigen den aus den Bau- und Weihinschriften – die fast ausschließlich für Männer verfaßt waren – gewonnenen einseitigen Eindruck; nicht nur die Herrscher, auch ihre Frauen wurden vergöttlicht.
Das Stadtfürstenamt war im vorsargonischen Lagaš erblich. In der Regel folgte der älteste Sohn dem Vater auf den Thron. Doch in der kurzen Zeit seiner I. Dynastie kommen drei Ausnahmen vor. Mit Enanatum I. gelangt der jüngere Bruder des Vorgängers zur Regierung. Das Amt wechselt in die Nebenlinie. Nach dem Aussterben der Herrscherfamilie mit Enanatum II. übernimmt die angesehene und sicher mit dem Herrscherhaus verwandte Familie der Ningirsu-Oberpriester das Stadtfürstenamt. Auf Lugalanda folgt als letzter Herrscher Uruinimgina ohne erkennbare verwandtschaftliche Beziehung zu den vorher regierenden Familien, eine vermutlich starke und charismatische Persönlichkeit, dazu als g a l - u n ("Hauptmann") Inhaber realer Macht.
Im Uruk der I. frühdynastischen Phase scheint das ganz anders gewesen zu sein. Die sumerische Königsliste und das Lugalbandaepos, die in diesem Punkte zutreffende historische Erinnerungen bewahrt haben, legen nahe, daß das Amt des e n nicht im Erbgang weitergegeben wurde, sondern daß die Göttin Inana aus der Zahl möglicher Nachfolger den fähigsten oder den ihr genehmsten als neuen Herrscher erwählte. Lugalbanda war der jüngste Bruder der sieben Heerführer, aber kein Sohn Enmerkars, dem er nachfolgte.
Nicht weniger interessant, wie die Frage, wie man Stadtfürst oder König wurde, ist, wie man aus diesem Amte schied. Urnanše dürfte sein Amt sehr lange innegehabt haben, und

man darf annehmen, daß er hochbetagt eines natürlichen Todes starb. Aber mit der Zunahme der kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen gegen Mitte und Ende dieser letzten Spanne vor der Vereinigung Mesopotamiens unter Sargon von Akkad wuchs das Risiko den Schlachtentod zu sterben, denn der König zog seinen Kriegern voran in den Kampf. Eanatum wurde durch einen Pfeilschuß verwundet (Ean. 1 IX 2-5), und er berichtet, daß er den Regenten von Uruaz bei der Einnahme der Stadt tötete (Ean. 2 IV 12-15; Ean. 3 IV 16-19). Urnanše nahm einen Stadtfürsten von Umma gefangen. Wir erfahren nichts über sein Ende.
Weiter drohen zwei Fluchformeln dem eidbrüchigen gegnerischen Fürsten, daß er von der Bevölkerung seiner eigenen Stadt erschlagen werden soll (Ean. 63 III 3'-4'; Ent. 28/29 VI 26-29). Darüber, daß dies keine unerfüllbaren Racheträume waren, belehrt eine Passage der Geierstele (Ean. 1 VIII 1-3). Eanatum schildert, wie sein Gegner, der unterlegene Stadtfürst von Umma – der Name ist nicht erhalten; es könnte sich um UŠ handeln – gerade diesen schmählichen Tod erlitt. Wie in Afrika erfolglose Regenmacher getötet oder wenigstens verprügelt wurden, so fielen nach der furchtbaren Niederlage die eigenen Untertanen über den glücklosen Regenten her und brachten ihn um. Es war offensichtlich, daß die Götter sich von ihm abgewandt hatten. Er hatte sein x^{v}arnah verloren.
Es ist weiter zu fragen, ob ein Herrscher nicht auch vom Amt zurücktreten konnte. Obwohl die in der Ur III-Zeit erstmals aufgezeichneten Epen nicht vorbehaltlos als Zeugnisse für die Institutionen der frühdynastischen Zeit herangezogen werden können, sei hier dennoch an die folgende Situation im Lugalbandaepos erinnert. Als Enmerkar erfolglos Aratta belagerte, fühlte er sich von der Göttin Inana verlassen. Er schickte Lugalbanda nach Uruk zurück. Seine Botschaft enthält bittere Vorwürfe. Er fragt an, warum Inana, die ihn einst erwählte, nun im Stich gelassen habe. Und er bietet ihr seinen Rücktritt an, wenn sie ihn nicht mehr unterstützen wolle.
Von hier aus fällt auch ein neues Licht auf die Bau- und Weihinschriften der Herrscher. Die Könige stehen unter Erfolgszwang. In ihren Inschriften rühmen sie sich ihrer Taten und dokumentieren damit ihren Untertanen, daß sie noch das Vertrauen der Götter genießen.
Aus der Zahl der in den Wirtschaftsurkunden begegnenden Berufe mit wahrscheinlich kultischen Aufgaben möchte ich hier wenigstens auf einen zurückkommen. In der Altorientalistischen Notiz Nr. 23 hatte ich mir Gedanken über die Berufsbezeichnung g u d - d i gemacht. Sie steht in einer Berufsnamenliste aus Fara zwischen dem b a l a g - d i, dem "Harfenspieler", und dem n a r, dem "Sänger" und "Musikanten" (MSL 12, 13, 8-10). Da ein mit dem Zeichen GUD "Rind" geschriebenes Musikinstrument nicht nachweisbar ist, muß er anders gedeutet werden als b a l a g - d i. Ich hatte ihn zu g u d = akkadisch *šaḫāṭu* "springen, tanzen" gestellt, bei der Verbalbasis d i die Bedeutung "tun, machen" der geläufigeren "sprechen" vorgezogen und das ganze als den "Tänzer", wörtlich "(den, der) Sprünge macht" erklärt, obwohl der Tänzer später einfach g u d^{ud}- d a heißt. Das Aus für diese Erklärung kam sehr bald in Gestalt der vorsargonischen Berufsbezeichnung g a l a - GUD.ḪA - d i (DP 220 IV 3'). Ich sehe in gala einen bedeutungshinweisenden Zusatz. Das durch ḪA ergänzte GUD weist unmißverständlich auf den "Karpfen" hin. Es ist nur nicht zu entscheiden, ob der Karpfen g u d - k u$_{6}$ oder e š t u b - k u$_{6}$ gelesen werden muß. Bei der Verbalbasis d i ist wegen des Zusatzes g a l a, "Kultsänger", zur Bedeutung "sprechen, singen"

zurückzukehren. Es ist in wörtlicher Übersetzung ein "Kultsänger: (der) den Karpfen singt"; denn ein "Karpfen" genanntes Musikinstrument ist auch weiterhin nicht nachzuweisen. Um von dieser wörtlichen Übersetzung zu einer sachgerechteren Übertragung zu kommen, müßte man mehr über die Tätigkeit dieses Mannes wissen. Wir haben für ihn nur einen Beleg. Als der Stadtfürst Lugalanda in seinem 4. Regierungsjahre in Nimin weilte, teilte seine Ehefrau Baragnamtara allen Priestern und Kultsängern der Stadt eine Woll-Löhnung zu. Der Anlaß dieses Besuchs, bei dem auch Götteropfer stattfanden (DP 50), wird als KA.KA.KA - n a s i b e_2 - s a_2 - a angegeben. Die Wendung ist noch nicht sicher verständlich, könnte aber, wenn man am Anfang für das dreimalige KA i n i m - d u g_4 - d u g_4 - n a einsetzt, "Als er (der Stadtfürst) durch seine gesprochenen Worte Ordnung schuf" bedeuten. Wie dem auch sei, die Wendung wirft kein Licht auf die Tätigkeit irgendeines an dem vermutlich kultischen Geschehen Beteiligten, auch nicht die der zwei g a l a - GUD - k u_6 - d i . Aber es dürfte kein Zufall sein, daß dieser Sängerberuf gerade in Nimin zu finden ist, wo der Fisch offensichtlich im Mittelpunkt des Lebens und der religiösen Symbolik steht. Man fühlt sich an die eigentümliche, in altbabylonischer Zeit niedergeschriebene Dichtung "Das Heim der Fische" erinnert, in dem man einen beschwörenden Gesang sieht, mit dem der Fischer die Fische in Netz und Reuse lockt.
Aber es heißt ja nicht, daß er "den Fischen singt", sondern daß er "den Karpfen singt". Steht seine Tätigkeit in Zusammenhang mit der Frühjahrsflut (a - e š t u b - k u_6), und dem scharenweisen Auftreten der Karpfen zu dieser Zeit? Als Verursacher des Frühjahrshochwassers gilt Enki, der Vater der Göttin Nanše. Oder hatten die Sänger heilige Fische mit ihrem Gesang zu erfreuen? Reste von Fischkulten sind für Syrien gut bezeugt. Heilig waren die Fische im Fluß Chalos von Aleppo nach Xenophons Anabasis und heilige Fische in heiligen Teichen gab es noch im christlichen Edessa.
Wie man sieht, gibt es einige Anknüpfungspunkte, aber keine konkreten Hinweise auf die Tätigkeit dieser Kultsänger, so daß zur Zeit über die wörtliche Übersetzung nicht hinauszugelangen ist.
Den Kult der vorsargonischen Zeit zu behandeln, liefe darauf hinaus, die verschiedenen Bezeichnungen für Gabendarbringungen oder die belegten Ausdrücke für Gebetsformen aufzuzählen. Nichts könnte dazu gesagt werden, was sie waren und wie sie sich voneinander unterschieden. Nur einige Bemerkungen über die schiefe Verwendung des Begriffs "Opfer" sollen das Kapitel über religiöse Erscheinungen der altsumerischen Zeit abschließen. Wenn man unter Opfer einfach jegliche Gabe an eine Gottheit versteht, dann bleibt der Begriff natürlich anwendbar. Sobald man aber die Eigentumsverhältnisse mit ins Spiel bringt, paßt der, um der leichteren Verständigung willen auch in diesem Beitrag benutzte Ausdruck nicht mehr. Nach der Vorstellung der Zeit ist ein Gott der Eigentümer seines Hauses, des Tempels, und der zugehörenden Liegenschaften. Die Menschen, deren höchste Pflicht es ist, die Götter zu versorgen, arbeiten als entlohnte Angestellte auf diesen Gütern. Auf die täglichen, wie auf die festtäglichen Darbringungen an Naturalien hat der Gott als Eigentümer des Tempelgutes einen ganz selbstvertändlichen und von den Menschen unbestrittenen Anspruch. Von einem Opfer wäre erst dann zu reden, wenn der einzelne Gläubige von dem empfangenen Lohn einen Teil abzweigte und der Gottheit spendete. Dieses Opfer brachte der

Gläubige sicher eher seinem persönlichen Schutzgott, verehrten Ahnen oder Geistern dar als der mächtigen Gottheit des Tempelkultes. Eine Weihegabe, die jemand aus seinem privaten Vermögen stiftete, erfüllt die Bedingung des Opfers, nicht jedoch die offizielle Versorgung der Götter.
Auch das Verbalgefüge g i š t a g sollte nicht mit "opfern" übersetzt werden. Es bedeutet wörtlich "das (brennende) Holz (etwas) berühren lassen" und bezieht sich, wenn die gegebene Erklärung richtig ist, auf die Art der Darbringung, das Verbrennen der zur Versorgung der Götter dienenden Speisen.

4. Zum Kriegswesen

Die letzte Phase der frühdynastischen Periode ist gekennzeichnet durch die Verschärfung der Spannungen zwischen den sumerischen Kleinstaaten. Sie entladen sich in Kriegen, die immer rascher aufeinander folgen. Unter dem Druck einer wachsenden Bevölkerung sind bei ständig fortschreitender Austrocknung die nach dem damaligen Stand der Technik durch künstliche Bewässerung erreichbaren fruchtbaren Gebiete erschlossen. Die Kleinstaaten sind zu Grenznachbarn geworden. So flammte in jeder Generation der Streit zwischen Lagaš und Umma um die Nutzung des Guedena-Gebietes neu auf, und die Schlichtung des Konfliktes durch einen unparteiischen König (Mesalim) blieb ein einmaliges Ereignis, das nur für die kurze Zeit Frieden brachte, da Umma geschwächt und Lagaš stark genug war, seine Grenzen wirksam zu schützen.
Die Vereinigung mehrerer oder gar aller Kleinstaaten Babyloniens unter einer Herrschaft entsprach nicht nur dem Machtstreben ehrgeiziger Regenten, sondern bot die einzige Möglichkeit den gesamten Raum zu befrieden. Die Versuche größere Staatsgebilde oder den Einheitsstaat zu schaffen, mehren sich. Eanatum beherrschte weite Teile Süd- und Mittelbabyloniens. Der erste Versuch zur Gründung eines Einheitsreichs ging unter Enšagkušana von Uruk aus. Es kann nur von kurzer Dauer gewesen sein. Lugalzagesi von Umma, der einzige König einer III. Dynastie von Uruk, knüpfte hier an. Es gelang ihm ganz Mesopotamien für wenigstens ein oder höchstens zwei Jahrzehnte zu beherrschen. Schließlich löste Sargon von Akkad diese Aufgabe mit dauerhafterem Erfolg.
Die Schlacht und die anschließende Siegesfeier sind die Hauptthemen der Bildkunst und Feldzüge sowie gewonnene Schlachten die wichtigste Mitteilung der Königsinschriften, wenn sie den Rahmen kleiner Bau- und Weihinschriften überschreiten. Wie die sogenannte Mosaikstandarte aus Ur (Abb. 11), die Geierstele aus Tello, aber auch Schlachtendarstellungen aus Kiš und Mari zeigen, war die Bewaffnung der Truppen weitgehend gleich. Die Kleinstaaten dieser Zeit stützten sich auf zwei Waffengattungen, die Streitwagen und die Infanterie. Wenn man auf der Geierstele nur einen einzigen Streitwagen abgebildet findet, in dem der König und Feldherr Eanatum seinen Truppen voranfährt, fragt man sich, ob man bei den Wagen überhaupt von einer Waffengattung reden darf. Aber der unterste Bildstreifen der Kriegsseite auf der Mosaikstandarte von Ur zeigt 4 Kampfwagen in voller Fahrt, die offenbar stellvertretend für eine fahrende Einheit stehen. Es mag regionale Unterschiede gegeben

haben. Die bisher bekannten Schriftzeugnisse geben auf die Frage, in welchem Umfang Kampfwagen eingesetzt wurden, keine klare Antwort. Enmetena berichtet in seiner großen Inschrift (Ent. 28/29 III 19-21), daß Urlumma von Umma 60 Eselsgespanne am Ufer des Lummagirnunta-Kanals zurücklassen mußte. Ein Gespann bestehend aus vier Eseln zieht einen Wagen, und so kann der Satz meinen, daß es nicht mehr gelang 60 Streitwagen



Abb. 11: Mosaikstandarte aus Ur

über den Kanal in Sicherheit zu bringen, aber es ist ebenso möglich, daß Urlumma bei seiner überhasteten Flucht den Troß verlor. Wenn die Stadtfürsten von Lagaš für den Kriegsgott Ningirsu einen Streitwagen herstellen lassen, eine Remise bauen oder einen Stall für die Eselshengste der Bespannung, so entspricht das nur der Ausstattung des Königs als oberstem Heerführer.

Die Wirtschaftsurkunden machen im übrigen deutlich, daß das g i g i r$_2$ genannte, gewöhnlich durch "Streitwagen" übersetzte Fahrzeug auch friedlichen Zwecken diente. Der oberste Verwaltungsbeamte des BaU-Tempels, der Inspektor Eniggal, hielt sich ein Gespann Esel, manchmal mit 1 oder 2 Ersatztieren. Für die Futterrationen kam der Tempel auf. Offenbar stand ihm ein Dienstfahrzeug zu.

Wenn die Frau des Stadtfürsten an den großen Nanše-Festen nach Nimin reiste, fuhr sie, wie es scheint, auch im g i g i r$_2$. Die Ausgrabungen der Wagengräber von Ḫursagkalama bei Kiš, tönerne Wagenmodelle ebenfalls aus Kiš, die Wagendarstellungen (Abb. 12) auf

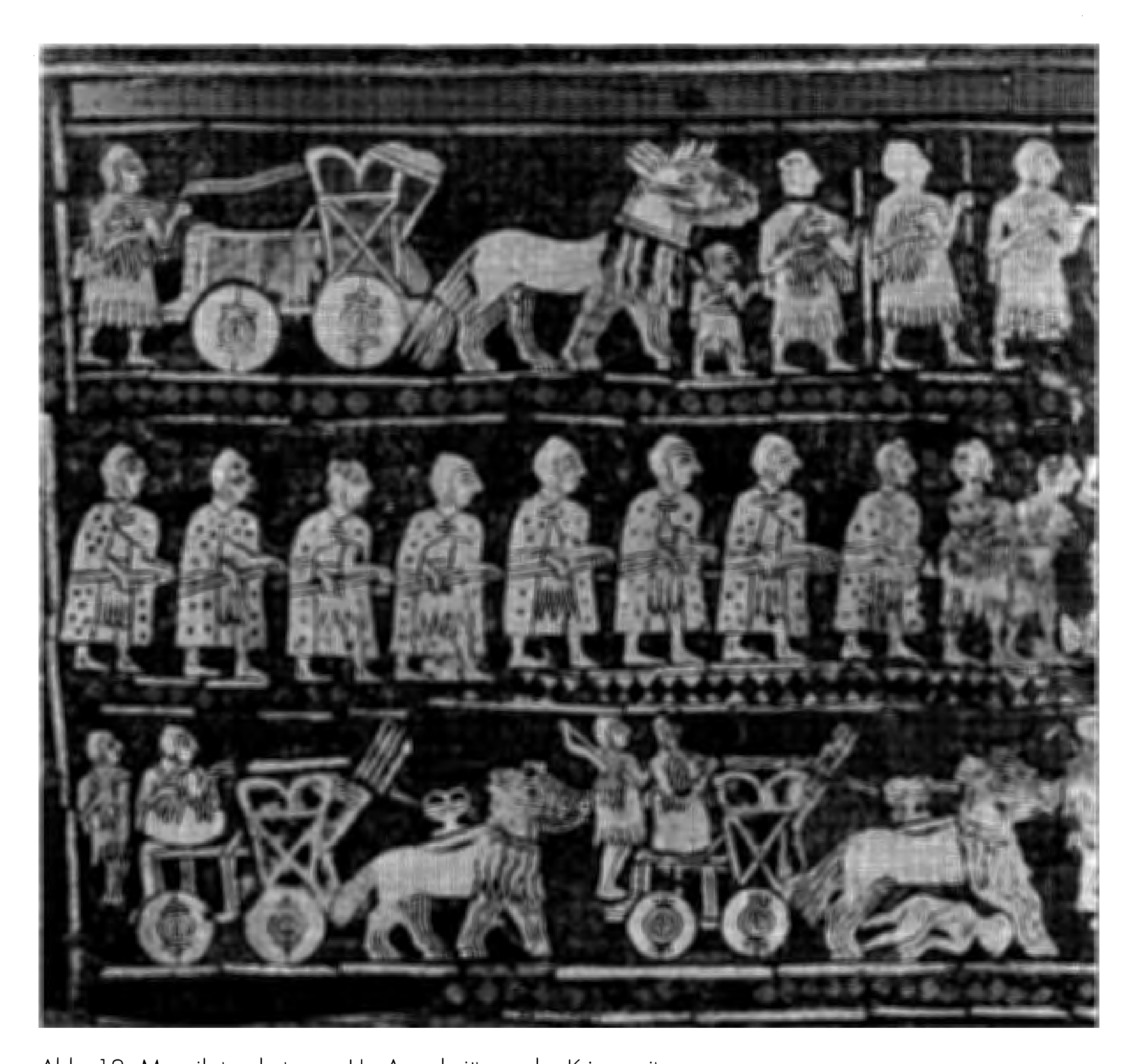


Abb. 12: Mosaikstandarte aus Ur: Ausschnitt aus der Kriegsseite



Abb. 13: Weihplattenfragment aus Ur

der Mosaikstandarte und einem Weihplattenfragment aus Ur (Abb. 13) belegen, daß gleichzeitig und am selben Ort zwei Wagentypen in Gebrauch waren, ein einachsiges und ein zweiachsiges Modell. Häufiger abgebildet wird der vierräderige Wagen. Allein auf der Mosaikstandarte ist er auf der Kriegsseite fünfmal wiedergegeben. Der Wagenkasten hat eine hohe Stirnwand, sie reicht dem dahinter stehenden Wagenlenker bis über die Brust, und niedrige, bis etwa in Kniehöhe reichende Seiten. Die Stirnwand ist durch sich überkreuzende Streben, die Seitenflächen durch hölzerne Rahmen verstärkt. An der linken Seite der Vorderwand ist ein Behälter angebracht, in ihm stecken Lanzen, auf der Geierstele auch eine langstielige Axt und die Peitsche mit zwei Lederriemen. Die beiden Achsen stehen in kurzem Abstand voneinander, so daß zwischen den großen Rädern wenig Raum bleibt. Diese Räder sind aus zwei halbkreisförmigen Holzscheiben zusammengesetzt, die von außen und wahrscheinlich auch von innen durch Metallklammern aneinander befestigt waren. Ein besonderes Gehäuse umgab die Achsen. Der Außenrand des Rades war manchmal mit Metallstiften beschlagen. Sie verringerten die Abnutzung und erhöhten die Griffestigkeit des Rades. Die lange, gerade Deichsel setzt bei den Wagen aus Ur am Wagenboden an. In Höhe des Widerristes des Gespanns waren die Zügelringe angebracht. Die Zügel liefen durch eine Einkerbung in der Mitte der Stirnwand des Wagens durch die Zügelringe bis zu einem Ring, der den Leittieren durch die Nase gebohrt war. Das Gespann bestand aus vier nebeneinander herlaufenden Eseln.

Platz bot der Wagen für zwei Personen. In den Wagen aus Ur steht vorne hinter der Vorderwand der Wagenlenker und hinter ihm der Kämpfer. Auch der Lenker ist bewaffnet. Was die Form der Deichsel anbetrifft, so gab es wie am Wagen Eanatums die Variante einer gleich vor der Stirnwand hoch aufgewölbten Deichsel mit den Zügelringen an der höchsten Stelle der Wölbung. Daß diese Form auch in Ur bekannt war, zeigt die Abbildung eines zweiräderigen mit Fellen behangenen Gefährts auf einem Weihplattenfragment (Abb 13).

Eanatum steht vorn in seinem Wagen. Er schwingt mit der Linken eine Lanze und hält in der Rechten ein gebogenes Schwert. Der Lenker steht in diesem Fall hinter ihm. Seine viel kleinere



Abb. 14: Wagenmodell aus Tell Ağrab

Figur ist weitgehend zerstört. Er muß die Zügel in der Linken gehalten haben, denn die Rechte führt ebenfalls eine Lanze. Beide Aufstellungen hatten ihre Nachteile. Stand der Kämpfer hinten, so mußte er am Lenker vorbei seine Lanzenstöße seitlich führen. Stand der Lenker hinten im Wagen, behinderte ihn der Kämpfer beim Lenken.

Eine eigenartige Fahrweise stellt das kupferne Modell eines zweiräderigen Wagens aus Tell Ağrab dar (Abb. 14). Hier steht der Fahrer hinter dem hohen Aufbau der Vorderwand breitbeinig über einem Bock, die Füße beiderseits auf die Achse gestellt. Die Stellung sieht seltsam aus – man würde eher denken, daß er auf dem Bock wie auf einem Motorrad sitzt – aber sie erklärt sich leicht: die damaligen Fahrzeuge waren nicht gefedert.

Gezogen wurden sowohl der Ein- als auch der Zweiachser von je vier nebeneinander gespannten Eseln. Die Tiere erhielten nach den Wirtschaftsurkunden aus Girsu eine Zufütterung aus Gerste. Sie betrug 3 Ban oder etwas mehr als 15 l Gerste täglich für ein Gespann aus großen Eselhengsten und 2 Ban oder etwas mehr als 10 l täglich für ein Gespann aus kleineren Eselhengsten oder Stuten.

Für Fragen, die den Wagenbau betreffen sind die Wirtschaftstexte bisher nicht sehr ergiebig. Nach M .Civil[115] sind vier verschiedene Wagentypen belegt: g i g i r$_2$, m a r (nach M. Civil abgekürzt aus m a r - g i d$_2$ - d a), n i g$_2$ - š u - k und ḪAR.ḪA - d a. Mit P. Steinkeller[116] ist ḪAR.ḪA - d a, das er als Dreschschlitten erklärt, wahrscheinlich abzuziehen, so daß noch

115 M .Civil, JAOS 88, 1968, 3-4, 13; ders., The Farmer's Instructions, 1994, 93-94.
116 P. Steinkeller, Iraq 52, 1990, 21-23.

drei Bezeichnungen verbleiben, und zwar g i g i r_2 für den ein- und den zweiachsigen Kriegswagen, m a r (-g i d_2 - d a) für den Lastwagen und n i g_2 - š u - k, wörtlich "Sache der Hand", für einen Typ, von dessen Aussehen man bisher keine Vorstellung hat. Nur wenige Wagenteile kommen in den bisher veröffentlichten Texten vor. Sie sind für g i g i r_2 und m a r gleich. Das einzige sicher identifizierte Teil wird MA.BU geschrieben und ist m a d u l_x zu lesen. Es bezeichnet die Deichsel.

Der militärische Nutzen dieser schwerfälligen und nicht zu wendenden Doppelachser kann nicht groß gewesen sein. Das Hauptgewicht lag im Krieg auf den Fußtruppen. Verglichen mit spätbronzezeitlicher oder eisenzeitlicher Ausrüstung waren diese Soldaten spärlich bewaffnet. Man wird eindringlich daran erinnert, daß jegliches Metall nach Babylonien eingeführt werden mußte. Die Fußsoldaten, die auf dem mittleren Streifen der Kriegsseite der Mosaikstandarte in einer Linie vorrücken, sind barfuß, obwohl Sandalen bekannt waren, und tragen über dem Zottenrock einen wadenlangen Umhang, der oben von einer Metallschließe zusammengehalten wird. Er weist ein Muster verstreuter Punkte auf und war vielleicht mit Metallknöpfen benäht. Der Kopf wird von einem Helm mit leicht hochgezogener Spitze geschützt. Ein Riemen befestigt ihn am Kinn. Obwohl bronzene Helme in den Gräbern von Ur gefunden wurden, ist nicht anzunehmen, daß jeder Soldat einen Metallhelm trug, die normale Ausführung wird eher aus Leder gewesen sein. s a g - š u_4, wörtlich die "Kopfbedeckung", versehen mit dem Determinativ z a b a r_3 "Bronze" als Bezeichnung für den Helm kommt bei Uruinimgina vor (Ukg. 4 V 11 // 5 V 8). Die einzige Waffe, die sie mit beiden Händen führen, ist eine Lanze, nicht ein Speer; denn es gibt keine Hinweise darauf, daß die Waffe wie das römische pilum geworfen worden wäre, schließlich wäre der einfache Soldat nach dem Fortschleudern waffenlos. Das sumerische Wort für diese Waffe ist g i d_2 - d a, "die Lange", wie akkadisch *ariktu*, versehen mit dem Determinativ g i š.

Die Besatzung der Streitwagen trägt statt des hinderlichen Umhangs ein Vlies, das die linke Schulter bedeckt und die rechte frei läßt. Der abgestiegene Wagenlenker links oben auf der Mosaikstandarte hat eine Axt mit Tülle und einer Klinge.

Das auf der Geierstele wiedergegebene Waffenarsenal ist ein wenig reichhaltiger. König Eanatum im Streitwagen trägt einen Helm mit sorgfältig getriebenen Gehäusen für die Ohren, einem Diadem und einer Kapsel für den Haarknoten. Er muß aus Metall gewesen sein und läßt sich unmittelbar mit dem goldenen Prunkhelm aus dem Grabe des Meskalamdug von Ur vergleichen. Der Helm Eanatums ist ebensowenig durch einen Kinnriemen gesichert, wie die einfacheren Helme seiner Soldaten. Eanatum führt in der Linken eine Lanze, mit der Rechten ein gebogenes Schwert. Der sumerische Name für diese auffällige Waffe könnte u l_4 - g a l = akkadisch *namṣāru* gewesen sein, doch das ist unsicher. Im Köcher des Streitwagens stecken außer der Peitsche ein ganzes Bündel von Lanzen und eine Axt desselben Typs, wie der Wagenlenker aus Ur sie trug. Die Eanatum folgenden Soldaten sind jeder mit Lanze und Axt bewaffnet.

Das seltsamste ist die Phalanx, der im Bildfeld darüber ein barfüßiger Eanatum voranschreitet. Die Darstellung ist in einer Weise stilisiert und damit unrealistisch, daß nur schwer die Wirklichkeit des Krieges hinter ihr greifbar wird. Aus den Schilden ragen 9 behelmte Köpfe heraus, und ihnen entsprechen 9 Paare unbedeckter Füße am unteren Rand. Die Schilde

selbst – es sind vier – sind von vorn dargestellt. Sie decken den ganzen Leib ab. Drei Reihen mit je drei Buckeln verstärken sie. Die Buckel wird man sich aus Metall vorzustellen haben. Vorn stehen zwei Äxte des bekannten Typs über den rechten Schildrand vor, sonst erscheinen vor jedem linken Schildrand sechs Paar Hände, die von oben nach unten angeordnet, je einen Lanzenschaft umklammern und nach links strecken. Da niemand mit zwei Händen eine Lanze führen und gleichzeitig einen Schild tragen kann, müssen die Funktionen aufgeteilt gewesen sein. Ein Soldat, der mit beiden Armen den schweren, fast mannshohen Schild trug, deckte wenigstens je einen Lanzenkämpfer rechts und links neben sich. Diese Verteilung scheint die Urkunde Nik 281 zu bestätigen, die die Ausgabe von Waffen an zwei Hauptleute verbucht. Ursag, dem ersten, unterstehen weitere 7 Obleute. Er erhält insgesamt 37 Lanzen und 14 Schilde. Die Bezeichnung für den Schild wird altsumerisch e - u r_3 geschrieben. Sie entspricht späterem e^{eb_2} - u r_3 . Geht man die einzelnen Angaben durch, so erhält jeder Obmann Lanzen und Schilde in einem annähernd gleichen Verhältnis, und zwar kommen auf zwei bis drei Lanzen ein Schild.

Die zweite Truppe unter Amarki – mit 10 Obleuten außer ihm – besteht aus zwei verschieden bewaffneten Einheiten. Die erste wird wieder mit Lanzen und Schilden ausgerüstet, diesmal im Verhältnis 5 zu 1 (auf 5 Lanzen kommt nur 1 Schild). Von der zweiten Einheit, die nur aus Fischern besteht, erhält jeder Obmann 10 Doppeläxte (d u r_{10}- t a b - b a. Sie sind auf der Geierstele nicht abgebildet, aber Bronzeoriginale wurden in Ur-Gräbern gefunden.), 10 Äxte mit einer Klinge (d u r_{10} - z u_2 - d i š/a $š_{10}$. Das ist wohl die Benennung für den am häufigsten wiedergegebenen Typ.) und nur einen Schild. Eine gewisse Unsicherheit bei der Deutung rührt daher, daß es sich bei der Buchung der Urkunde nicht um eine Grund- oder Erstausstattung zu handeln braucht, sondern die ausgegebenen Waffen vielleicht nur Verluste an Ausrüstung ersetzen sollten.

Wirft man einen Blick auf die erhaltenen Konskriptionslisten, so könnte eine von ihnen (DP 135) die Bezeichung für die Schildträger enthalten. Auf die ersten beiden Züge von 26 und 20 Mann folgen jeweils 6 Mann mit der Wendung a m a - ERIM- k a m, "Mutter der Truppe", möglicherweise verbergen sich hinter diesem Ausdruck die "Schildträger".

Eine zweite von Waffen handelnde Urkunde gibt uns eine Vorstellung von den Größen (Nik 298). Hier sind Waffen in einer Liste zusammengestellt, die ein Schmied namens Šubur zu verschiedenen Malen bei der Frau des Königs abgeliefert hat. Die Liste aus dem 4. Königsjahr Uruinimginas erfaßt insgesamt 200 Doppeläxte und 82 Lanzenspitzen (IGI - g i š - g i d_2 - d a). Es läßt sich aus den angegebenen Gesamtgewichten der einzelnen Lieferungen errechnen, daß eine Doppelaxt zwischen105 und 106 Sekel wog, das sind ungefähr 1 3/4 Pfund, und eine Lanzenspitze zwischen 15 und 16 Sekel, das sind um die 130 Gramm. Leider ist nicht vermerkt, ob die Waffen aus Bronze oder Kupfer gegossen waren.

Eine weitere Waffe, von der zahlreiche Originale gefunden wurden, die aber nur zufällig in den Urkunden erst einmal zu belegen ist, ist das kurze, gerade Schwert oder der Dolch (g i r_2). Der bereits erwähnte Schmied Šubur nimmt 7 Stierhörner in Empfang, um daraus Griffe oder Scheiden für Schwerter zu machen (Fö 15). Das Zeichen KAM, das für das zu verfertigende Zubehör steht, ist nicht sicher zu deuten. Ein Argument zugunsten der Wieder-

gabe durch "Griff" ist, daß die Scheide, jedenfalls in der Ur III-Zeit, MUNUS.UŠ geschrieben wird (Abb. 15).
Pfeil und Bogen sind durch die Löwenjagdstele von Uruk seit der Ǧemdet-Naṣr-Zeit für das südliche Mesopotamien nachweisbar (vgl. auch ZATU 48). Eine weitere Verbreitung konnte der Bogen deshalb nicht finden, weil es an geeigneten Hölzern fehlte. Es war jedoch keineswegs so, daß der Bogen nur der Jagd diente, wie das C. J. Gadd[117] meinte. Eanatum wurde in der entscheidenden Schlacht gegen Umma durch einen Pfeil getroffen. Eine Belagerungsszene, geritzt in eine weiße Steinplatte aus dem präsargonischen Palast von Mari, zeigt einen Bogner, der aus der Deckung einer Setztartsche einen mit Widerhaken besetzten Pfeil in die Höhe zu einer nicht mehr erhaltenen Mauerkrone hinauf schießen will. Von oben stürzt ein Mann herab. In den Wirtschaftsurkunden kommen selten Bögen und dann nur in geringer Stückzahl vor (Fö 57 II 2; DP 419 I 5 u.ö.). Sie sind stets aus dem einheimischen Holz des "Süßkornbaumes" (g i š - š e - d u g_3) angefertigt.
Jahresdaten aus Nippur, ein okkasioneller Monatsname aus Girsu und Erwähnungen in den Königsinschriften sagen klar, daß es zu Belagerungen kam. Die Sumerer nannten das u r u - d a t u š, "bei einer Stadt sitzen". Man vermag sich aber keine rechte Vorstellung davon zu machen, wie man sie in vorsargonischer Zeit durchführte, denn Belagerungsmaschinen, wie sie die assyrischen Könige des 1. Jahrtausends einsetzten, kannte man noch nicht. Der Widder, auch Sturmbock oder Mauerbrecher genannt (sumerisch (g i š -) g u d - s i - AŠ, "der Stier mit dem einen Horn"), kommt zuerst in Liedern auf die Könige der Ur III-Zeit vor[118].
Zwei berühmte frühdynastische Belagerungen werden uns in sumerischen Epen geschildert. Da sich der vollständige Text dieser literarischen Werke erst aus den Abschriften der altbabylonischen Zeit herstellen läßt, bleibt hier die Frage, inwieweit sie als zuverlässige Zeugen für jene längst vergangene Zeit angesehen werden können. Im Epos "Gilgameš und Aka" belagert der König von Kiš Uruk. Die Einschließung endet jedoch sehr bald, als Gilgameš auf der Stadtmauer erscheint und durch seinen göttlichen Schreckensglanz die Feinde lähmt. Enkidu nimmt den feindlichen König inmitten seiner Truppen gefangen, führt ihn vor Gilgameš, und Aka ist gezwungen, sich dem Sieger zu unterwerfen.
Ein zweites Beispiel: Enmerkar von Uruk belagert zunächst erfolglos Aratta. Die Eingeschlossenen wehren sich durch einen Hagel von Schleudergeschossen und Wurfspießen, die auf die Soldaten unterhalb der Mauern niederprasseln. Was die Belagerer unternehmen, die Stadt zu Fall zu bringen, erfährt man nicht. Auch wie lange sich die Einschließung hinzog, wird nur angedeutet. Es wird berichtet, daß das Unternehmen länger dauerte, als man erwartet hatte, und das Jahr zu Ende ging, ohne daß man die Stadt einnehmen konnte. Die Soldaten aus Uruk murren, als sie das frische Grün einer aufkeimenden neuen Ernte auf den Feldern sehen. Der Erfolg stellt sich endlich ein, als der Feldherr sich durch Lugalbanda Rat bei Inana in Uruk geholt hat. Sie schlägt dem Abgesandten ein Ritual zur magischen Stärkung ihrer Ankara-Waffe vor. Obgleich der Dichter es nicht eigens ausführt, hat Enmerkar das

[117] C. J. Gadd, CAH vol. 1 part 2, ^{3}1971, 123-124.
[118] W. Heimpel, StPohl 2, 1968, 177; Å.W. Sjöberg, FS Kramer (AOAT 25), 1976, 424. Vorsargonisch allerdings schon in Ebla bezeugt: P. Steinkeller, N.A.B.U. 1987, Nr. 27.

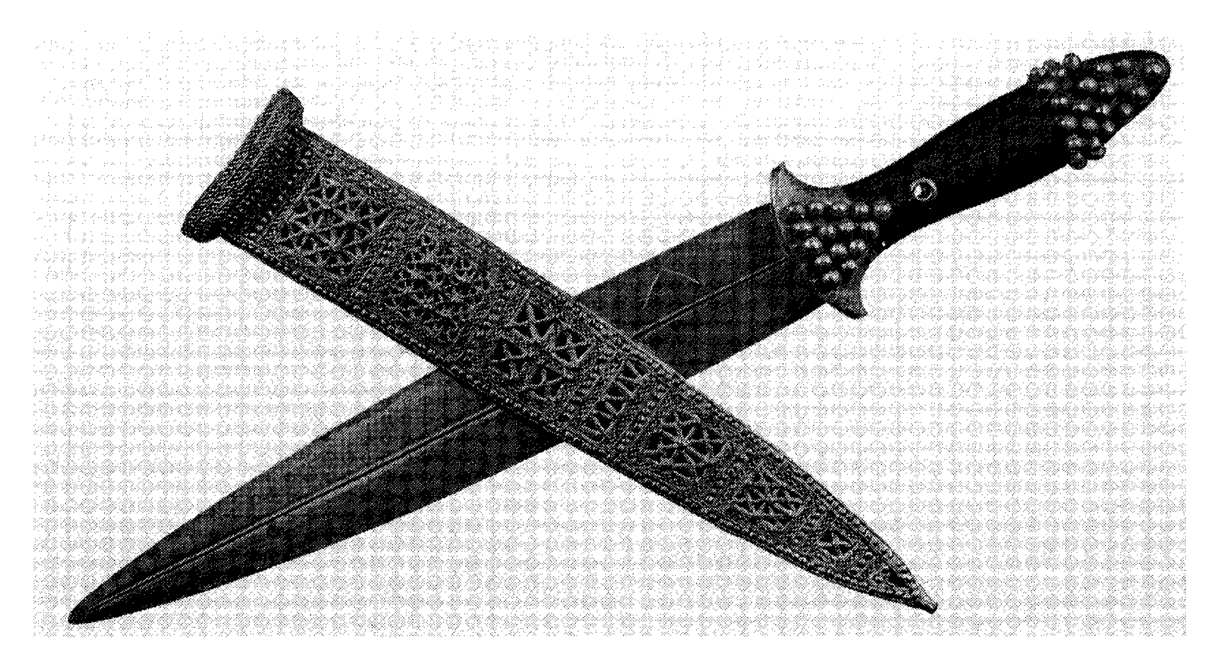


Abb. 15: Dolch aus dem Königsfriedhof von Ur

Ritual sicher vollzogen, Aratta fällt und wird niedergebrannt. Leider verschweigt der Dichter, was die Soldaten zum Gelingen der Eroberung beitrugen. Es ist für das Anliegen der Dichtung unwesentlich.

Auch von der Epik im Stich gelassen, kann man über den Verlauf einer Belagerung nur Vermutungen anstellen. Die beste Methode, eine Stadt einzunehmen, war sicherlich die, eine Belagerung zu vermeiden und den in einer Feldschlacht geschlagenen, fliehenden Feinden möglichst eng zu folgen, um mit ihnen in die Stadt einzudringen, bevor die Tore geschlossen werden konnten. Kam es jedoch zu einer Belagerung, dauerte sie offenbar nur kurz. Daten der Königsinschriften und Urkunden der Zeit Uruinimginas machen es wahrscheinlich, daß Girsu in drei aufeinanderfolgenden Jahren eingeschlossen wurde. Man belagerte eine Stadt nicht 10 Jahre lang wie die Griechen Troja. Es war auch kaum möglich eine Stadt auszuhungern. Die Mauern von Uruk umschlossen soviel unbebautes Gelände, daß eine eingeschränkte Selbstversorgung möglich war, und für Trinkwasser konnten jederzeit Brunnen gebohrt werden. Nach jeder Ernte lagerten große Mengen Getreide in den Magazinen. Dennoch waren ummauerte Städte nicht uneinnehmbar, die kurzen Nachrichten über Städtezerstörungen in den Königsinschriften beweisen es. Aber welche Techniken wandten die Sumerer der frühdynastischen Zeit dazu an? Kannte man das Unterminieren der Stadtmauern, oder wußte man Kanäle und Flüsse so umzuleiten, daß sie die Mauern unterspülten? Konnte man Rampen gegen die Mauern aufschütten, um damit den Kampf auf die Ḫöhe der Zinnen zu tragen? Der Angreifer hatte dabei nur den Nachteil, daß er bergauf kämpfen mußte. Bis klärende Texte oder Textstellen bekannt werden, sind diese Fragen nicht zu beantworten.

Über 1'600 publizierte Urkunden aus dem Archiv des BaU-Tempels können zur Rekonstruktion des Gefüges dieser Wirtschaftseinheit herangezogen werden. Sie alle entfallen in die Regierungszeit der letzten drei Regenten von Lagaš, Enentarzid, Lugalanda und Uruinimgina. Bei näherem Zusehen ist allerdings einzuschränken, daß die Zeit Enentarzids nur schwach belegt ist, und die Masse der Texte in die 6 Regierungsjahre Lugalandas und in die ersten 7 Jahre Uruinimginas gehören, d.h. in einen Zeitraum von nur 13 Jahren. Ist das Ende des Quellenstromes ein deutliches Indiz für den Zusammenbruch des lagašitischen Staatswesens, so fehlt es bisher an einer einleuchtenden Erklärung für das, gemessen an der Dauer der I. Dynastie, späte Einsetzen der Urkunden, außer man will dafür den Fundzufall verantwortlich machen.

Diese Materialdichte sollte aber nicht zu der Annahme verleiten, daß man bei irgendeinem Verwaltungsvorgang mit einer lückenlosen Dokumentation rechnen darf. Es war üblich die laufenden Gersten- und Emmerausgaben des Tempels monatlich auf einer großen Übersichtstafel zusammenzufassen. Für die 13 Jahre der letzten beiden Herrscher müssen also 13 x 12 Tafeln, das sind 156 Stück, existiert haben, oder da das 5. Königsjahr Uruinimginas ein Schaltjahr war, an das ein ganzer 30tägiger Monat angefügt wurde, 157 Listen. Gerade diese Übersicht über eine 13. Getreideausgabe hat sich in dem Text TSA 35 erhalten. Von den vorauszusetzenden 157 Abrechnungen befinden sich nur 40 unter den publizierten Texten, das ist mehr als ein Viertel, und diese Gattung dürfte eine der am besten bezeugten im gesamten Urkundenbestand sein.

Dennoch kann sich eine Darstellung des Wirtschaftssystems des BaU-Tempels auf eine solide Materialbasis stützen. Schwierig wird es, wenn man über die Grenzen dieser einzelnen Wirtschaftseinheit hinauszublicken versucht. Für den Staatsbereich von Lagaš hat man mit drei Wirtschaftskreisen zu rechnen, einmal mit den Wirtschaften der Tempel, für die das Heiligtum der BaU als Modellfall dienen kann, zum zweiten der Wirtschaft des Palastes und drittens, wenigstens in einem bescheidenen Umfang, mit Privatwirtschaften. Zu diesem Ergebnis gelangen auch I.J. Gelb, P. Steinkeller, R. Whiting bei ihrer Untersuchung über die Verteilung des Landbesitzes anhand der ältesten Feldkaufurkunden (ELTS). In der frühdynastischen Zeit steht ihrer Meinung nach einem südlichen Raum mit den Städten Uruk, Ur, Eridu, und Larsa, in dem sich Grund und Boden nahezu ausschließlich in Händen der Tempel befunden haben, der nordbabylonische Raum gegenüber, in dem die Tempelgüter an Bedeutung immer hinter dem königlichen und Privatbesitz zurückstanden, während sich in einer dazwischenliegenden Zone mit den Städten Nippur, Isin, Adab, Šuruppak, Umma und Girsu neben den ausgedehnten Ländereien der Tempel und der Krone auch Landbesitz, wenn auch im einzelnen von geringer Größe, in privater Hand befand.

Es versteht sich von selbst, daß man aufgrund der Urkunden über die Belange des Palastes wenig aussagen kann, da es nur gelegentlich zu Interaktionen zwischen den autarken Wirtschaftseinheiten kam, und die privaten Haushalte völlig im dunkeln bleiben.

Große wirtschaftliche Macht konzentrierte sich in der Stadtfürstenfamilie; denn der Stadtfürst als Vertreter des Hauptgottes auf Erden scheint den Haushalt des Ningirsu bestimmt zu

haben, seine Ehefrau leitete den Haushalt der BaU, der Gemahlin des Ningirsu, und die Kinder des Stadtfürsten waren über den Haushalt des Šulšagana, des Sohnes des Ningirsu, gesetzt. Wenigstens solange die Kinder noch klein waren, übte die Frau des Stadtfürsten die Vormundschaft aus und stand auch der Wirtschaft der Kinder vor. Dagegen richteten sich die Reformen des Uruinimgina. Unter den aufgezählten Mißständen findet sich auch der Satz (Ukg. 4/5 VII 5-11), der in der Übersetzung von H. Steible lautet:

> "Es grenzten das Anwesen des Stadtfürsten an die Felder des Stadtfürsten, das Anwesen des 'Frauenhauses' an die Felder des 'Frauenhauses', das Anwesen der Kinder an die Felder der Kinder."

Die Behebung dieses Mißstandes wird folgendermaßen umschrieben (Ukg. 4/5 IX 7-11):

> "Auf dem Anwesen des Stadtfürsten (und) auf den Feldern des Stadtfürsten ist Ningirsu als Eigentümer eingesetzt; auf dem Anwesen des 'Frauenhauses' (und) auf den Feldern des 'Frauenhauses' ist Baba als Eigentümerin eingesetzt; auf dem Anwesen der Kinder (und) auf den Feldern der Kinder ist Šulšagana als Eigentümer eingesetzt."

Das Anwesen des Stadtfürsten (e$_2$-e n s i$_2$-k a) ist kein anderweitig bezeugter Begriff und bedarf deshalb der Erklärung. Der Einfluß des lagašitischen Stadtfürsten erstreckte sich zeitweilig auf zwei Wirtschaftseinheiten und zwar auf den Haushalt des Ningirsu, dessen Geschäfte von einem n u - b a n d a$_3$, "Inspektor", geführt wurden, und den Palast (e$_2$-g a l) mit einem s a n g a, sonst mit "Tempelvorsteher" wiedergegeben, an der Spitze der Verwaltung. Dieser Mißstand war aber nicht uralt, sondern kann erst eingetreten sein, als der Ningirsu-Tempelverwalter Enentarzid auch Stadtfürst wurde, und damit die beiden höchsten Staatsämter in theokratischer Weise in seiner Hand vereinigte. Die Reform Uruinimginas berührt natürlich nicht den Palast, sondern allein den Ningirsu-Tempel. Daß Uruinimgina sich nach den Reformen von der Leitung des Ningirsu-Tempels zurückzog, ist nach dem, was wir von den Verhältnissen beim BaU-Tempel wissen, unwahrscheinlich. Inwieweit er die Nutzung der Tempeleinkünfte für private Zwecke einschränkte, ist nicht nachprüfbar.

Bei der Verwaltung des BaU-Tempels wird die Reform in einer Änderung des Kolophons der Urkunden greifbar. Wo Dimtur, die Frau Enentarzids, und Baragnamtara, die Frau Lugalandas, von ihrem Eigentum sprechen, da wird unter Sasag, der Frau Uruinimginas, der Name der Göttin BaU angeführt, oder deutlich vom Eigentum der BaU gesprochen. Die alte Bezeichung e$_2$-m i$_2$ "'Frauenhaus'" verwendet man nicht mehr, und es wird dafür allerdings auffallend spät der neue Begriff "Haus der BaU" geprägt. Aber auf den Eigentumsvermerk der BaU folgt weiterhin der Name der Sasag als Leiterin, und man sieht nicht, daß sich außer diesem Teil des Formulars irgendetwas geändert hätte. Die Verwaltung läuft bruchlos weiter. Ein Eindruck, der sich auch dadurch verstärkt, daß die Führung der Geschäfte unter Lugalanda und Uruinimgina, also vor und nach der Reform bei dem bewährten n u - b a n d a$_3$ Eniggal lag.

5.1. Einnahmen des BaU-Tempels

Eine Wirtschaftseinheit wie der BaU-Tempel war von bestimmten Rohstoffen abgesehen, die importiert werden mußten, autark. Alles, was in ihr verbraucht wurde, war zuvor von ihr erzeugt und verarbeitet worden.

5.1.1. Ackerbau

Grundlage ihrer Existenz war eine intensive Landwirtschaft mit integrierter Viehhaltung. Obwohl das Klima Babyloniens zur damaligen Zeit feuchter als in der Gegenwart gewesen ist, war diese intensive Landwirtschaft nur durch künstliche Bewässerung möglich. Schon damals wurde Babylonien von einem komplizierten Netz von Be- und Entwässerungskanälen durchzogen. Die Planung und Durchführung großer Kanalbauprojekte war eine der Aufgaben des Herrschers, doch die Anlage und Instandsetzung der Feldgräben fielen in die Zuständigkeit jedes einzelnen Tempels. So finden sich unter den erhaltenen Verwaltungstexten eine Reihe von Listen, die die Aufteilung der Arbeit in einzelne Abschnitte festlegen. Ausführen ließ der Tempel diese Arbeiten nicht durch Sklaven, sondern durch Tempelbedienstete. Obwohl es im Alten Orient zu allen Zeiten Sklaven gegeben hat, war ihre Zahl offenbar in vorsargonischer Zeit gering und damit von untergeordneter Bedeutung. Zu Frondiensten verpflichtet waren vor allem jene, die durch die Übernahme eines Versorgungsloses, eines Lehnsfeldes, eng mit dem Tempel verbunden waren. An erster Stelle werden meist die RU-lugal unter ihren Obleuten genannt. Wir können diese Bezeichnung noch nicht sicher deuten. "'Untergebene' des Königs" (so G.J. Selz[119]) ist ein Versuch der Wiedergabe, der darauf spekuliert, daß RU als šub "werfen" auch "unterwerfen" bedeuten könnte. Innerhalb der einzelnen Gruppen der RU-lugal wird wieder unterschieden zwischen den ses-gub-ba mit der höheren Arbeitsverpflichtung von (fast) 5 Ellen (ungefähr 2,50 m) pro Mann und den ses-tuš-ša$_4$ mit einer Arbeitszuweisung von 3 Ellen (ca. 1,50 m) pro Mann (TSA 23). Auch diese Ausdrücke sind noch unverständlich. Der erste Bestandteil ist das Wort "Bruder", das in den altsumerischen Urkunden auch "Ersatzmann" bedeutet. An die RU-lugal schließen sich die Berufe an, die mit der Feldarbeit vertraut sind wie Pflugführer, Vogelverscheucher (?), die engar – nicht einfache "Bauern", sondern Aufseher über die großen Feldkomplexe – aber auch Hirten, Gärtner, Süßwasserfischer, Handwerker, ja selbst die Schreiber, der Pförtner, der Mundschenk und der Hausverwalter, eben jeder, der ein Versorgungsfeld übernommen hatte, wurde zur Fronarbeit herangezogen.

Weil Felder neu erschlossen aber auch aufgegeben wurden, und es eine Brache gab, ist der Gesamtumfang der Liegenschaften des BaU-Tempels nur ungefähr zu bestimmen. Nach einer Zusammenstellung von A. Deimel[120] hatten die bestellbaren Flächen eine Größe von wenigstens 708 Bur oder fast 4'500 ha, hinzu kamen noch die von den Feldern abgeteilten Flächen für den Gemüseanbau, Baumgärten, sowie Gehölze und Röhrichte. Die Felder

[119] G.J. Selz, FAOS 15/1, 1989, 115, 248.
[120] A. Deimel, Or 4, ^{2}1924, 39-41.

waren in 3 Kategorien eingeteilt, in n i g_2 - e n - n a - Land, das der Tempel zur Deckung des Eigenbedarfs bewirtschaften ließ, in s u k u d^r-Land, das in kleine Parzellen aufgeteilt, den Tempelbediensteten als Lehen überlassen wurde, und in a p i n - l a_2-Land, das Pachtland. Die Lehensträger pachteten oft das an ihre Parzelle angrenzende Feldstück.
Von einem Feld, dem GAN_2 - s a_6 - g a - t u r, ist aus dem 1. Königsjahr Uruinimginas eine genaue Aufstellung erhalten geblieben (STH 1,40). Die gesamte Fläche des mit Getreide bestellbaren Landes – die Bezeichnung ist k i - d u r u_5 "Feuchtboden" – betrug rund 808 Iku oder 285 ha. Davon war nur ein knappes Viertel n i g_2 - e n - n a -Land, etwas mehr als ein Viertel war verpachtet und gut die Hälfte in Versorgungslose aufgeteilt. Die normale Größe eines Versorgungsloses liegt zwischen 1 und 18 Iku, also zwischen rund 35 und 635 a. Am besten ausgestattet war Eniggal, der Inspektor, mit 43 Iku Land. Auch sonst läßt sich an der Feldergröße ablesen, wie hoch ein Beruf geschätzt wurde. Nach Fö 72 besaß der Inspektor mehrere dieser Felder. Im ganzen waren es 138 3/4 Iku oder fast 50 ha, ein funktionsfähiges Gut.
Nach Berechnungen des Kaloriebedarfs deckte bereits ein Versorgungslos von 1 Iku Größe bei durchschnittlichem Ertrag den Unterhalt für mehr als eine Person. Und 2 Iku reichten zur Ernährung einer kleinen Familie aus.
Beim Pachtland betrug der Zins ungefähr 1 Hauptgur Gerste für 1 Iku, davon waren 5/6 in Gerste und 1/6 in Silber zu entrichten. Das entspricht je nach der Fruchtbarkeit des Bodens 1/5 oder 1/7 des zu erwartenden Ernteertrages.
Die Aufsicht über die großen Felder führte je ein e n g a r, der in vorsargonischer Zeit zu den hohen Verwaltungsbeamten zählte. Die Feldbestellung lag in den Händen der s a g - a p i n - n a, der "Pflugführer", die den Boden mit Rinder- oder Eselsgespannen bearbeiteten.
Auch über die Kosten der einzelnen Arbeitsgänge sind wir unterrichtet (Fö 184). Danach mußte man für das Umbruchpflügen 3 Hauptgur Gerste pro 1 b u r_3 als Rinderfutter veranschlagen. Das sind etwa 364 l Getreide auf 6 1/3 ha Land. Ebenso hoch waren die Unkosten für das zweite Pflügen. Als nur halb so schwer schätzte man das Saatpflügen ein. Hier rechnete man wieder mit 3 Hauptgur pro Bur Land, aber die eine Hälfte wurde an die Gespanne verfüttert, die andere verwendete man als Saatgut; das sind 12 Sila auf 1 iku oder ungefähr 10 l auf 35 a. In Deutschland soll die Saatmenge durchschnittlich 9mal so groß sein. Die Ertragsberechnungen der sumerischen Schreiber hat schon A. Deimel[121] zusammengestellt und ausgewertet. Er kommt im Durchschnitt auf das 82fache der Aussaat. Wenn Herodot I 193 von zweihundertfältiger und sogar dreihundertfältiger Frucht spricht, dürfte das übertrieben sein.
Angebaut wurde vor allem š e "Gerste", die auch noch bei einem leichten Salzgehalt des Bodens gedeihen soll. Ihr folgt schon mit wesentlich geringeren Anbauflächen z i z_2 "Emmer" in zwei Arten als weißer und g u_2 - n i d a -Emmer und an dritter Stelle g i g "Weizen". Das g i : l i_9 - b a r - Getreide, das nach Gudea in hohem Wasser wächst (Zyl. A III 12), ist schon eine Seltenheit. Es kann sich nicht um den Reis handeln, der erst zur Sasanidenzeit in Babylonien eingeführt wurde.

[121] A. Deimel, AnOr 2, 1931, 84.

Zur Getreideernte wurden wieder die Lehensträger des Tempels aufgeboten (VS 25, 39; 79). Eine erst kürzlich veröffentlichte Urkunde (VS 25, 41) stellt die Erträge von 9 Feldern im 6. Jahre Lugalandas zusammen. Es werden ungefähr 4'560 Hauptgur Gerste in ein Lagerhaus gebracht, das sind rund 5'529 hl. Bei einer Entsprechung von 1 hl = 1,25 Zentner ergeben sich 6'911 Zentner oder 345 1/2 Tonnen. Als Schneidewerkzeug benutzte man im vorsargonischen Lagaš statt der Sichel ein sägeartiges Gerät. In neusumerischer Zeit hatte sich auch in Lagaš die übliche Sichel durchgesetzt.

Von den Getreidefeldern waren die Flächen für den Gemüseanbau abgenommen. Nach dem häufigsten Gemüse hießen sie k i - s u m - m a "Zwiebelböden". Auf ihnen waren die Pflanzen in a b s i n_3 "(Acker-)Furchen" gesetzt. Diese Furchen waren offenbar sehr verschieden lang, so daß sich gänzlich unterschiedliche Relationen zu den bestellten Flächen ergeben. Drei Ernten scheinen in einem Jahr möglich gewesen zu sein; das halte ich jedenfalls immer noch für die plausibelste Erklärung der Angaben 1/2/3 g a r - r a, wörtlich "1., 2., 3. Setzung". Kultiviert wurden auf den "Zwiebelböden" 12 verschiedene Gewächse, von denen nur die Hälfte Lauchpflanzen waren. Die wichtigsten Arten heißen in wörtlicher Übersetzung: "Helle Zwiebel", "Karpfen-"[122], "Dilmun-", "Palmen-" und "z a ḫ a t i-Zwiebel". Eine Identifizierung mit den uns bekannten Lauchgewächsen ist noch nicht möglich. Bei den Dilmun-Zwiebeln mag es sich um eine Art handeln, die aus Baḥrain am Persischen Golf eingeführt worden war.

Außer diesen Vertretern der Gattung Lauch wuchsen dort auch noch zwei Arten von Hülsenfrüchten (g u_2 - g u_2), Koriander (š e - l u_2), Kümmel (g u_2 - m u n) als Gewürze und das nach Lesung und Bedeutung ungeklärte s i_4 - l u m.

Wenn Ernteerträge gebucht werden, sind Gemüse und Gewürze gebündelt; bezeichnet durch s a "Bündel" und g u - l a_2, wörtl. "Faden-Gebundenes". Einmal werden von einem Feldstück 336 g u - l a_2 verschiedener Zwiebelsorten notiert, von einem anderen 1'227 g u - l a_2. Nur wissen wir weder wieviel Stengel zu einem Bündel zusammengenommen wurden, noch kennen wir die Feldergrößen. Ein anderes Mal stammen 56 g u - l a_2 z a h a t i-Zwiebeln von 10 Sar Boden (=353 qm) (DP 378). Vier verschiedene Felder lieferten einmal 1'388 Bündel (s a) Kümmel (DP 381).

Teils zwischen den Zwiebeln, teils auf eigenen Feldstücken wuchs auch der Flachs (g u), der zur Herstellung von Leinen benötigt wurde. Es gibt keine Hinweise darauf, daß auch Leinöl gewonnen worden wäre. Außer verschiedenen Qualitäten kommt auch eine besondere Sorte vor, der Susa-Flachs – möglicherweise auch er ursprünglich importiert. Der Ertrag lag zwischen 6,5 und 8,5 Bündel pro Sar (DP 374).

Der Anbau von Sesam als Ölpflanze war noch unbekannt.

Der BaU-Tempel unterhielt 5 Baumgärten, von denen zwei eine Fläche von etwa je 3 i k u hatten. Sie lieferten Datteln und Weintrauben, Äpfel (nicht Aprikosen) und Feigen. Aus allen 5 Gärten zusammen wurden im 1. Königsjahr Uruinimginas 4 Hauptgur und 16 Sila Datteln, 3/4 Hauptgur und 7 Sila Trauben, 420 Gebinde (n i g_2 - d u_3 - a) Äpfel und 93 Gebinde Feigen abgeliefert. Der Vergleich mit anderen Urkunden zeigt, daß dies ungefähr als Jahres-

[122] Es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um frühe Zwiebeln, die zur Zeit der "Karpfenflut" geerntet werden konnten, im Gegensatz vielleicht zu den späten "Palmenzwiebeln" zur Zeit der reifen Datteln.

ertrag angesetzt werden kann. Die größten Mengen an Datteln erbrachte der am südlichsten gelegene Baumgarten am LAK 175-Kanal in der Nähe von Lagaš. Jeder Garten unterstand einem n u - k i r i$_6$, einem "Gärtner", der ihn mit Hilfe von 5 bis 8 i g i - n u - d u$_8$ und 1 bis 2 GAG.A.TAR bearbeitete. Über die i g i - n u - d u$_8$ gehen die Meinungen weit auseinander. Sicher ist, daß sie am untersten Ende der sozialen Leiter standen. Wörtlich bedeutet i g i - n u - d u$_8$ "einer, der die Augen nicht öffnet", ein "Blinder". Daher sind es für die einen geblendete Kriegsgefangene, die Sklavendienste verrichteten, während sich die anderen überlegt haben, ob denn Blinde überhaupt imstande wären, die ihnen zugewiesenen Arbeiten zu erledigen. Und da sie dies verneinen, der Ansicht sind, der Ausdruck müsse metaphorisch gebraucht sein. GAG.A.TAR, zu dessen Lesung auch das PSD 1/1 nur Widersprüchliches vorbringt[123], ist ein Beruf, der mit der Bewässerung, dem Öffnen und Schließen der Schleusen beschäftigt ist.

Aus den Gärten stammte auch das meiste in Lagaš verarbeitete Holz. Neben den Gärten werden seltener 4 Gehölze und noch seltener Felder, gemeint sind wohl Feldraine, als Orte, an denen Holz eingeschlagen wird, genannt. Man unterscheidet Stammholz (u r$_2$), Astholz (p a) und Reisigbündel (p a s a l a$_2$ - a). Holz war auch zur damaligen Zeit schon kostbar; alles wurde verarbeitet. Es werden 10 einheimische Bäume erwähnt. Das sind in alphabetischer Reihenfolge a - s u h$_5$, die "Föhre", a s a l$_2$, die "Euphratpappel", g i - g i d$_2$, wörtlich "das lange Rohr", also eine Phragmitesart, vielleicht auch eine Art Bambus, g u l - b u, völlig unklar – die Gleichsetzung von G.J. Selz[124] mit der Platane halte ich für falsch – ḫ a š ḫ u r, der "Apfelbaum", i l d a g$_4$ eine Art Pappel (?), m e s - b a r$_6$ - b a r$_6$, der "weiße m e s-Baum" – der "schwarze m e s-Baum" ist altsumerisch noch nicht belegt. Die Bestimmung von m e s als "Zürgelbaum" hängt letztlich an arabisch maisun. Diese Celtis-Art trägt Steinfrüchte, und in der sumerischen Dichtung wird der m e s- Baum als fruchttragender Baum beschrieben. Die Angabe des CAD M$_2$, 34b "it has no fruit" ist falsch. Weiter werden verwendet das Holz des š e - d u g$_3$, des "Süßkornbaumes", der nicht zu identifizieren ist, weiter š i n i g, die "Tamariske", deren Holz zu kleinen Geräteteilen, Stiften und Pflöcken, verarbeitet wird, und schließlich t i l - l u - u b$_2$, die "Orientplatane", wenn dieser Baum dem t u l - l u - b u - u m der Gudea-Zeit entspricht. t u l u b u m wird mit akkadischem *dulbu* und *dilbu* gleichgesetzt, und die Identifizierung hängt hier an neupersisch dulb. Zwei Berufe haben mit Bäumen zu tun. Aber wir kennen sie nur aus den Lohnlisten und nicht aus den Buchungen des Holzeinschlags. Der erste ist der l u$_2$ - t i r, in dem man den "Waldhüter" sehen könnte. Der zweite ist ein l u$_2$ - g i š - š i n i g, wörtlich ein "Mann der Tamarisken". Lieferte er das harte Holz an die Drechsler, oder brachte er auch den Beschwörungspriestern Zweige? Denn Tamariskenzweige sind das wichtigste Kultmittel im Beschwörungsritual. Im babylonischen Streitgespräch zwischen Dattelpalme und Tamariske rühmt sich die letztere: "Ich bin der Exorzist, ich reinige die Häuser der Götter; ... Ich bin der Oberexorzist und erneuere die Gotteshäuser ..." (BWL S. 153). Aus dem Munde der Dattelpalme hört sich das freilich ganz anders an, sie meint "Wo gesündigt wird, verrichtest du deine Arbeit, Tamariske" (BWL S. 161).

[123] vgl.: PSD 1/1 S. 49 s.v. a-bal A (du$_3$-a-ku$_5$) und S. 98 s.v. a-ku$_5$ (gag-a-ku$_5$).
[124] G.J. Selz, FAOS 15/1, 1989, 518.

Auch könnte der l u$_2$ - g i š - š i n i g das Manna eingesammelt haben, die zuckerhaltigen Exkremente der Mannaschildläuse, die an den Tamarisken saugen und deren Ausscheidung die trockene Hitze der Wüste eindickt – noch heute Grundstoff für manche orientalische Süßigkeit. Doch das bleibt nur Vermutung. Der l u$_2$ - g i š - š i n i g kommt in neusumerischer Zeit gelegentlich noch vor.
Ein wichtiges Material war das Rohr, das Schilf. Man schnitt es in ungeheuren Mengen in den Sümpfen und an den Rändern der Kanäle. Es wurde gebündelt, und, wenn große Haufen zusammengekommen waren, mit dem Schiff oder dem Lastwagen in die Magazine geliefert. Nach einer neu veröffentlichten Urkunde (VS 25, 104) brachte allein ein Aufseher 5'200 Bündel geschnittenes Rohr zum Lagerhaus, ein anderer 4'710 Bündel. Erstmals unterscheidet dieser Text auch zwischen dickem und dünnem Rohr für die Handwerksmeister (g a š a m), ingesamt 9'490 Bündel, und 420 Bündel für den Köhler (u$_2$ - b i l). Der überwiegende Teil wird also weiterverarbeitet, der geringere dient als Heizmaterial.
In hunderten von Bündeln wird auch (gi š -) m a - n u und u$_2$ - d u r u n - d u r u n - n a oder u$_2$ - d u r u n$_x$(KU.KU) - n a von den Obleuten den Lagerhäusern zugeleitet. m a - n u, das geschnitten wird, ist früher allgemein als "Kornelkirsche" (= akkadisch *ēru*) übersetzt worden. In neuerer Zeit hat P. Steinkeller[125] dafür "Weide" vorgeschlagen, aber das bleibt unsicher. u$_2$ ist am ehesten "Gestrüpp". Es wird geschnitten oder ausgerissen. Für d u r u n - d u r u n - n a oder d u r u n$_x$ - n a stehen sich zwei Erkärungen gegenüber, die ältere nach A. Deimel als "abgelagert" o.ä.[126] und eine neuere von M. Civil[127], der in d u r u n$_x$ eine abweichende Orthographie für den "Ofen" sieht, also "für den Ofen (bestimmt)", "zum Heizen".

5.1.2. Viehzucht

Verglichen mit dem Ackerbau war die Viehzucht nicht in gleichem Maße entwickelt. Es fehlte an geeigneten Weideplätzen. Die Buchführung des Tempels unterscheidet zwischen Großvieh, Kleinvieh und Schweinen. Als Großvieh waren Esel und Rinder, als Kleinvieh Schafe und Ziegen zusammengefaßt. Die Haltung der Schweine wurde verwaltungstechnisch völlig anders behandelt. Selten erwähnen die Texte, daß auch Vögel, vor allem wahrscheinlich Enten, gemästet wurden. Nur ein Hinweis bezieht sich bisher auf die Hundehaltung. Schon damals fütterte man sie mit Eselsfleisch (RTC 56).
Da die heutige Zoologie nicht mehr Afrika, sondern den Vorderen Orient als den Raum ansieht, in dem der Esel domestiziert wurde, steht einer Gleichsetzung von a n š e mit dem Esel nichts mehr im Wege. Bei den seltenen Tierbezeichnungen mit e d e n "Steppe" handelt es sich um die Wildform.
Schon in den frühen 60er Jahren hat H. Schmökel[128] die Ansicht von Zoologen übernommen, daß der Onager und andere Halbesel nicht zähmbar sind. Diese Auffassung fand damals keine Beachtung.

125 P. Steinkeller, The Foresters of Umma in: M.A. Powell (ed.), Labor in ancient Near East, 1987, 91-92.
126 A. Deimel, Or 5, 1922, 43.
127 M. Civil, OrAnt 21, 1982, 10 mit Anm. 9.
128 H. Schmökel, BiOr 21, 1964, 185b.

Von den beiden Grundkategorien, nach denen die alten Schreiber die Esel eingeteilt haben, ŠUL.GI und BAR.AN, hat man die erste kaum beachtet und die zweite als k u n g a_2 "Maultier" gedeutet. Als man zur Kenntnis nehmen mußte, daß es wegen der späteren Verbreitung des Pferdes im Vorderen Orient des 3. Jahrtausends Maultier und Maulesel nicht gegeben haben kann, stellte man sich unter k u n g a_2/BAR.AN Kreuzungen zwischen Eseln und Onagern vor. Nach den neuesten Ergebnissen von M. Civil[129] ist BAR.AN s u ḫ u b_x zu lesen. Eine Übersetzung gibt auch M. Civil nicht, doch scheint sich der Ausdruck auf eine Besonderheit der Haltung oder Verwendung der Tiere zu beziehen. Für das 5. Jahr Lugalandas läßt sich die genaue Zahl der vom BaU-Tempel gehaltenen Esel errechnen. Die Musterung bei 3 s i p a d - a m a - š a : g a n, 1 s i p a d - a m a r - r u - g a und 1 Person ohne Berufsbezeichnung ergibt in diesem Jahr 113 Tiere (Fö 160). Von den 4 Pflugführern arbeiten 2 mit Rindern und 2 mit Eseln. Die beiden letzteren haben in diesem Jahr 2 Hengste und 19 Stuten der Kategorie BAR.AN und 20 Hengste der Kategorie ŠUL.GI in Diensten. Das sind insgesamt 41 Tiere (Fö 66). Die Zahl schwankt von Jahr zu Jahr leicht, im Vorjahr waren es sogar 45. Dem Fuhrmann(?) Girnunkidug unterstanden im 5. Regierungsjahr Lugalandas 5 Eselsgespanne, und Eniggal, der Inspektor, unterhielt 1 Gespann; das sind zusammen 24 Esel. Man kommt also für dieses Jahr auf insgesamt 178 Tiere.

Bei den Eseln werden die Geschlechter durch verschiedene Ausdrücke bezeichnet, /eme/ steht für die Stute (Schreibungen e m e_3 und e m e_6) und /dur/ für den Hengst (geschrieben vor allem d u r_9, d u r_3 und in vielen Varianten). In den Listen stehen dafür meist die Abkürzungen MUNUS und UŠ/NITAḪ.

Der s i p a d - a m a - š a : g a n hütete die Muttertiere, die 1- bis 3-jährigen Stutenfohlen (g i r, die Lesung ist unsicher), soweit sie zur Zucht bestimmt waren, die Saugfohlen (g a - k u_2 - a), die Hengstfohlen, die gerade richtig laufen können (NITAḪ.DU), und die 1jährigen Stuten- und Hengstfohlen der Gattungen BAR.AN und ŠUL.GI. Die übrigen 2- bis 4jährigen Stuten- und Hengstfohlen unterstanden dem s i p a d - a m a r - r u - g a. Die Bezeichnung enthält a m a r, das "Tierjunge", und die a -Ableitung eines noch unklaren Verbums r u - g. Mit 3 oder 4 Jahren wurden die Arbeitshengste und -stuten den Pflugführern oder dem Fuhrmann überstellt.

Außer Geschlecht, Größe und Verwendung wird bei den jährlichen Inspektionen auch in einer Notiz festgehalten, wie es um das Sehvermögen der Tiere bestellt ist. Man unterscheidet i g i - s i l i m, "mit heilen Augen", von i g i - 1, "einäugig", und i g i - m i n - n a - b e_2 n u - d u_8, "beidäugig blind".

Nur wenige Texte unterrichten darüber, daß die Häute verendeter Esel dem Inspektor abgeliefert wurden. Ihre Verarbeitung zu Leder dürfte außer Frage stehen, obwohl das im bisher publizierten Textmaterial nicht nachzuweisen ist. Mit dem Fleisch toter Esel wurden Hunde gefüttert (RTC 56 I 6-7).

Fast doppelt so hoch wie die Zahl der Esel war die der Rinder des BaU-Tempels. Eigentümlicherweise ist der Rinderbestand im 4. Königsjahr Uruinimginas 3mal gezählt worden

[129] M. Civil, The Farmer's Instructions, 1994, 141-146.

(DP 99, 100, 102) und jedesmal mit einem anderen Ergebnis. Das kann damit zusammenhängen, daß Girsu in diesem Jahre erstmals belagert wurde, vielleicht waren die Herden von den feindlichen Truppen zersprengt worden. Geht man von dem Protokoll aus, das nur den Bestand der Kuhhirten (u n u_3 - d) berücksichtigt, aber die höchste Zahl aufweist, so beschäftigte der Tempel 5 Hirten, denen insgesamt 197 Rinder anvertraut waren. Die beiden anderen Tafeln sind vollständiger, enthalten aber geringere Stückzahlen. Den 5 Kuhhirten unterstanden 165 bzw. 172 Kühe, 2 Jungstierhirten versorgten nach beiden Quellen insgesamt 65 Tiere und 4 Pflugführern unterstanden 69 bzw. 73 Arbeitsstiere, auch als große, ausgewachsene Stiere bezeichnet. Das heißt der Tempel verfügte damals über maximal 335 Tiere aller Altersstufen.

Die Aufteilung der Rinder war der der Esel sehr ähnlich. Die 5 Kuhhirten, denen auch die Zucht anvertraut war, verfügten im 4. Königsjahr Uruinimginas über 190 Kühe, aber nur über 1 Zuchtstier (g u d - a b_2), über 4' 1jährige Färsen (g i r, Lesung unsicher) und über 2 1jährige Jungstiere. Vom 2. bis zum 3. oder 4. Lebensjahr standen die Stiere bei den Hirten der Jungstiere (s i p a d - g u d - t u r - t u r). Eine andere Bezeichnung für sie war s i p a d - a m a r - k u d, "Hirten der abgesonderten Jungtiere" (nicht: "Hirten der kastrierten Jungtiere"). Mit 3 oder 4 Jahren waren die Stiere ausgewachsen und wurden den Pflugführern überstellt.

Bei den Kühen werden zwei Gruppen unterschieden, a b_2 - g a, die "Milchkühe", und a b_2 - NIG_2 .UD, was wahrscheinlich die trockenstehende Kuh benennt. Bei den jährlichen Inspektionen wird auch das Sehvermögen der Rinder festgestellt.

Entsprechend der Zahl ihrer milchgebenden Kühe hatten die Hirten Butter und Käse, gelegentlich auch Milch abzuliefern. Nach einer Inspektion setzte der Inspektor die Höhe der Abgabe fest. Eingegangene Mengen wurden notiert und am Jahresende die unter Umständen noch geschuldeten Abgabereste festgestellt. Die Höhe der Abgabe belief sich pro Milchkuh auf 10 Sila Butter (das sind ungefähr 8 1/2 l) und 18 Sila Käse (oder etwas mehr als 15 l) im Jahr. Selbstvertändlich waren auch die Häute geschlachteter oder verendeter Rinder für die Lederherstellung abzuliefern. Einmal ist auch von Stierhörnern, die zu Dolchgriffen verarbeitet wurden, die Rede (Fö 15). Bisher nicht bezeugt ist die aus Akkad-zeitlichen Texten bekannte Verwendung von Rindersehnen (s a).

Die Kleinviehherden des BaU-Tempels müssen gewaltig gewesen sein. Doch erlaubt das erhaltene Material keinen Überblick; denn es liegt kein zusammenfassender Text vor. Ein Brief erwähnt 660 Mutterschafe und ihre Lämmer (Nik 177). Ähnlich ist es auch bei den Ziegen. Zwar verzeichnet DP 95 im 5. Jahr Lugalandas bei 4 Hirten und 1 Hirten für das junge Kleinvieh (k u r u š (d a)) 505' Ziegen aller Altersstufen, aber es ist nicht klar, ob dies der gesamte Bestand war. Eine bürokratische Notiz errechnet abschließend, daß auf 1 Mutterziege 2/3 Zicklein kamen. Ein recht ungenaues Ergebnis; denn der Text listet auf: 314 Mutterziegen (a m a - u d_5), aber nur 80 weibliche Zicklein (MUNUS - a $š_2$ - g a r_3 , früher falsch z e h gelesen) unter 1 Jahr und 103 männliche Zicklein (m a š) unter 1 Jahr, dazu kommen noch 8 m a š - u d_5 (Ziegenböcke zur Zucht).

Etwas besser informiert werden wir über die Lieferungen des Hirten für das junge Kleinvieh. Eine Liste (DP 248) stellt für ein 5. Jahr – der Herrscher wird nicht genannt – den Kleinviehverbrauch des e n - k u g zusammen. Es sind 1 Mutterschaf (u_8), 80 Schafböcke und 57 Lämmer,

weiterhin 1 Mutterziege, 3 weibliche Zicklein und 169 Ziegenböcke, bzw. männliche Zicklein. Üblicherweise befanden sich beim k u r u š (d a) zwischen 50 und 70 Tiere. Seine Abgänge wurden immer wieder von den Hirten aufgefüllt.
Zwei Gruppen von Kleinvieh werden durch zusätzliche Gerstenlieferungen in den großen monatlichen Unkostenabrechnungen besonders herausgehoben. Eine Gruppe erhielt ein Zufutter an Gerste, um die Wollqualität zu verbessern. Es sind im Stadtfürstenjahr Uruinimginas 66 Schafe und 6 m a š - b a r - d u l_5, "Ziegenböcke(, deren) Außenseite (mit Haar) bedeckt (ist)", so die wörtliche Wiedergabe. Jedes dieser Schafe erhält monatlich 30 Sila Gerste (= 25 1/4 l), jeder Ziegenbock 18 Sila, etwas mehr als 15 l. Sie werden von 3 Hirten versorgt (Fö 9 V 9 - VI 8).
Außerdem wurde eine Anzahl von Schafen und Ziegen gemästet. Es sind im genannten Jahr (Ule 1) insgesamt 52 Tiere: 2 Fettschwanzschafe (g u k k a l), 47 Schaf(böcke), 2 weibliche Zicklein und 1 Ziegenbock. Die 3 Personen, die mit der Mast betraut sind, werden nicht als k u r u š (d a) bezeichnet, sondern es sind ein PA.URU (eine noch unbekannte Berufsbezeichnung), ein hausgeborener Sklave des Ešag und ein Mann ohne Berufsangabe. Sie erhalten ihre Gerstenzuteilung global. Der erste und der dritte bekommen einen Satz von 30 Sila je Tier; der zweite nur von 15 Sila (Fö 9 VI 9- VIII 2).
Einige wenige Texte zeigen, daß auch die Ziegenhirten Ziegenbutter, i_3 - u d_5 oder i_3 - n u n genannt, und Käse abzuliefern hatten (z.B. DP 277, Nik 261-262). Das Material reicht nicht aus, um die Abgabesätze zu errechnen. Unterlagen über die Abgaben der Schafhirten fehlen bisher ganz.
Schafe und Ziegen lieferten Wolle bzw. Haar. Das Schaferaufen – das ist eine ältere Methode den Schafen den Wollpelz zu nehmen – wird des öfteren erwähnt, es fehlen aber Dokumente, aus denen sich die Erträge ersehen ließen. In neusumerischer Zeit rechnete man mit ungefähr 1 Mine pro Jahr und Schaf. Wollsorten kommen zwei vor, s i k_2 - m u g und s i k_2 - ḪU.m u g, das später die Bedeutung von "Werg, Abfallwolle" angenommen hat, ist in altsumerischer Zeit noch eine ganz gängige Bezeichnung. s i k_2 - ḪU ist bisher unverständlich. Es werden vor allem zwei Wollqualitäten genannt: s i k_2 - u_2, wörtlich "Graswolle", ist die Wolle von minderer Qualität. Es ist eine Kurzbezeichnung für die Wolle von Weideschafen. Dies lehrt der Vergleich mit der besseren Qualität, die s i k_2 - u d u - š e - k u_2 - a genannt wird, "Wolle von Schafen, die mit Gerste gefüttert wurden". Als einmal der Tempel seine Bediensteten nicht mit Wolle entlohnen konnte, erhielten sie statt dessen eine Gerstenzahlung (Fö 183). Nach diesem Text wurde 1 Mine m u g-Wolle der Qualität "Graswolle" mit 1/2 Hauptgur Gerste vergütet.
Die Weiterverarbeitung von Wolle zu Gewändern und sonstigen Kleidungsstücken wird oft bezeugt, dagegen fehlen bisher Hinweise auf die Verwendung von Ziegenhaar.
Außer den Schweinen waren Ziegenböcke und Schafe die häufigsten Schlachttiere. Eingangsbuchungen über Schaf- und Ziegenhäute finden sich öfter. Fast nichts ist über Gerben und Verwendung zu erfahren.
Der Tempel beschäftigte auch einen Schweinehirten, der Weide- und Röhrichtschweine versorgte. Ihre Zahl schwankt von Jahr zu Jahr. Sie betrug im 5. Königsjahr Uruinimginas (STH 1, 36: UI 5,6) 9 Röhricht- und 150 Weideschweine. Für jedes Weideschwein erhielt

der Hirte 6 oder 12 Sila, ungefähr 5 oder 10 l, Gerste pro Monat als zusätzliches Futter. Die Rationen richteten sich nach der Größe der Tiere. Gemästet wurden 2 Röhrichtschweine. Für jedes wendete man monatlich 180 Sila Gerste auf, die übrigen Röhrichtschweine erhielten je 60 Sila pro Monat. Das alles wie auch die Tatsache, daß man einmal der Göttin Nanše eine Sau als Mahl vorsetzt (DP 53 XII 9-10), macht deutlich, daß die Tabuisierung des Schweins noch nicht begonnen hatte. Schweineschmalz war ein wichtiges Mittel zur Körperpflege. Über Schweinehäute finden sich nur einige verstreute Eingangsvermerke.

5.1.3. Fischerei

Hohe Einnahmen erzielte der BaU-Tempel aus den Abgaben der Fischer. In diesem Berufszweig werden zwei Gruppen sorgfältig unterschieden, die Meeres- und die Süßwasserfischer. Stehen beide Gruppen wegen ihrer beruflichen Nähe in den Einberufungslisten eng beieinander, so bilden sie zwei völlig verschiedene Sektionen bei den Zuteilungen, zum Beispiel den Gerstenlöhnungen. Die Süßwasserfischer bilden eine Abteilung der "Leute die ein Versorgungslos übernommen haben" und werden zusammen mit Angehörigen anderer Berufe in diesen Lohnlisten erfaßt, während die Gerstenlohnlisten der Meeresfischer eine eigene Tafelgattung bilden. Über den Grund für diese Besonderheit wird später noch zu sprechen sein.
Beide Gruppen der Fischer gliedern sich in eine Reihe von Untergruppen. So zählen außer den wirklichen Meeresfischern auch die Brackwasserfischer (š u - H̯A a - m u n_4), die Küstenfischer (š u - H̯A a - ŠUL) und die š u - H̯A s a - š u - b a d - DU, was wörtlich "die Fischer, die ein Netz auswerfen" bedeutet, zu den Meeresfischern. Bei "Küstenfischer" handelt es sich nur um einen Übersetzungsversuch, a - ŠUL ist wie a - m u n_4 "brackiges Wasser" eine bestimmte Wasserqualität.
Die zuletzt angeführten drei engeren Bezeichnungen heben keine fest umrissenen Untergruppen voneinander ab, sondern geben nur eine ungefähre Unterscheidung nach den Fanggründen und -methoden. Es kann beim Vergleich der Fischlieferungstexte leicht gezeigt werden, daß ein und deṛselbe Fischer mal mit dieser mal mit jener der drei Bezeichnungen versehen wird, ja es gibt den Fall, daß ein Fischer wechselweise als Brackwasser-, Küsten- und Netzfischer bestimmt wird. Es sind dies sicherlich jene Fischer, die in den Sumpf-, Schilf- und Seengebieten am Unterlauf von Euphrat und Tigris, oder arabisch gesprochen im Hōr, tätig waren. Auch das Arbeitsfeld der eigentlichen Meeresfischer scheint eher im Küstenbereich gelegen zu haben, da einmal ausdrücklich "Hochsee-Schweinsfische" hervorgehoben werden (Nik 270 II 2).
Das bedeutet, daß der BaU-Tempel in einer geschätzten Entfernung von 30 bis 40 km eine Kolonie von Meeresfischern unterhielt. Die weite Distanz von Arbeitsplatz und Tempel bietet eine hinreichende Erklärung für die Sonderbehandlung der Meeresfischer. Nur den Süßwasserfischern, die die großen und kleinen Kanäle und Seen innnerhalb oder bei den Liegenschaften des BaU-Tempels abfischten, war es möglich, eine Feldparzelle des Tempellandes zu bestellen. Organisatorisch interessant ist noch, daß das Haus des Tempelverwalters (e_2 - s a n g a) eigene Meeresfischer beschäftigte, die vom BaU-Tempel entlohnt und deren Abgaben mit

denen der Fischer des BaU-Tempels zusammen von dem Inspektor Eniggal überwacht wurden. Ihre Zahl bewegte sich zur Zeit Lugalandas zwischen 4 und 5.
Die Meeresfischer erhielten vom Tempel regelmäßige Woll- und Gerstenzuteilungen. Mit Hilfe dieser Lohnlisten ist es möglich, ihre Gesamtzahl zu bestimmen. Die von A. Deimel[130] genannte Zahl von 76 scheint zu hoch gegriffen und ist durch die einfache Addition aller in den Wirtschaftsurkunden überlieferten Namen zustande gekommen, ohne Rücksicht darauf, ob die genannten Personen auch gleichzeitig tätig waren.
Woll-Löhnungstexte haben sich nur 3 erhalten. Der erste aus dem 3. Jahre Enentarzids faßt noch Meeres-, Süßwasserfischer und Vogelfänger zusammen – eine Praxis die 2 Jahre später aufgegeben wurde. Der Text (DP 172) berücksichtigt 17 Meeresfischer, wenigstens 6, höchstens aber 8 Süßwasserfischer – die Zahlen sind nicht vollständig erhalten – und 2 Vogelfänger nebst ihrer Zugehörigkeit zu einem bestimmten Obmann. Alle Meeresfischer erhielten eine einheitliche Zuteilung von 3 Minen Wolle pro Person.
Wie alle anderen Wirtschaftszweige zeigt auch die Fischerei eine Progression der Beschäftigtenzahl. Die erste erhaltene Urkunde mit einer Wollzuteilung allein an die Meeresfischer (DP 191) aus dem 1. Jahre Lugalandas führt insgesamt 44 Fischer auf, Meeresfischer im engeren Sinne sind davon 30, Brackwasserfischer 6 und 3 Netzfischer, dazu kommen noch 5 Fischer des Hauses des Tempelverwalters.
Außer dieser Einteilung nach der Zugehörigkeit zu einer bestimmten Wirtschaftseinheit und der Aufteilung nach Fanggebieten und -methoden, findet sich natürlich auch wieder eine Untergliederung nach den Vorgesetzten, und zusätzlich erstmals innerhalb einer Mannschaft eine Unterscheidung zwischen s a g - d u b, wörtlich "(der am) Anfang der Tafel (stehende)", das sind die vollbeschäftigten und vollentlohnten Mitglieder, und den s e s (- ERIM- r a), wörtlich "den Brüdern der Mannschaft", den Ersatzleuten. Die 24 Vollbeschäftigten erhielten je 2 Minen Wolle zugeteilt, die 20 Ersatzleute nur die Hälfte.
Die dritte Tafel (DP 177) aus dem 3. Königsjahr Uruinimginas dokumentiert einen weiteren Anstieg der Zahl der Meeresfischer. Sie erfaßt insgesamt 27 hauptamtliche Fischer und 23 Ersatzleute, also zusammen 50 Personen. Darunter befinden sich 36 Meeresfischer, 8 Brackwasser- und 6 Küstenfischer; Netzfischer kommen hier nicht vor. Fischer des Hauses des Tempelverwalters sind, nach den Namen zu schließen, die letzten 3 Meeresfischer. Aber entweder hielt man eine ausdrückliche Kennzeichnung nicht für nötig, oder sie sind nach den Reformen des Uruinimgina dem Tempelverwalter entzogen und in die Gruppe der für den BaU-Tempel tätigen Fischer übergeleitet worden.
Die beiden erhaltenen Gerstenlohnlisten reichen nur in das 4. Königsjahr Uruinimginas zurück. TSA 19 enthält die 1. Zuteilung dieses Jahres an 44 Meeresfischer unter 6 Obleuten. Die Mannschaften sind sehr unterschiedlich groß, ihre Stärke reicht von 15 bis zu 2 Mann. Alle einfachen Fischer erhalten 1/4 Hauptgur Gerste. Ihre Obleute, denen doppelt so große Rationen zustanden, werden hier nicht berücksichtigt. Die Tafel geht also noch von einer Gesamtzahl von 50 Fischern aus. Eine Unterteilung in Vollbeschäftigte und Ersatzleute wird hier nicht vorgenommen.

[130] A. Deimel, Or 21, 1926, 69.

Zur 4. Löhnung dieses Jahres (STH 1, 29) ist die Zahl der Fischer auf 39 gesunken, von denen jeder 1/4 Hauptgur Gerste erhält. Sie unterstehen denselben Obleuten wie in TSA 19; Rationen von 1/2 Hauptgur bekommen nur die ersten 3 von ihnen.

Aber die Zahl der Meeresfischer sinkt weiter. Eine Mehlzuteilungsliste dieses 4. Königsjahres (STH 1, 28) erfaßt zwar noch – soweit der schlechte Erhaltungszustand ein Urteil erlaubt – alle 39 Fischer und 6 Obleute von STH 1, 29 namentlich, doch werden von ihnen nur 33 Fischer und dieselben 3 Vorgesetzten wie in STH 1, 29 mit Rationen von je 2 Ban ohne Rücksicht auf den Rang ausgelöhnt. Eine Zuteilung von Mehl ist keine normale Löhnung. Man kann annehmen, daß zum fälligen Termin keine Gerste zur Verfügung stand und deshalb das kostbarere Mehl ausgegeben wurde. Eine Angabe, um welche Zuteilung es sich handelt, fehlt.

Die Verringerung der Zahl, die sich aus der Nennung von Fischern und Obleuten ohne Rationen ablesen läßt, ist wahrscheinlich mit den Einberufungen zum Militärdienst zu erklären. Die Namen von 2 der in STH 1, 28 und 29 aufgeführten Obleute, Nesag und Šubur, finden sich mit ihren Männern dann auch auf der 2 Jahre jüngeren Konskriptionsliste wieder (DP 135 IX 12 - X 15; XI 1 - XII 1).

Es ist schwer, sich eine Vorstellung von der Höhe der Einnahmen des Tempels aus den Fischabgaben zu verschaffen, obwohl unter den etwa 130 Urkunden zum Fischereiwesen sich 2 Dokumente erhalten haben, das eine aus dem 1. Jahr Lugalandas (RTC 33) und das zweite aus dem 2. Königsjahr Uruinimginas (DP 294), durch die beide Stadtfürsten zu Beginn ihrer Herrschaft die Lieferverpflichtungen neu regelten. Zwei Abgaben waren zu leisten. Die eine hieß k u$_6$ - b a n š u r - r a, was wörtlich "Fisch für die Opfertafel" bedeutet; sie war eine monatliche Abgabe. Die zweite nannte man k u$_6$ - i l$_2$/IL$_2$ "Fischabgabe"; sie war eine Sonderabgabe zu den großen Götterfesten.

Lugalanda bestimmte (RTC 33), daß jeder Fischer eine monatliche Abgabe von 120 Schweinsfischen und 10 Sichelfischen(?) zu entrichten habe, des weiteren 5 t a r -Fische, 1 Traglast Sichelfische(?), 3 Traglasten LAK 219-Fische (konventionell ŠE+SUḪUR), 1 Sila Fischtran und 10 Schildkröten (b a) als Abgabe zu den Festen des "Malzessens" und noch einmal dieselben Mengen an t a r-, Sichel-, LAK 219-Fischen und Schildkröten doch statt des Fischtrans 5 Köpfe s i -U.NU zu den Festen des "Gersteessens". Bei s i - U.NU scheint es sich um eine Faserpflanze gehandelt zu haben.

Will man nachrechnen, welche jährlichen Fischeinnahmen der BaU-Tempel von jedem Fischer erwartete, so sind die oben genannten monatlichen Ansätze mit 12 bzw. in Schaltjahren mit 13 zu multiplizieren, bei den Festabgaben ist zu berücksichtigen, daß es je ein Fest des "Malzessens" und des "Gersteessens" zu Ehren der Götter Ningirsu und Nanše gab. Die oben festgelegten Verpflichtungen sind demnach mit 2 malzunehmen. Überprüft man daraufhin die erhaltenen Tafeln mit den Eingangsbuchungen der Festabgaben, so tragen sie in den allermeisten Fällen den Namen eines der beiden Feste oder einen entsprechenden Monatsnamen als Datum. Ausnahmen von dieser Regel sind sehr selten und lassen sich durch die Annahmen erklären, daß die Eingangsbuchungen den Monat der tatsächlichen Einlieferung vermerken, also auch vorzeitige oder verspätete Lieferung, und nicht den Namen des Festes, für das die Abgabe festgesetzt war.

Dennoch bleiben Fragen. Hatten die Fischer des BaU-Tempels keine Abgabe für das große Fest der Göttin BaU zu leisten? Es gibt unter den ca. 70 einschlägigen Texten nur einen einzigen, der die Abgabe zweier Meeres- und eines Süßwasserfischers zum Fest der BaU belegt (DP 318). Die Frage nach den Gründen für diese Seltenheit ist noch nicht zufriedenstellend zu beantworten.

Die zweite erhaltene Steuerveranlagung für Meeresfischer aus dem 2. Königsjahr Uruinimginas (DP 294) bestimmt, daß jeder Fischer 480 filetierte Fische, 600 sumaš-Fische, 10 Schildkröten und 1 Sila Fischtran als Fischabgabe (ku$_6$-il$_2$) zu liefern hat. Das auf ku$_6$-il$_2$ folgende zag-mu-ka kann hier kaum heißen "des Neujahrsfestes" oder "zum Neujahrsfest", sondern "vom Beginn des (neuen) Jahres an", denn die Urkunden lassen auch unter Uruinimgina keine Veränderung in der bisher üblichen Praxis erkennen.

Als monatliche Lieferung werden im selben Text 200 filetierte Fische und 160 frische Fische pro Fischer festgelegt. Die nachfolgende, leicht beschädigte Eintragung kann nur so verstanden werden, daß diese festgesetzten Abgaben im(!) laufenden Jahr (noch) 5mal abzuliefern sind. Diese Neuregelung erfolgte demnach, als schon über die Hälfte des 2. Königsjahres vergangen war.

Daß damit alle Belastungen der Meeresfischer erfaßt sind, läßt sich für Lugalšaglatuk sicher verneinen. Er leistete auch die sogenannte maš-da-ri-a-Abgabe (TSA 50; DP 333). Ob alle Fischer zu dieser Abgabe verpflichtet waren, oder ob ein Sonderfall vorliegt, ist daraus nicht zu ersehen. Die Fischer scheinen nicht zu Frondiensten herangezogen worden zu sein. Sie wurden aber wie jede andere Berufsgruppe zum Kriegsdienst aufgeboten.

Doch zurück zu den Einnahmen des Tempels. Trotz der bekannten Daten lassen sich die Einkünfte des Tempels aus der Fischerei aus folgenden Gründen nicht errechnen:

1. Obwohl wenigstens in Friedensjahren von einem stetigen Anstieg der Zahl der beschäftigten Fischer ausgegangen werden kann, unterliegt ihre Zahl Schwankungen. Die Personalstärke ist auch für gut dokumentierte Jahre nicht für jeden Monat sicher zu ermitteln. Da bei der Woll-Löhnung (nicht bei der Gerstenzuteilung) nach Vollbeschäftigten und Ersatzleuten unterschieden wird, ist es möglich, daß für Ersatzleute auch geringere Liefermengen üblich waren.
2. Die behandelten Steuerfestsetzungen berechnen Fische nur nach Stückzahl und Traglasten. In den Eingangsbuchungen kommen aber insgesamt 13 verschiedene Maßeinheiten vor, von denen meist weder bekannt ist, wieviel Stück Fisch sie faßten, noch in welcher Größenrelation sie zueinander standen.
3. Die Abgabenfestsetzung Lugalandas nennt 4 Fischarten. Die Bestimmungen Uruinimginas sprechen meist allgemein von Fischen und heben nur eine Art hervor. Die Eingangsvermerke belegen aber rund 20 Arten Meeresfische. Es muß ein internes System gegeben haben, wonach geschätztere oder seltenere Sorten und weniger begehrte oder häufigere gegeneinander verrechnet wurden. Wenn Fische nach Stückzahlen abgerechnet wurden, muß es auch eine Übereinkunft über die Mindestgröße gegeben haben.

Obwohl die Gewässer damals sicher fischreich waren, und die abgelieferten Mengen offensichtlich sehr groß, scheint das Soll unerfüllbar hoch gewesen zu sein; denn im erhaltenen Textmaterial finden sich viele Feststellungen von Lieferungsrückständen (la$_2$-a) und

Buchungen über den Eingang gestundeter Abgaben. Schließlich verzeichnet eine Urkunde die Ablösung geschuldeter Fischmengen durch eine Zahlung in Silber (Fö 20).
Über die Süßwasserfischer sind wir schlechter informiert als über die Meeresfischer. Auch bei ihnen werden Untergruppen nach den besonderen Tätigkeitsbereichen unterschieden. Bezeugt sind außer den Süßwasserfischern im engeren Sinne die "Fischer des größten Kanals" (š u - ḪA i d_2 - m a ḫ), die "Fischer des Guedena-Feldes", der bewässerten Flächen der im Besitz von Lagaš verbliebenen Grenzmark gegen Umma, und die "Fischer (des Gebietes) von Zulum". Auch Fische werden gelegentlich bei ihrer Einlieferung nach den Feldern verbucht, in deren Gewässern sie gefangen wurden (z.B. DP 323; Fö 132). Wie die Meeresfischer sind die Süßwasserfischer in Gruppen zusammengeschlossen, die unter der Leitung eines Obmannes stehen. Bei den Süßwasserfischern findet sich auch der Titel g a l - u n, der besser aus den Einberufungslisten bekannt ist, und dort behelfsmäßig mit "Hauptmann" wiedergegeben wurde. Daraus auf ein militärische Organisation der Fischer zu schließen (so A. Deimel[131]), dürfte zu weit gehen.
Die Zahl der Süßwasserfischer war nie so hoch wie die der Meeresfischer. Nach A. Deimel[132] standen sie im Verhältnis 2/3 zu 1/3. Eine Liste aus dem Jahre Enentarzid 3 (DP 172) führt zwei Mannschaften und einen einzelnen Fischer auf. Da die entsprechende Zahl weggebrochen ist, läßt sich die Gesamtstärke nur schätzen. Sie betrug wenigstens 6 und höchstens 9 Personen. Jede erhält unterschiedslos 3 Minen Wolle zugeteilt.
Auch bei dieser Berufsgruppe kann man einen allmählichen Anstieg der Beschäftigtenzahl verfolgen. Eine Woll-Löhnung aus dem 2. Jahr Lugalandas (VS 27, 95) berücksichtigt 5 Süßwasserfischer, 4 Fischer des größten Kanals, 4 Fischer des Gebietes Zulum und 2 Fischer des Guedena-Feldes, also insgesamt 15 Personen, die einheitlich pro Kopf 2 Minen Wolle erhalten.
Nach einer Zuteilungsliste des 2. Königsjahres Uruinimginas (DP 171) ist ihre Zahl auf 22 angewachsen und ihre Organisation differenzierter geworden. Es gibt zwei Mannschaften mit je 9 Mann unter einem Obmann und zwei einzelne Fischer. Die Ration für den einfachen Fischer beträgt 2 Minen, für den Obmann 2 oder 3 Minen; eine der einzeln aufgeführten Personen erhielt sogar 4 Minen Wolle.
Die Zahlen, die sich aus den Weizenzuteilungslisten ergeben, sind niedriger, so, als wären nicht alle Süßwasserfischer zum Empfang des kostbaren Getreides berechtigt gewesen. Eine Liste des Ensijahres Uruinimginas (STH 1, 5) erfaßt zwei Mannschaften mit je 8 Mann. Ein 2 Jahre jüngerer Text (Nik 13: Ul 2) nur insgesamt 12 Fischer, unter ihnen 2 Ersatzleute. Die Rationen für die Vollbeschäftigten sind von 2 Ban auf 4 verdoppelt worden.
Hingegen bestätigt eine Brotzuteilungsliste aus dem 3. Königsjahr die schon für das 2. Jahr nach den Woll-Löhnungen ermittelte Zahl von 22 Fischern (DP 130). Sie erhielten pro Kopf 1 g u g-Gefäß Brot.
Die Gerstenzuteilungen belegen im engen Anschluß an die Weizenzuteilungen ein Auf und Ab der Zahl der Süßwasserfischer. Es sind danach gegen Ende der Regierungszeit Lugalandas

131 A. Deimel, Or 21, 1926, 67.
132 A. Deimel, Or 21, 1926, 69.

insgesamt 14 (RTC 54: LA 6/2). Uruinimgina entlohnt als Stadtfürst 16 Fischer (STH 1, 9: Ule 1/2), ihre Zahl sinkt auf 12 im 2. Königsjahr (STH 1, 7: UI 2/2), steigt im folgenden Jahr auf 26 (STH 1, 9: UI 3/3) und sinkt wieder – kriegsbedingt (?) – auf 5 Mann im 6. Königsjahr (STH 1, 13: UI 6/10, vgl. auch STH 1, 12: UI 5?/11). Die Ration liegt im Regelfall bei 1/4 Hauptgur Gerste für den einfachen Fischer und 1/2 Hauptgur für den Obmann. Diese Bezüge der Obleute werden in den Kriegsjahren um die Hälfte gekürzt. Veranlagungen von Süßwasserfischern haben sich nicht erhalten. Da bei den Eingangsbuchungen über Flußfisch die Ausdrücke k u$_6$ - b a n š u r - r a und k u$_6$ - i l$_2$ normalerweise nicht verwendet werden, müssen ihre Abgabeverpflichtungen gänzlich anders geregelt gewesen sein (Ausnahmen sind z.B. DP 302 und 303). Aus dem Etikett eines Tontafelkorbes (Nik 275) könnte man, wie das A. Deimel[133] getan hat, auf die Entsprechung der Begriffe k u$_6$ - i l$_2$ und k u$_6$ - b a n š u r - r a bei den Meeresfischern und k u$_6$ s a - ZI.ZI - k a, wörtlich "Fische der Reuse", bei den Flußfischern schließen. Bei den Eingangsbuchungen von Flußfisch kommt "Reuse" jedoch ausschließlich als Maß und nicht als Abgabebezeichnung vor. Nimmt man noch andere p i s a n - d u b-Etiketten wie TSA 49 oder DP 27 hinzu, zeigt sich in den Varianten eine terminologische Unsicherheit der Schreiber.

Auch die Einlieferung von Fischen durch Lugalmegalgal, den Fischer des Guedena-Feldes, zum Fest der BaU ist bisher ein isolierter Tatbestand geblieben (DP 318). Somit ist das Abgabensystem der Süßwasserfischer noch ungeklärt.

Außer diesen beiden Berufsgruppen der Fischer gab es in älterer Zeit noch die m u š e n - d u$_3$ - ḫ u. Es sind wahrscheinlich die "Vogelfänger". Das Verb d u$_3$ - ḫ des Kompositums ist bis jetzt noch ungedeutet. Wollzuteilungen an sie werden auf eigenen Täfelchen festgehalten (DP 508; VS 25, 49). Werden diese Aufzeichnungen auf größere Tafeln übertragen, finden die Vogelfänger ihren Platz gleich hinter den Süßwasserfischern (DP 172; 174; VS 27, 95). Es war immer eine ganz kleine Gruppe mit 2 oder höchstens 4 Zugehörigen unter einem Obmann. Die Woll-Löhnung ist mit 2 oder 3 Minen ebenso hoch wie die der Fischer. Die erst von einem relativ späten Zeitpunkt an erhaltenen Gerstenlohnlisten verzeichnen die Vogelfänger nicht mehr. So kann man nur mutmaßen, ob dieses Gewerbe, da zuwenig ertragreich, ganz aufgegeben oder ihr Geschäft von den Süßwasserfischern mitbesorgt wurde. Listen ihrer Abgaben, die uns zeigen könnten, ob der Berufsname richtig gedeutet ist, fehlen bisher.

Der aus dem Reformwerk Uruinimginas wegen seiner Übergriffe bekannte Fischereiaufseher (e n k u d) gehörte nicht zu den Verwaltungsbeamten eines Tempels wie dem der BaU. Er ist lediglich einmal, wahrscheinlich als Ablieferer eines Zickleins, genannt (Nik 180). Ebenso kommt sein Stellvertreter, der e n k u d - u s$_2$, in den Wirtschaftsurkunden des Tempels nur selten vor. Er nimmt zweimal größere Fischmengen an sich, in wessen Auftrag er handelt, erfährt man nicht (DP 313; 321). Er ist wahrscheinlich wie der e n k u d zur m a š - d a - r i - a-Abgabe verpflichtet (Nik 180).

Über die Zahl der den Fischern zur Verfügung stehenden Boote unterrichtet bisher nur ein Text (DP 334). Danach scheint es üblich gewesen zu sein, daß ein Fischer sein eigenes Boot

[133] A. Deimel, Or 21, 1926, 70.

besaß. Daneben bestanden aber auch Fanggemeinschaften, die zusammen nur über ein Boot verfügten. Im vorliegenden Fall ist es ein i g i - n u - d u_8 , der sich mit zwei Brüdern und einem Sohn einen Kahn teilte.

In den altsumerischen Wirtschaftsurkunden kommen fast 50 verschiedene Arten von Fischen und Meerestieren vor. Die Identifizierung mit Vertretern der Fauna des heutigen Iraq bleibt schwierig und hat bisher kaum zu überzeugenden Ergebnissen geführt. Lediglich die Gleichsetzung der e š t u b, akkad. *arsuppu*, und s u ḫ u r, akkad. *purādu*, genannten Fische mit den auch heute noch in großen Scharen vorkommenden Karpfenarten arab. bi/unnī und bizz ist einigermaßen wahrscheinlich. Doch es bleibt offen, wann statt e š t u b die ebenfalls gesicherte Lesung g u d einzusetzen ist.

Für den Semasiologen interessant ist die Beobachtung, daß schon im Sumerischen primäre Fischnamen gegenüber sekundären selten sind. Wie in modernen Sprachen treten dabei zwei Tendenzen in den Vordergrund: die Namengebung nach anderen Tierarten, besonders auch Vögeln, und die Benennung nach Geräten. Einige Beispiele: u r - b a r - r a - k u_6 "Wolfs/Schakalsfisch", g u d - k u_6 "Rindsfisch", oder s i m - k u_6 "Schwalbenfisch", /u g a/ - k u_6 "Raben/Krähenfisch". z u b/g u d - k u_6 "Keulenfisch", š u m - k u_6 "Sägefisch" und wahrscheinlich g u r_{10} - k u_6 "Sichelfisch".

Daß b a die "Schnecke" bezeichnet, wie die Bearbeiter des PSD 2, 1b meinen, ist sicher falsch, und es ist mit A. Deimel[134] und W. Farber[135] an der Übersetzung mit "Schildkröte" festzuhalten.

Weiter konnte bisher nicht geklärt werden, was s i - U.NU ist. Meeresfischer waren verpflichtet es abzuliefern. Es wird nach "Köpfen" (s a g) abgerechnet. Fara-zeitlich gibt es neben s i - NU×U noch einfaches s i und s i - g a l, "großes s i", wobei auch damals s i - NU×U nach Köpfen gezählt, s i aber nach dem Hohlmaß Ban gemessen wird. 2 - 4 Ban, d.h. ein 10- bis 20-l-Gefäß, werden von einem s i gefüllt, ein s i - g a l muß noch größer gewesen sein (DP 36). Nach Auskunft zweier Texte (ITT 5, 9231 und 9237) wurden aus s i - U.NU Stricke gedreht. Es muß sich also um eine Pflanzenfaser handeln[136].

Fische konnten über weite Wegstrecken im heißen Klima Mesopotamiens entweder lebend in wasserdichten Behältern oder konserviert befördert werden. Es gibt eine Reihe von Wendungen, die den Zustand der Fische bzw. ihre Zubereitung beschreiben. Als erstes fällt ein a - d e_2, "Wasser gießend", auf, das vielleicht nicht den "frischen", sondern, wie M. Civil[137] meinte, den "lebenden" Fisch bedeutet. Davon zu unterscheiden ist wohl A = d u r u_5 "feucht". d a r - (r) a wird heute meistens mit d a r "spalten" verbunden und als "entgrätet, filetiert" übersetzt. Die ältere Wiedergabe war "gedörrt". m u n, genauer m u n - n a, ist eindeutig "des Salzes" als "gesalzen, in Salz eingelegt". Was man noch erwartet, ist "gedörrt, getrocknet" und "geräuchert". Letzteres verbirgt sich vielleicht hinter s u - s u. Noch nicht nachweisbar ist Ur III-zeitliches NE = š e g_6 (- g a_2) "gekocht" oder vielleicht auch "geröstet".

134 A. Deimel, Or 21, 1926, 76; DERS., ŠL 5,4.
135 W. Farber, JCS 26, 1974, 195-207.
136 vgl.: M. Civil, AulaOr 5, 1987, 313: Faden, Seil, vielleicht auch Netz.
137 M. Civil, BiOr 40, 1983, 566 Anm. 2.

Eine andere Wendung in Verbindung mit Fischen ist a_2 e_3-e_3, die von PSD 1/2, 53a als "aufziehen" verstanden wird. Bisher sind nur 4 Texte bekannt, die Formen dieser Wendung enthalten. DP 293 notiert entweder Fische ohne Qualifikation oder solche mit mun, an denen ein bestimmter Mann, ein 'Mann von Ansehen', diese Tätigkeit vornehmen soll. Derselbe Vorgang wiederholt sich in VS 25, 17 und VS 27, 60. Und wieder sind die Fische durch mun, su-su, dar-ra, oder a-de$_2$ qualifiziert oder nicht näher bezeichnet. In DP 341 werden a_2-e_3-e_3-Fische, die bei demselben Mann deponiert waren, zum nindaba-"Opfer" bestimmt. Sie sind teils mit a-de$_2$, teils nicht qualifiziert. Da auch den Sumerern bekannt gewesen sein müßte, daß man bereits filetierte oder gesalzene Fische nicht mehr großziehen kann, muß man eine andere Deutung der Wendung a_2 e_3-e_3-de_3 finden. Auch der Ausweg, daß die präparierten Fische als Lohn für die Aufzucht gedacht waren, ist sicher nicht möglich, da die Mengen dieser Fische zu groß sind. Meines Erachtens waren Fische a_2 e_3-e_3-de_3 dazu vorgesehen, als Lohn (a_2) ausgegeben (e_3) zu werden. Anders G.J. Selz[138] "entfernen von Flossen und Gräten". Es dürfte nützlich sein, ganz gleich, ob man a-de$_2$ als "frisch" oder "lebend" versteht, darüber nachzudenken, in welchem Zustand sich die nicht gekennzeichneten Fische befanden.

Die meisten der zum Bereich der Fischwirtschaft erhaltenen Urkunden notieren die Höhe der eintreffenden Lieferungen, halten die Außenstände fest und verbuchen wieder den Eingang der noch geschuldeten Mengen durch den abgabeverpflichteten Fischer. Es gibt Zusammenstellungen 5 monatiger Rückstände und der Außenstände von 3 Jahren. Mit dem Eintreffen der Fische beim Inspektor und dem Weiterleiten an ein Magazin ist für uns der verfolgbare Weg meist zu Ende. Es sind nur wenige Lagerhäuser bekannt, die zur Aufnahme von Fischen geeignet waren. Vor allem wird immer wieder das e_2-nig$_2$-GA-r genannt. Es waren außerdem das e_2-ur$_3$-ra, das "Haus mit dem Dach" des e_2-mi$_2$, einmal noch genauer e_2-ur$_3$-ku$_6$-k, "Haus mit dem Dach für Fisch", bezeichnet (DP 308 III 1), und schließlich ein Lager mit dem umständlichen Namen e_2 e_2-bar ^{d}/bilgames/-še_3 du$_3$-a, das "Haus, das auf die Außenseite des Gilgameš-Tempels zu gebaut ist".

Schon A. Deimel[139] hat sich die Frage gestellt, wie die großen Mengen Fisch, die monatlich in den Tempel gelangten, wieder verteilt worden sind. Sicher hatte er recht, wenn er von einem geringen Verzehr von Fleisch ausging und im Fisch die Haupteiweißquelle der mesopotamischen Bevölkerung sah. Aber während über Getreide-, Mehl-, Brot-, Wollzuteilungen auf einer jeweils eigenen Tafelgruppe genau buchgeführt wurde, gibt es keine eigenen Tafeln über Fischlöhnungen, oder sie haben sich nicht erhalten. Vier Listen mit der Wendung ku$_6$ a_2 e_3-e_3-de_3 wurden schon erwähnt. Ihnen sind noch ein oder zwei Tafeln ohne diesen Ausdruck aber mit en-na-UD-mu als Empfänger hinzuzuzählen (z.B. Nik 266). Er ist es, der nach DP 293; 341; VS 25, 17 die Verteilung der Fische vornehmen soll.

Fischzuteilungen sind gelegentlich zusammen mit Brotlöhnungen erfolgt. Aber wie die Ausgaben von Broten keine normale Löhnung war, so müssen auch diese Fischportionen zu den

[138] G.J. Selz, OLZ 88, 1993, 272.
[139] A. Deimel, Or 21, 1926, 72.

Extravergütungen gerechnet werden. Brot, Fisch, Bier und Fett erhielten alle Tempelangestellten zum Fest der Göttin BaU (VS 25, 8; VS 27, 7; RTC 52). Als sich in seinem 4. Jahr Lugalanda, offenbar aus kultischem Anlaß, in Nimin aufhielt, empfingen die hohen Beamten, Priester und Kultdiener der Göttin Nanše und des Gottes Esirnun Wolle, Butter, Fisch und Brot (DP 220), ebenso – mit Ausnahme der Butter – die zu einer zentralen Totenfeier aufgebotenen Kultsänger und Dienerinnen (DP 159). Die Bauarbeiter am Enlilheiligtum Eadda (DP 123) und die Ziegler beim Bau des Nanše-Tempels (DP 122) bekamen Brot, Bier, Fisch und Fett zugeteilt. Bei der an die Kultfunktionäre von Nimin ausgegebenen Butter ist die Menge genau vermerkt, doch auf den anderen gerade erwähnten Tafeln heißt es nur pauschal "(mit) Fett haben sie sich gesalbt". Eine Besonderheit gibt es auch beim Fisch. Im Gegensatz zu Broten und Bier steht nach der Zeichenfolge, die das Maß darstellen könnte, nie eine Ziffer. Während es also heißt "je 2 Brote der Qualität x, je ein Kuli-Maß Bier", fährt der Text dann fort k u$_6$ š u-LAK 171 (- r i) - t a "haben sie erhalten".
Wenig aufschlußreich sind die Hinweise, daß Fisch nach Nimin gebracht wurde (VS 25, 47; VS 27, 45;), da nicht vermerkt wird zu welchem Zweck. Eine Lieferung an das g i p a r$_x$(KISAL) (VS 27, 38) verzehrten sicher der e n-Priester und sein Haushalt.
Nach diesen spärlichen Hinweisen auf die Ausgabe von Fisch zu besonderen Anlässen, bleibt die Frage offen, ob es auch eine tägliche Fischration für die Angestellten des Tempels gab, und eine ganze Tafelgattung verloren gegangen ist, oder ob diese Ausgabe so selbstverständlich war, daß sie nicht eigens schriftlich festgehalten werden mußte.
Da der Mensch Mesopotamiens nur als Ernährer der Götter eine Daseinsberechtigung hatte, war die wichtigste Aufgabe einer Tempelwirtschaft die Versorgung der Götter. Auch Fisch ist ein wichtiger Bestandteil der Göttermahlzeiten. Bei allen lagašitischen Festen bekamen die großen 2 Bündel Fisch, die kleineren Gestalten des Pantheons wengistens die Hälfte. Unbekannt ist, wieviele Fische ein Bündel enthielt. Vor allem haben die nindaba-"Opfer" aus Fischen bestanden. Sie wurden von Girsu aus sowohl in der "Heiligen Stadt" (Nik 270; 273; PSBA 27, 76; DP 341) als auch in Nippur dargebracht (FAOS 15/2, Nr. 66). Auch zu den nach Kiengi, der Kultstadt des Gottes Ninasu, gesandten Gütern gehörte Fisch (DP 46; 203; VS 25, 72). Aus den Tafeln ist nicht zu erschließen, wie oft sie im Jahr abgeschickt wurden.
In der Regel mußte der leicht verderbliche Fisch, auch wenn er auf die oben beschriebene einfache Weise konserviert war, schnell verzehrt werden. Doch gibt es auch Nachrichten über zwei Arten der Weiterverarbeitung. Einmal wurde aus Meeres- und Süßwasserfischen in der Küche/Bäckerei eine Art Fischsoße hergestellt (k u$_6$ ḫ a b$_2$ - š e$_3$ a k), die vielleicht dem garum der römischen Küche vergleichbar war (DP 304; 307; 322; 329; 330; VS 27, 53; VS 27, 93).
Bisher nur einmal bezeugt ist die Herstellung von i$_3$ - ḫ a b$_2$ aus Fisch. Es entspricht akkadischem *ikūku*, "tranigem Öl", das als Schmieröl verwendet wurde (DP 331). Die Herstellung erfolgte im Haus der Handwerker.
Als letztes bleibt noch zu erwähnen, daß Fisch auch als Handelsware Girsu verließ. Nur einmal wird als Bestimmungsort Nippur vermerkt (VS 27, 46). Eine Vorstellung von der Größenordnung vermittelt Fö 64, wonach insgesamt 13'200 Stück Fisch als Handelsware

bereitgestellt wurden. Ein Text ist interessant wegen der Wertrelationen: nach DP 332 entsprechen 15 Schweinsfische von guter Qualität 1 Ban (oder 6 Sila) Gerste, d.h. ungefähr 5 l, und 1 Reuse Karpfen 1/4 Hauptgur, oder etwas mehr als 30 l.

5.1.4. Pacht

Weitere Einnahmen flossen dem Tempel aus der Feldpacht zu. Wenn die Gesamtgröße der verpachteten Feldteile bekannt wären, ließe sich die Höhe der Einnahmen leicht errechnen. Bei einem der Felder war ein gutes Viertel als a p i n - l a_2-Land vergeben (s.S. 535), aber es ist nicht zu sagen, ob es sich dabei um den Normal- oder um einen Sonderfall handelt.

Außer der Bodenpacht findet man noch wenigstens 5 weitere Abgaben erwähnt. Es gab innerhalb der Tempelwirtschaft keine Steuern, aber der Tempel oder dessen Repräsentantin, die Frau des Stadtfürsten, hatte zu bestimmten Anlässen ein Anrecht auf eine Gabe, die der dazu verpflichtete Bedienstete aus seinem Vermögen zu erbringen hatte. Nach der Zahl der erhaltenen Urkunden zu schließen, war die sogenannte m a š - d a - r i - a - Abgabe die wichtigste von ihnen. Sie überschritt die Grenzen des BaU-Heiligtums; denn nicht nur die höchsten Verwaltungsbeamten dieses Tempels, auch die s a n g a, die Verwalter der übrigen Heiligtümer trugen zu ihr bei. Die Gabe bestand ursprünglich, worauf ihr Name hinweist, in der Abgabe eines Zickleins, zur Zeit der letzten Herrscher des vorsargonischen Lagaš wurden aber neben Kleinvieh vor allem Eßwaren und sogar Gegenstände wie Schalen, Möbel oder Felle dargeboten. Da sie zu allen großen Tempelfesten bei der Frau des Stadtfürsten einging, vermutete schon A. Deimel[140] in ihr einen Beitrag zum Festtagsschmaus. Aufschlußreich wäre sicher ein Text aus dem 6. Jahre Lugalandas (RTC 44), wenn man einen einzelnen Hinweis in einen größeren Zusammenhang einordnen könnte. Baragnamtara, die Adressatin, wird hier nicht mit ihrem Namen, sondern mit ihrem priesterlichen Titel PAP.PAP genannt. Ihm folgt als Epitheton "Mutter der Stadt", hierin könnte die Begründung für den Anspruch auf diese Gabe liegen.

Das recht komplizierte System der verschiedenen Abgaben und Geschenke verdiente eine eingehende Untersuchung. Wenn diese Aufgabe noch nicht geleistet ist, liegt das besonders daran, daß die Quellenbasis zu diesem Thema sehr schmal ist.

5.2. Ausgaben des BaU-Tempels

Den Einnahmen des Tempels lassen sich die Ausgaben gegenüberstellen. Man folgt dabei am besten den Textgattungen der alten Schreiber. Die erhaltenen Urkunden reichen allerdings bei weitem nicht aus, das ganze Soll zu errechnen.

[140] A. Deimel, Or 26, 1927, 1-29.

Obwohl die Sumerer in der Versorgung der Götter sicherlich ihre wichtigste Aufgabe sahen, bleibt festzuhalten, daß über den täglichen Kult keine Aufzeichnungen vorliegen. Eine Reihe von Tafeln verbucht die Aufwendungen für die großen Feste. Besonders 5 Termine stehen im Vordergrund, je zwei zu Ehren des Ningirsu und der Nanše und einer zu Ehren der BaU. An diesen mehrere Tage dauernden Festen standen allen großen und kleinen Göttern Verköstigungen zu, die zu Lasten des BaU-Tempels gingen.
Die laufenden Ausgaben an Gerste und Emmer des Tempels wurden in einer anderen Textgattung festgehalten, den großen Monatsübersichten (še-gar ziz$_2$-gar sa$_2$-dug$_4$ iti-da). Über den ganzen 13jährigen Zeitraum hinweg, für den Tafeln vorliegen, sind diese Listen sehr gleichförmig. Die Reihenfolge der verschiedenen Posten ist nur in großen zeitlichen Abständen neu geordnet worden, die Höhe der einzelnen Ausgaben schwankt, aber von ganz wenigen Posten mit geringen Getreidemengen abgesehen, die gestrichen oder durch andere ersetzt wurden, sind es natürlich immer dieselben Einrichtungen, die unterhalten werden müssen.
Die Monatsübersicht Fö 9, die als Beispiel ausgewählt wird, stammt aus dem Stadtfürstenjahr Uruinimginas und stellt die Ausgaben für den 2. Monat zusammen. Da im 1. Monat des Jahres noch Lugalanda regierte, ist es die erste Liste aus der Regierungszeit Uruinimginas überhaupt (vgl. auch S. 477). Sucht man auf ihr nach Lieferungen zur Versorgung der Götter, findet man eine einzige. Als vierte Position verbucht sie die regelmäßige Aufwendung (sa$_2$-dug$_4$) für den Gott MesanDU. Er erhält kleine Mengen Emmer für Bier und Brot und Gerste für Bier. MesanDU ist danach wahrscheinlich täglich mit kleinen Portionen an Bier und Brot bedacht worden. In den altsumerischen Urkunden aus Girsu werden Tempel und Lagerhaus des Gottes häufig genannt. Über ihn selbst erfahren wir nichts. In neusumerischer Zeit scheint er völlig vergessen gewesen zu sein. Nichts hilft, diese Sonderbehandlung zu erklären. Wenn man ihn freilich mit den Empfängern der beiden nachfolgenden Zuwendungen in Verbindung bringen darf, läßt sich vermuten, daß er in einer besonderen Beziehung zu den Toten stand.
Die nachfolgende Ausgabe ist doppelt so hoch. Wieder handelt es sich um Emmer und Gerste zur Herstellung von Brot und Bier. Es ist die regelmäßige Aufwendung für das ki-a-nag. Der "Ort, an dem man Wasser trinkt" oder "an dem man Wasser trinken läßt" ist die Bezeichnung für die Libationsstätte der Toten. Gegenwärtig in ihren Statuen standen die einstigen Inhaber hoher Ämter am ki-a-nag. Auch sie wurden regelmäßig bedacht.
Ein kleiner Betrag an Gerste kam Dudu, dem Priester/Tempelverwalter, zugute. Nach dem Zusammenhang ist auch Dudu ein Verstorbener. Er ist sicher mit dem obersten sanga des Ningirsu zur Zeit des Stadtfürsten Enmetena gleichzusetzen. Alle weiteren Fragen sind nicht zu beantworten, etwa warum ausgerechnet er als einzelner hervorgehoben ist, während alle anderen vornehmen Toten zusammen behandelt werden. Oder warum er, wenn er doch Verwalter des Ningirsu war, im und auf Kosten des BaU-Tempels versorgt wurde. Vermuten läßt sich, daß das erste mit seiner besonderen Bedeutung und das zweite mit der Aufstellung seiner Statue zusammenhing.
Alle anderen monatlichen Ausgaben sind nach unserer Anschauung profaner Art, die Sumerer dachten wahrscheinlich anders darüber.

An erster Stelle stehen die Aufwendungen für die Eselsgespanne des Girnunkidug, der das Transportwesen beaufsichtigte, und für das Gespann des Inspektors Eniggal. Von ihnen war schon die Rede (S. 481; 525).
Wie ebenfalls schon erwähnt, erhielt eine ausgewählte Zahl von Woll- und Mastschafen und -ziegen und von Mast- und Weideschweinen ein Gerstenzufutter (S. 482). Das sind alle in diesen Monatsübersichten aufgeführten Aufwendungen für Tiere.
Weder die Hirten der Rinder und Esel noch die Kleintierhirten oder die Pflugführer werden bedacht. Die Pflugführer erhielten Futterrationen für ihre Tiere bei den einzelnen Arbeitsgängen der Feldbestellung. Die den Hirten anvertrauten Tiere waren allein auf das Weiden angewiesen.
Es bleiben noch drei Standardausgaben zu behandeln. Zunächst die Aufwendungen für die Bierherstellung. Der Tempel beschäftigte zwei Brauer. Der erste von ihnen war für das "Getränk des Stadtfürsten", so die wörtliche Übersetzung, und für das s a_2 - d u g_4 - ANŠE zuständig. Der zweite braute Dunkelbier. Beide zuerst genannten Ausdrücke sind problematisch. Versteht man den ersten wörtlich als Getränk für den Stadtfürsten, so ergeben sich zwei nicht zu beantwortende Fragen: Wieso ließ der Stadtfürst sein Bier im BaU-Tempel brauen? Oder: Warum hatte der Stadtfürst ein Anrecht auf eine Bierzuweisung aus dem BaU-Tempel? Aber vielleicht bezeichnete der Ausdruck längst nur eine Bierqualität. Im zweiten Ausdruck steht ANŠE für eine bestimmte Personengruppe (s.S. 481).
Der Tempel unterhielt auch ein e_2 - m u ḫ a l d i m, eine Küche und Bäckerei. Sie unterstand der Aufsicht eines Schreibers. Zur Herstellung von bestimmten Mehlsorten und Brot erhielt sie Gerste und Emmer.
Der letzte Posten dieser Monatsübersicht ist eine Zuweisung an den Inspektor Eniggal. Nach den Spezifierungen war das Getreide ebenfalls zur Zubereitung von Bier bestimmt. Gegen Ende der Regierungszeit Lugalandas erscheint diese Ausgabe erstmals in den Abrechnungslisten, sie verschwindet noch während des 1. Regierungsjahres Uruinimginas wieder aus ihnen.
Das Gesamtvolumen dieser monatlichen Leistungen belief sich auf rund 97 Hauptgur Gerste, das sind etwa 118 hl oder 147 1/2 Zentner, und ungefähr 43 Hauptgur Emmer, die 52 hl oder 65 Zentnern entsprechen.

Wesentlich höher als die laufenden Ausgaben waren schon damals die Personalkosten. An Listen, die alle monatlichen Gerstenausgaben zusammenfassen, ist abzulesen, daß die Löhnungen doppelt so große Gerstenmengen verschlangen wie die Aufwendungen für Brauerei, Bäckerei, Gespanne und Mastvieh usw. zusammen.
Alle Bediensteten des Tempels erhielten eine monatliche Entlohnung in Gerste. Die Listen teilen das Personal dazu in 4 Kategorien ein. An erster Stelle stehen "die Leute, die ein Versorgungslos übernommen haben". Die drei folgenden Gruppen können als l u_2 - i t i - d a, "Leute des Monats", zusammengefaßt werden, als Leute, die nur den Monatslohn vom Tempel bekamen. Im einzelnen sind das die Gruppen "der Träger, der 'Blinden' und der einzeln auf Tafeln Verzeichneten", weiter die Gruppe "der Dienerinnen (oder Dientsverpflichteten) und (ihrer) Kinder" und schließlich die "der Meeresfischer". Die Zahl der in den

verschiedenen Gruppen Beschäftigten schwankt manchmal stark, ohne daß sich dafür Gründe erkennen ließen. Dennoch scheint die Schätzung A. Deimels[141] von 1'000 bis 1'200 Tempelbediensteten insgesamt zu hoch zu sein. Man kommt für die Zeit Uruinimginas auf wenigstens 600 und höchstens auf etwa 800.

Die Leute, die ein Versorgungslos übernommen haben, bilden eine obere Schicht der Bediensteten. Zu ihnen zählen die hohen Verwaltungsbeamten wie der Inspektor, die Hausverwalter, die Obleute der Wollverarbeitung, die Vorsteher der Lagerhäuser, der Feldvermesser, die Hirten. Von dem schlichten Titel Hirt darf man sich nicht täuschen lassen. Sie waren die Leiter dieser Wirtschaftsbereiche. Erst in der nächsten Kategorie findet man die unter ihnen arbeitenden Viehtreiber. Zur oberen Schicht gehören auch die Aufseher über die Bodenbewirtschaftung, über die Gärten, dazu ein großer Teil der Handwerker, aber auch ein Teil der Schiffer, die Obleute der Träger, die Polizisten und als geschlossene Gruppe die Süßwasserfischer und die RU-l u g a l , auf denen die Hauptlast der öffentlichen Arbeiten liegt.

In der nächsten Gruppe mit einer im Durchschnitt geringeren Entlohnung unter der umständlichen Bezeichnung "Träger, 'Blinde' und die einzeln auf Tafeln Verzeichneten" finden sich folgerichtig das unter den gerade genannten Obleuten arbeitende Personal, die Garten- und Bewässerungsarbeiter, die Träger und Trägerinnen, die den Hauptteil des Warentransports auf ihren Rücken abwickelten, die Viehtreiber. Es findet sich hier auch ein Teil der Handwerker, durch ihre Berufsbezeichnung nicht von den besserverdienenden unterschieden, wie Bäcker/Köche, Schmiede, Lederarbeiter, Walker, ein einzelner Brauer, ein Schreiber aber auch die Mundschenke. In dieser Gruppe findet man den Friseur, der noch besser entlohnt wurde als die zur selben Gruppe gehörende Friseuse. Unter diesen schlechter Entlohnten finden sich auch die Kulturschaffenden: ein Adab-Lieder-Sänger und ein Musikant (n a r), so unter Uruinimgina. Zur Zeit des Lugalanda gehören ein Sänger und ein u d - d a - t u š, "Clown, Spaßmacher", unter die Leute mit Versorgungslos (RTC 54).

Die dritte Gruppe "der Dienerinnen (g e m e_2) (und ihrer) Kinder (d u m u)" umfaßt das weibliche Personal des Tempels. Die Bezeichnung ist so zu verstehen, daß Mütter auch für ihre minderjährigen Kinder eine kleine Ration bekamen. Die Zuwendung wurde den Kindern auch weiter gewährt, wenn ihre Mütter verstarben. Die größte Untergruppe bilden die Bediensteten "des Wollortes". An ihm wird die Rohwolle bis zum verwebbaren Faden verarbeitet. Es gibt aber keine Anhaltspunkte dafür, daß dort auch gewoben oder Kleider gefertigt wurden. Parallel zum Wollort gibt es einen "Flachsort" für die Herstellung des Leinens. Auch dort sind ausschließlich Frauen beschäftigt.

Weitere Untergruppen bilden das Personal des Hausverwalters (a g r i g) und die in der Brauerei Beschäftigten. Mit ihnen werden der Malzschroter und der Kohlenbrenner entlohnt, obwohl sie Männer sind. Auf das Brauereipersonal folgen meist zwei kleine Untergruppen von Mägden, deren Bezeichnungen noch nicht übersetzt werden können: die g e m e_2-LAK 453 (LAK 453 ist ein Getreideprodukt) und die a - g a - a m.

[141] A. Deimel, AnOr 2, 1931, 78 und Ders. bei A. Schneider, Die sumerische Tempelstadt, Essen 1920.

Die Schweinezucht und die Schweinemast wurde mit weiblichen Hilfskräften betrieben. Eine stattliche Zahl von ihnen untersteht dem Schweinehirten. Schließlich wird auch eine einzelne Klagesängerin zur Zeit Uruinimginas in dieser Gruppe entlohnt.
Die 4. und letzte Gruppe bilden die Meeresfischer (S. 542-546). Die einzelnen Rationen sind sehr verschieden hoch. Die Höhe richtet sich nach der durch die Gruppe vorgegebenen Klasse, nach der Wertschätzung des Berufes, doch auch nach der Schwere der Arbeit und dem Alter des Beziehers. Sie bewegen sich zwischen 12 Sila für Kinder, 18 und 24 Sila für Mägde und 72 Sila für die höchsten Verwaltungsbeamten; auch der Inspektor erhält in diesem Fall nicht mehr. Die Umrechnung in Kalorien, die verschiedentlich versucht worden ist[142], hat ergeben, daß schon mit den kleinsten Rationen in einem heißen Klima der tägliche Bedarf einer Person wahrscheinlich gedeckt war.
Alle anderen Vergütungen, über die uns die Tafeln unterrichten, waren außerordentliche Zuteilungen. Sie erfolgten entweder nur zu bestimmten Terminen, oder nur an einen bestimmten Personenkreis, oder nur für Leistungen zu besonderen Anlässen. Regelmäßig an alle Bediensteten, aber nur einige Male im Jahr – wahrscheinlich 3mal – wurde Wolle zugeteilt. Kinder erhielten dabei 1/2 Mine oder etwas weniger als 1/2 Pfund, die normale Zuteilung lag zwischen 2 und 5 Minen. Die obersten Beamten erhielten 7 Minen.
Brot-, Weizen-, Obst-, gemeint sind Datteln und Äpfel, und Butterrationen gab es nur an Festtagen und nur für Mitglieder der obersten Schicht. Mehl wurde einmal in Ermangelung von Gerste ausgegeben. Von der Zuteilung von Fisch, Fett und Bier an Bauleute lesen wir bei der Errichtung eines Tempels, an Dienerinnen aus Anlaß ihrer Teilnahme an einer Kultfeier.
Die Wirtschaftsurkunden gestatten zwar genaue Einblicke in einzelne Vorgänge, von denen sich auf das Gefüge einer Tempelwirtschaft rückschließen läßt. Die von den Tempeln in Jahren reicher Ernten sicherlich erzielten Überschüsse lassen sich ohne vollständigere Kenntnis von Soll und Haben jedoch nicht errechnen.

Nicht oder nur am Rande wurde die Verarbeitung der Produkte aus Landwirtschaft und Viehzucht behandelt. Zur Erhellung dieser Vorgänge können die altsumerischen Quellen im allgemeinen nicht viel beitragen, die wenigen Fakten sind leichter in einer Darstellung dieses Themas nach dem reicheren neusumerischen Material zu berücksichtigen. Auch Handel und soziale Strukturen sind nur beiläufig erwähnt worden. Hierüber haben andere ausreichend geschrieben.

142 A. Schneider, Die sumerische Tempelstadt, Essen 1920, S. 36 Anm. 1; F. Thureau-Dangin, Numération et métrologie sumériennes, RA 18, 1921, 129 Anm. 6.

6. Zu Geburt, Ehe und Begräbnis

Die Ausrichtung der Quellen auf die Leistungen des Herrschers für die Götter und die Abläufe der Tempelwirtschaft läßt das Privatleben der frühdynastischen Bewohner Mesopotamiens weitgehend im dunkeln. Versuchen wir die wenigen gesicherten Fakten zusammenzutragen.

6.1. Geburt

Bei der Geburt eines Kindes spielte der oder spielten die Gebärziegel eine bedeutende Rolle. Die Götterlisten von Šuruppak/Fara, die nach den Beobachtungen von M. Krebernik[143] ihre Prägung in Uruk erhielten, enthalten die Namen zweier Göttinnen ^{d}n i n - SIG_4 - t u und ^{d}n i n - SIG_4 - t u - l a m a r "Herrin Gebärziegel" und "Herrin Gebärziegel, die Schutzgöttin", andere Übersetzungen wie "Herrin des" oder "der Gebärziegel(s)" usw. sind ebenfalls möglich (M. Krebernik)[144]. Weiter hat R.D. Biggs[145] darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß in den Fara-zeitlichen Zagme-Hymnen Keš, das Kulturzentrum der Geburtsgöttin Nintur, das Epitheton SIG_4 - t u - t u , "Ziegel, auf dem immer wieder geboren wird", trägt (IAS S. 48, 75-77). Dasselbe Beiwort führt Keš auch in der Sammlung des Tempelhymnen, die Enḫeduana, die Tochter Sargons von Akkad, verfaßt hat. Doch wird die Zeile bereits, wie eine Variante aus Ur zeigt, als SIG_4 d u_8 - d u_8 "mit (gut) gestrichenen Ziegeln" mißverstanden (TCS 3, 22, Z. 94 und Var.). Nach Zeile 396 des sumerischen Mythos "Enki und die Weltordnung" hat Enki der Göttin Nintur den/die "reinen Gebärziegel" (SIG_4 - t u - t u - k u g) übergeben.
Wichtig sind schließlich zwei Personennamen, der eine aus der Fara-Zeit lautet SIG_4 - g a_2 - t u (IAS 298 I 11), "auf meinem Ziegel geboren", der zweite aus den Wirtschafts-urkunden von Girsu heißt SIG_4 - g a_2 - n a - g i_4 "auf meinen Ziegel ist (es, das Kind) zurückgekehrt" (Nik 1 X 1).
Nach den Quellen wird die genaue Funktion dieses Ziegels oder dieser Ziegel in Mesopotamien nicht deutlich. Möglich ist, daß die Sumererin ihr Kind hockend auf einer Unterlage von Ziegeln zur Welt brachte. Die ägyptische Geburts- und Schicksalsgöttin Meschenet gilt als Personifikation des Ziegels, auf den sich die Frau bei der Niederkunft kniete[146].
Diese Gebärhaltung und die Ziegel als Stütze für die Beine der Gebärenden beschreiben für das Persien des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts der deutsche Arzt J. Polack[147] und H. Massé[148].
Die andere Möglichkeit ist, daß mit dem Gebärziegel nur ein einzelner Ziegel bezeichnet wurde, der als erste Unterlage für das Neugeborene diente, auf dem auch die Nabelschnur

[143] M. Krebernik, ZA 76, 1986, 161-204.
[144] M. Krebernik, ZA 76, 1986, 170 III 2; 168 I 16 und 200.
[145] R.D. Biggs, ZA 61, 1971, 195-196 mit Anm. 13.
[146] W. Helck, WdM 1, 1965, 375 (s.v. Meschenet (*Mśḫn.t*)); S. Morenz, Ägyptische Religion, Die Religionen der Menschheit 8, Stuttgart 1960, 279; H.Bonnet, Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte, 1952, 458. Etwas abweichend: C. Keller bei A. D. Kilmer, JNES 46, 1987, 213 Anm. 19.
[147] J. Polack, Persien, das Land und seine Bewohner I, 1865, 219.
[148] H. Massé, Croyances et Coutumes persanes, 1938, 36.

und die Nachgeburt niedergelegt wurden und der vielleicht mit beiden vergraben wurde[149]. Der Ziegel symbolisierte auch die Anwesenheit der Geburtsgöttin Nintur. Für diese Auffassung scheinen die vier Stellen des akkadischen Atraḫasis-Mythos zu sprechen, die die Erschaffung des ersten Menschen behandeln[150], wenn man die mythische Szene auf ihre alltägliche Anschauung zurückführt, von der sie abgeleitet ist.
Daß der Wöchnerin – wenigstens in wohlhabenden Familien – Hebamme und Amme beistanden, und die Hebamme dem Neugeborenen seinen ersten Namen gab, konnte man der Geburtsschilderung Eanatums auf der Geierstele entnehmen.
Als Bezeichnung für das Stadium des Kleinkindes wird š a g_4 - d u g_3 verwendet, das verschieden als "dessen Herz gut ist", "gutherzig" oder als "das, was dem Herzen gut ist" aufgefaßt worden ist. Das Geschlecht wird durch die Hinzufügung von n i t a ḫ oder m u n u s unterschieden. (Die Bezeichnung wird auch bei Ziegen und Schweinen verwendet.) Der umfassendere Begriff war d u m u "Kind".
Über Reifefeiern oder Initiationen, die in vielen Stammeskulturen einen so bedeutenden Platz unter den Riten einnehmen, erfahren wir aus Mesopotamien nichts.

6.2. Ehe

Wenig ist auch über die Institution der Ehe zu sagen, wenn man sich auf die vorsargonischen Zeugnisse beschränkt. Die übliche Form der Ehe in frühdynastischer Zeit war auch bei den herrschenden Familien die Monogamie. Deshalb klingt eine Bestimmung der Reformen des Uruinimgina so befremdlich, in der es heißt (Ukg. 6 III 20' - 24'): "Die früheren Frauen hatten je zwei Männer, die heutigen Frauen haben dies Greuel fallen lassen". Kienast meinte sogar "je zwei Männer" solle "von zwei Männern an (aufwärts)" heißen[151]. Aus dieser Stelle hat D.O. Edzard[152] auf eine fraternelle Polyandrie geschlossen, auch der Ausdruck Dyandrie ist dafür geprägt worden. Ein solcher Brauch fügt sich aber nur schwer in das Bild ein, das sich aus den Quellen gewinnen läßt. Auch ist darauf hinzuweisen, daß der rechtsverbindliche Ausdruck n a m - d a m - š e_3 t u k, "zur Gattenschaft nehmen/haben", in diesem Zusammenhang nicht verwendet wird. Deshalb verdient vielleicht die Auffassung W. von Sodens[153] den Vorzug, daß wegen der zu hohen Gebühren eine rechtmäßige Scheidung unterblieb und Frauen, die ihren Männern davongelaufen waren, einfach eine neue Ehe eingingen und damit in Bigamie lebten.
Über die frühdynastischen Hochzeitsbräuche ist nichts bekannt. Zwar findet man den n i m g i r - s i, wörtlich "den Boten (, der ins) Horn (stößt)", den "Brautführer", in der Berufsnamenliste von Tell Abū Ṣalābīḫ (MSL 12, 19, 157) und als Personenkurznamen der Urkunden aus Girsu, doch über sein Mitwirken bei einer Eheschließung erfährt man nichts. Die

[149] so: A.D. Kilmer nach Th. Jacobsen, JNES 46, 1987, 213.
[150] W.G. Lambert, A.R. Millard, Atra-ḫasīs, 1969, 60-64, Z. 259, S III 6, S III 15, 288, 294.
[151] H. Steible, FAOS 5/II, 1982, 164 (27).
[152] D. O. Edzard, Genava n.s. 8, 1960, 254-258.
[153] W. von Soden, Herrscher im alten Orient, 1954, 13; ders., Propyläen Weltgeschichte 1, 1961, 546.

Bezeichnung für den "Schwiegersohn", m i$_2$ - u s$_2$ - s a$_2$, kommt ein paar Mal zur näheren Bestimmung von Personen in den Wirtschaftstexten vor. Frühdynastische Parallelen zu den altbabylonischen Eheschließungsurkunden, die das gegenseitige rechtliche Verhältnis der Ehegatten, Brautpreis und Mitgift regeln, sowie Vereinbarungen für den Fall der Eheauflösung treffen, gibt es nicht.

Ein altsumerischer Text (DP 75) stellt Geschenke getrennt nach ihrer Herkunft aus dem Eigentum des Stadtfürsten Lugalanda und seiner Ehefrau Baragnamtara zusammen, die ihr Sohn Urtarsirsira seiner Ehefrau Nineneše bringen soll. Es handelt sich dabei um insgesamt 36 verschiedene Dinge, darunter ein Eselsgespann, eine Sklavin, Möbel wie Bett, Stühle und Fußschemel, Luxusgewänder und einfache Kleider, Bronze- und Kupfergeräte wie Spiegel, Duftspender(?), verschiedene Steingefäße (b u r), Kessel aus Gold und Silber, Töpfe mit Salben und parfümierten Ölen, Kämme, Spindeln aus Buchsbaumholz, eine kleine Waage, eine Reihe verschiedener Schmuckstücke und Lebensmittel(?). Doch sind es nicht die sogenannten Brautgaben, denn der Ausdruck n i g$_2$ - m i$_2$ - u s$_2$ - s a$_2$ wird nicht verwendet. Die von P. Steinkeller[154] vorgetragene Auffassung, es gehe um Grabbeigaben, ist abwegig. Die Zeit der Wagengräber und der Totenfolge war vorüber.

Die Scheidung kam vor. Einer der Paragraphen von Uruinimginas Reformwerk (Ukg. 6 II 15' - 21') führt als Übelstand die hohen Gebühren auf – es sind 5 Sekel Silber für den Stadtfürsten und 1 Sekel Silber für den Großwesir (s u k a l - m a ḫ) – , wenn sich ein Mann von seiner Ehefrau trennen wollte. Die entsprechende Gegenmaßnahme ist nicht erhalten. Man darf aber vermuten, daß sie in der Herabsetzung der Gebühren bestand. Die älteste Gerichtsurkunde über die Auflösung eines Verlöbnisses ist Akkad-zeitlich (SR 85). Die Einrichtung des *aštammu* ist aus zwei altsumerischen Personennamen bekannt n i n - e š$_2$ - d a m - m e - k i - a g$_2$, "die Herrin liebt das *aštammu*", und u r - e š$_2$ - d a m, nur ist nicht mit Sicherheit zu sagen, ob es sich dabei schon um die aus späterer Zeit bekannte Verbindung von Schankwirtschaft, Herberge und Bordell handelte.

6.3. Begräbnis

Daß die Sumerer ihre Toten beerdigten und nicht verbrannten, ist bekannt. Das Wort für den Friedhof lautet altsumerisch (Ukg. 1 V 6' u.ö.; SR 35 II 6) wie noch bei Gudea (Stat. B V 1-4) k i - m a ḫ, der "erhabene Ort". Diese Tatsache ist allein schon bemerkenswert, bedeutet sie doch eine Trennung der Lebenden von den Toten. Waren die sonst so beliebten Hausbestattungen zu jener Zeit in Lagaš nicht üblich? Gudea erwähnt auch, daß bei der Bestattung Kultsänger (g a l a) Klagelieder zur Harfe vortrugen und Klageweiber (a m a - i r$_2$) Schreie ausstießen. Nicht anders ging es in altsumerischer Zeit zu. Mit großem Aufwand hat Uruinimgina Baragnamtara, die Ehefrau seines Vorgängers Lugalanda, bestatten lassen. Zwei Rituale haben dabei stattgefunden, deren Teilnehmer, soweit sie verköstigt wurden, sich leicht nach Zahl und Berufen unterschieden (TSA 9, Fö 137). Vielleicht darf man bei der

[154] P. Steinkeller, Iraq 52, 1990, 21 Anm. 29.

Buchung des ersten Dokuments von den Kosten der Grablegung und beim zweiten von einer ersten Gedenkfeier am Grabe sprechen, wie sie in vielen Kulturen nach einer bestimmten Frist oder gar nach mehreren solcher Fristen üblich waren. Bei der Beerdigung waren beteiligt: 72 Kultsänger, 60 d a m a b - b a, wörtlich "Ehefrauen der Alten", und insgesamt 148 Dienerinnen, etwa 3/4 gestellt vom Tempel des Ningirsu und 1/4 von dem der BaU. Am meisten Kopfzerbrechen bereiten die 10 s e s - t u der Baragnamtara. Handelt es sich wirklich um 10 "leibliche Brüder" – ganz ausgeschlossen wäre das nicht, sahen wir doch, wie groß die Familie Urnanšes war – oder waren es Leute, die nur Riten, wie sie sonst leibliche Brüder auszuführen hatten, vollzogen? Diese "leiblichen Brüder" fehlen auffälligerweise in der zweiten Urkunde. Dafür wirken hier sogar 92 Kultsänger unter der Leitung des obersten Kultsängers von Girsu mit. Weiter sind 48 "Ehefrauen der Alten", und 177 Dienerinnen, d.h. ca. 1/6 mehr als bei der Grablegung, beteiligt. Die Aufwendungen für die einzelnen waren gering. Abgerechnet wird in der ersten Urkunde nach 3 Lohnstufen. In der höchsten die Kultsänger, von denen jeder 1 b a r - s i -Halbbrot, d.h. ein Halbbrot aus Emmermehl, 2 Dauer- oder Ofenbrote und 1 Fladen(?)-Brot erhielt. In der zweiten Lohnstufe bekamen die "Ehefrauen der Alten" und die "leiblichen Brüder" 1 b a r - s i -Halbbrot und 1 Fladen(?)-Brot. Jede Dienerin in der 3. Lohnstufe erhielt 2 Dauer- oder Ofenbrote und 1 Fladen(?)-Brot, also kein Brot aus dem kostbaren Emmermehl mehr.
Ganz pauschal wird dann noch vermerkt, daß alle Bier getrunken haben.
Die Kosten der zweiten Veranstaltung sind etwas genauer notiert. Die Dienerinnen erhalten dieselben Sorten und dieselbe Menge Brot wie das erste Mal, dazu 1 Kuli Bier pro Person. M.A. Powell[155] schätzt, daß das ein Maß zwischen einem halben und 1,2 Litern gewesen ist.
Schlechter stehen sich diesmal die Kultsänger, denen das Emmerhalbbrot vorenthalten wird. Pro Kopf bekommen sie ebenfalls 1 Kuli helles Bier. Der oberste Kultsänger erhält allein 10 Dauer- oder Ofenbrote und 6 Emmerbrote, aber kein Bier. Die "Ehefrauen der Alten" schließlich bekommen dieselbe Entlöhnung an Brot wie beim ersten Mal und dazu 1 Kuli helles Bier.
Die nach beiden Urkunden Entlohnten werden als "Leute, die bei den Trauerriten für Baragnamtara Tränen vergossen haben" bezeichnet. Es fehlen also diejenigen, die direkt mit der Leiche zu tun hatten, die oder der die Tote zur Bestattung herrichtete, die Leichenträger und der Totengräber. Aber sie mögen auf einer gesonderten Tafel erfaßt worden sein. Was man weiter bei der Beerdigung der Baragnamtara vermißt, sind die u m - m a - i r_2, die Klageweiber, die altsumerische Entsprechung der a m a - i r_2(- r a) bei Gudea. Aber es fällt an einer Urkunde wie DP 159 auf, die einen guten Überblick über das Kultpersonal niederen Ranges im gesamten Staate Lagaš gibt, daß Klagefrauen nur für Girsu verbucht werden und auch dort nur die geringe Zahl von 5, gegenüber 40 Kultsängern und 18 Klageliedsängern desselben Ortes und 171 Kultsängern aus dem gesamten Staat. In DP 159 werden die wenigen u m - m a - i r_2 unter den g a l a, den Kultsängern, subsumiert, sie können also auch in den Texten zu den Totenfeiern für Baragnamtara in der Zahl der Kultsänger enthalten gewesen sein.

[155] M.A. Powell, RlA 7, 1987-1990, 505 (s.v. Maße und Gewichte).

Über zwei wichtige Vorgänge beim Begräbnis der Baragnamtara sind ebenfalls keine Zeugnisse erhalten. So wissen wir nichts über die Totenopfer, die möglicherweise am Grabe der Verstorbenen dargebracht worden sind, und wir wissen nicht, ob und welche Grabbeigaben ihr mitgegeben wurden.

Die eben erwähnte Urkunde DP 159 ist ihrer Gattung nach eine Brotlohnliste. Oder genauer, Sasag, die Frau des Königs, entlohnt im 5. Königsjahre Uruinimginas insgesamt 418 Personen mit Brot, und wenigstens die Erwachsenen erhalten auch Fisch und Bier und haben sich, wie es ohne nähere Angabe heißt, "mit Fett gesalbt". Da der Schreiber seinen Raumbedarf zu gering einschätzte, machte er die Tafel zu klein, sah sich dann gegen Ende gezwungen, den Text zu kürzen und ließ ausgerechnet die Angabe über den Anlaß für diese Ausgabe fort. Dieser muß einmalig gewesen sein. Die 418 Personen setzen sich aus folgenden Gruppen zusammen: Es sind 176 Kultsänger und 174 Dienerinnen mit ihren 68 Kleinkindern. Das erinnert, von den Kleinkindern abgesehen, an die Zusammensetzung des Personals bei den Trauerfeiern für Baragnamtara. Die Zahl der 290 bzw. 318 dort an den zwei Feiern Beteiligten wird hier noch um 60 bzw. um rund 30 Personen übertroffen. Interessanter ist aber noch, daß Girsu allein die große Zahl an Kultsängern und Dienerinnen zu diesem ungenannten Anlaß nicht stellen konnte oder nicht zu stellen brauchte, sondern aus dem ganzen Kleinstaat zusammengezogen wurde. Man lernt damit außer den großen Städten auch kleinere Orte und verstreut im Lande gelegene Heiligtümer kennen, und man kann vermuten, daß die Zahl der jeweils abgestellten Sänger und Dienerinnen in einer Relation zu ihrer Größe stand. Leider sind nun die beiden Teile der Tafel – der erste faßt die Kultsänger zusammen, der zweite die Dienerinnen, nicht ganz vergleichbar. Die Sänger werden nach geographischen Gesichtspunkten unterteilt, und das bedeutet, daß die Sänger aus den großen Zentren nicht nach ihrer Zugehörigkeit zu einem Tempel oder einer Gottheit bestimmbar sind, während die Dienerinnen nach ihrer Zugehörigkeit zu einer Gottheit aufgeführt werden, und das bedeutet für das Personal der Nanše, daß dies wenigstens aus zwei, möglicherweise aber sogar aus fünf verschiedenen Orten stammte.

Es fällt auf, daß manches Heiligtum fehlt, ohne daß es möglich wäre, aus diesen Lücken eindeutige Schlüsse zu ziehen. Nicht berücksichtigt sind z.B. die kleineren Tempel des Ningirsu wie Aḫuš, Antasura und Tiras, ebenso die außerhalb der Zentren liegenden Kultstätten des Gottes Enki und der Ort Sagub mit dem Kult der Amageštin. Nicht erklärbar ist auch, warum nur wenige Städte Sänger und Dienerinnen gestellt haben, die Mehrzahl aber entweder Sänger oder Dienerinnen, z.B. ist Guaba mit dem Tempel der Ninmara nur mit Dienerinnen vertreten.

Vor allem gibt natürlich der Grund für eine so aufwendige Feier Rätsel auf. Nach den Beteiligten möchte man an ein großes Trauerritual denken und, da das 5. Königsjahr Uruinimginas ein zweites Kriegsjahr gewesen ist, an eine zentrale Feier zu Ehren der Gefallenen dieses Krieges.

Mit dem Bestattungswesen beschäftigt sich eine Bestimmung der Reformen Uruinimginas (früherer Zustand: Ukg. 4 VI 4-14 = 5 V 24 - VI 5, nach der Reform: 4 IX 26-34 = 5 VIII 32 - IX 1); es geht dabei um die Gebühren, die der normale Bürger bei einem Todesfall zu entrichten hatte. Nach der drastischen Herabsetzung durch die Reformen erhält der u r u $ḫ_x$

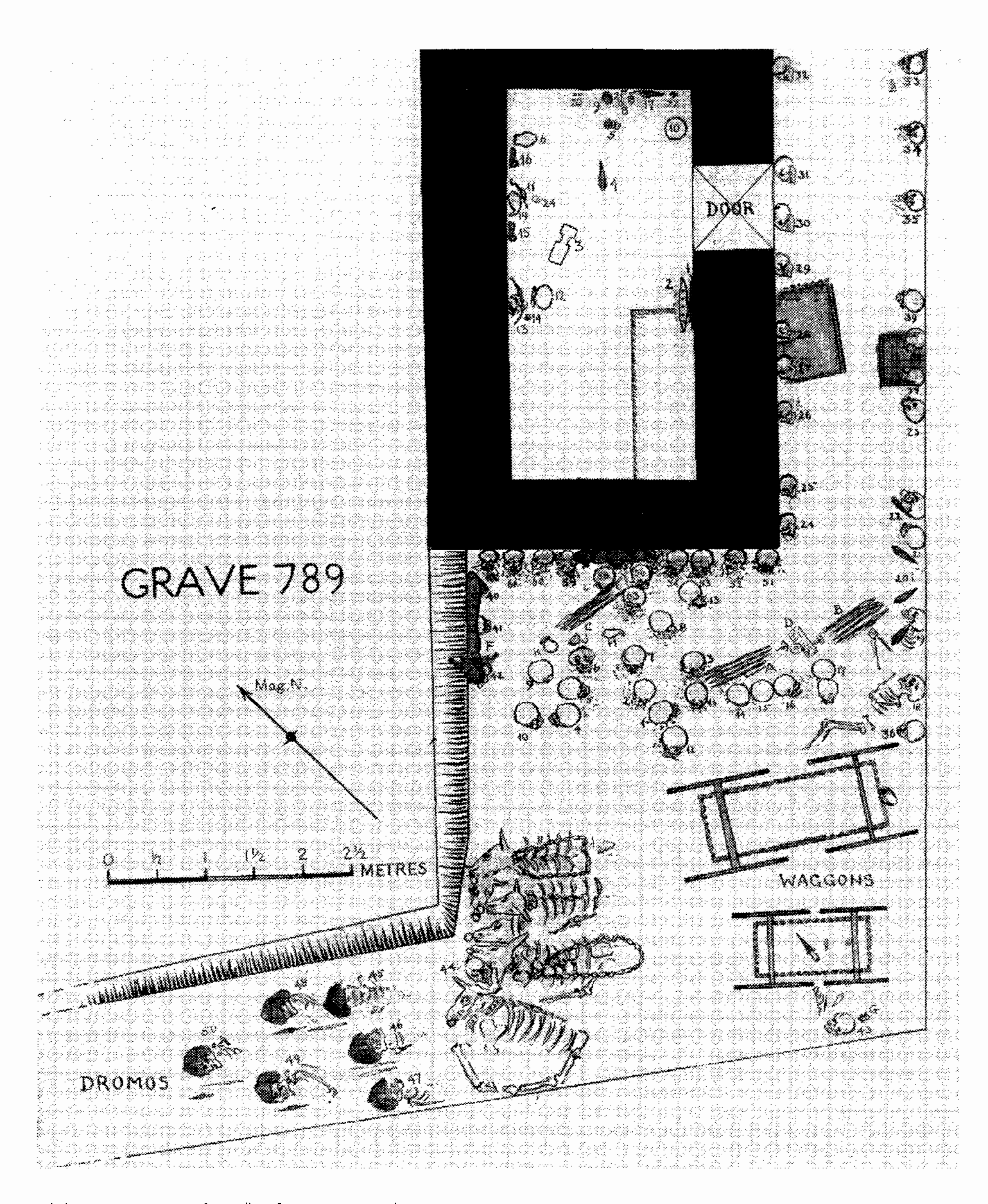


Abb. 16: Königfriedhof von Ur: "The King's Grave"

(KUŠU$_2$.MUŠ$_3$) immer noch 3 Krüge Bier, 80 Brote, 1 erstklassiges Ziegenböckchen und 1 Bett und der l u$_2$ - u m u m - m a 3 Ban Gerste, das sind etwa 18 l. Nach M. Civil[156] ist u r u ḫ$_x$ der Leichenbestatter. Die Funktion des l u$_2$ - u m u m - m a ist vorläufig nicht bestimmbar.

Das Frühdynastikum war eine Zeit sehr aufwendiger Herrschergräber. Die schlichteren Wagengräber von Inġarra/Ḫursagkalama bei Kiš mit ein bis zwei Mitbestattungen reichen in ihren jüngeren Beispielen bis ans Ende der Frühdynastisch II-Phase. Sie sind also gut 150 Jahre älter als Urnanše. In seine Zeit gehören die 16 Königsgräber von Ur mit Gefolgschaftsbestattungen (Abb. 16) von bis zu 80 Personen und ihren reichen Beigaben

[156] M. Civil, N.A.B.U. 1987, Nr. 9.

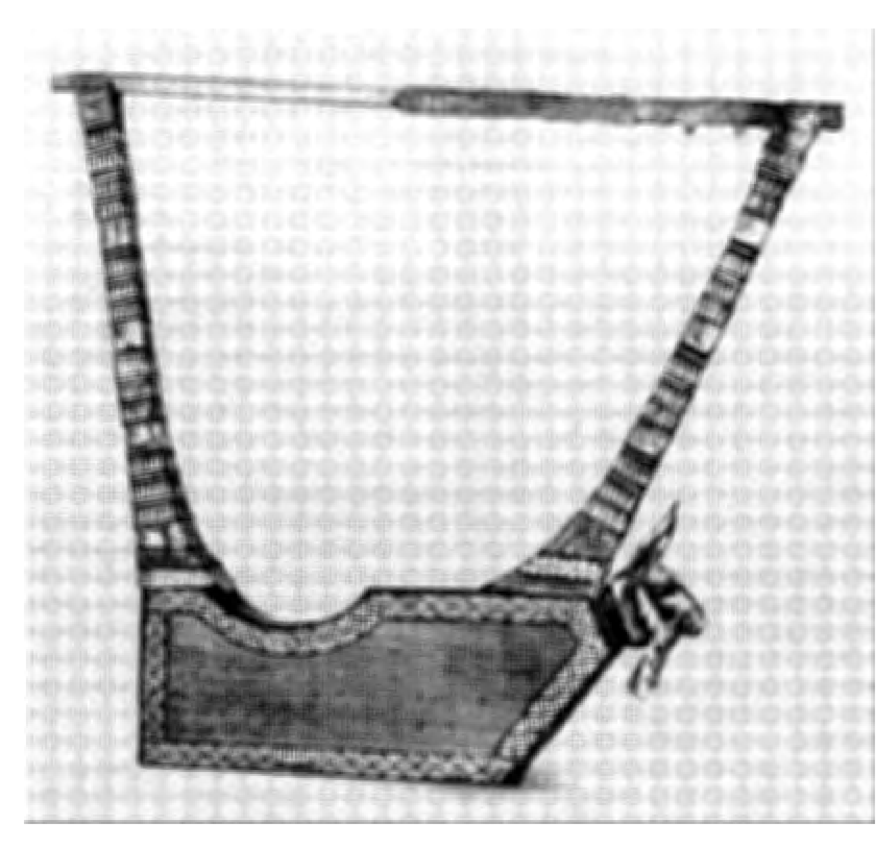


Abb. 17: Königsfriedhof von Ur: Beigabe in PG 1237

(Abb. 17). Da bisher im Bereich von Girsu oder Lagaš keine Herrschergräber aufgedeckt wurden, ist auch nicht zu sagen, ob man sich die Gräber lagašitischer Herrscher ähnlich ausgestattet vorzustellen hat. Auf eine Totenfolge fehlen aus den späteren Urkunden von Girsu jegliche Hinweise. Möglicherweise gab man den Brauch auch schon bald wieder auf, oder er war lokal begrenzt und in Lagaš nicht üblich.
Mit der hohen Zahl von Mitbestatteten, seien sie nun freiwillig dem Toten gefolgt oder vergiftet worden, stehen diese Begräbnisse keineswegs einzigartig da. Sie werden hierin von den frühen chinesischen Königsgräbern und, wenn man Herodot Glauben schenken will, von den Skythenkurganen des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. erreicht oder gar übertroffen. In den 11 Königsgräbern – es sind Wagengräber wie in Mesopotamien – von An-yang in der Provinz Honan aus der Zeit der späten Shang-Dynastie etwa 1300 - 1050 v. Chr. gab es Mitbestattungen verschiedener Art. Man rechnet mit der Totenfolge von Gefolgsleuten, aus Gründen der Geheimhaltung erschlagenen Totengräbern und reichlichen geköpften Menschenopfern[157]. Herodot beschreibt im 4. Buch, Kap. 71-72 die Bestattungssitten der Skythenhäuptlinge Südrußlands im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.:

> "Man tötet eines seiner Weiber, seinen Weinschenken, seinen Koch, Pferdeknecht, Leibdiener, Boten, ferner seine Pferde, die Erstlinge alles anderen Viehs ..." usw.

[157] Chêng Tê-K'un, Archaeology in China 2, 1960, 72-77.



Abb. 18: Geierstele: Ausschnitt mit der Aufschüttung eines Leichenhügels

Kapitel 72 beginnt:

> "Ein Jahr später wird die Trauerfeier wiederholt. Die besten von der Dienerschaft des Königs – ... – werden erdrosselt, 50 an der Zahl, ebenso die 50 schönsten Pferde."

Zurück nach Mesopotamien. Gelegentlich traf man schon zu Lebzeiten Vorsorge für die Bestattung. In einer Hauskaufurkunde aus dem 17. Jahr Enmetenas wird bestimmt, daß der Verkäufer, ein Wäscher namens Ka, nur einen Teil des Kaufpreises in Empfang nimmt; der Rest – es sind 10 Sekel Silber – soll erst fällig werden, wenn seine Leiche zum Friedhof gebracht(?) wird (SR 35 = BIN 8, 352).
Nach einer Feldkaufurkunde aus Adab (ELTS Nr. 32 App.), die nach P. Steinkeller noch in die vorsargonische Zeit gehört, gibt b i l_2 - l a l_3 - l a, der Tempelverwalter von Keš und Verkäufer des Feldes, zahlreiche Wertgegenstände, die einen Teil des Kaufpreises ausmachen, seiner Ehefrau Lalla. Sie ist entweder schon verstorben, und diese Gegenstände sind für ihre Grabausstattung gedacht, oder sie werden dazu verwendet, wenn sie stirbt; eindeutig der Hinweis, daß "sie mit ihm im Grabe wohnen wird". Zum Grabinventar bestimmt sind 5 Gewänder, 1 Bett und 1 Sessel aus Buchsbaumholz, 4 verschiedene Schmuckstücke aus Silber, eines aus Lapislazuli und 1 Silberspiegel.
Eine letzte Art der Bestattung bleibt noch zu erwähnen, die der Gefallenen des Schlachtfeldes. Sie wird nicht nur in den Herrscherinschriften genannt, sie ist auch auf der Rückseite der Geierstele Eanatums dargestellt (Abb. 18). Ein hoher Haufen von Leichen ist aufgeschichtet,

und über Leitern steigen Korbträger an ihm empor, um die Toten mit Erde zu bedecken. Rechts anschließend beginnt in Anwesenheit des Stadtfürsten eine Opferfeier. Durch Stricke an Vorder- und Hinterbeinen gefesselt und durch Pflöcke am Boden festgehalten liegen ein Rind und 6 Stück Kleinvieh vorbereitet für das Schlachtopfer. Über den Tieren steht – gemeint ist wohl neben ihm – ein nackter Kultdiener mit der Libationskanne. Er ist nach rechts gewendet. Vor ihm stehen auf einer Matte zwei schlanke Vasen zur Aufnahme der Trankspende, geschmückt mit über den Rand hängenden Dattelbüscheln und emporstrebenden Zweigen. Ganz rechts, der Szene zugewendet, stand der Stadtfürst. Seine Gestalt ist weitgehend verloren, nur ein unteres Stück seines Zeremonialkleides und seine nackten Füße sind noch sichtbar. Da beide Szenen offensichtlich aufeinander bezogen sind, kann man von einem Opfer für die Manen der Toten sprechen.
Hat man nur die Szenen der Geierstele im Blick, scheint die Erklärung einfach.

> "Die Leichen der Feinde bedecken den Boden, teils dienen sie ... den herbeifliegenden Geiern zum Fraß ... Das dritte Register zeigt die feierliche Bestattung der eigenen Gefallenen, wobei der Fürst das Totenopfer darbringt"[158].

Wirft man einen Blick auf die gleichzeitigen Inschriften, entspricht das Aufschütten von Hügeln über den Leichen der Gefallenen dem sumerischen Ausdruck IŠ.DU$_6$.KID$_2$-b e$_2$ m u - d u b. Diese Wendung hat ihren festen Platz hinter der Mitteilung vom Sieg über eine bestimmte Stadt oder ein Land. Das Possessivsuffix hinter IŠ.DU$_6$.KID$_2$ kann sich nur auf den vorher genannten Gegner beziehen. Auch eine Stelle in der großen Inschrift des Enmetena führt zu demselben Schluß: "Seiner Leute (gemeint ist Umma) Gebeine hatte er (der besiegte Stadtfürst Urlumma) überall in der Steppe zurückgelassen, für sie hat er (Enmetena) Leichenhügel an 5 Stellen aufgeschüttet" (Ent. 28 III 22-27 = 29 IV 13-17). Sind es hier 5 Hügel, so behauptet Eanatum 20 Hügel aufgetürmt zu haben (Ean. 1 XI 12-15) oder an anderer Stelle, daß "ihre (der Feinde) Leichen bis an den Grund des Himmels reichten" (Ean. 1 VII 21-22). Welcher Feldherr würde sich schon der eigenen Verluste rühmen? Es sind die getöteten Gegner, die im Massengrab unter Totenopfern bestattet werden. Wie verfuhr man mit den eigenen Toten? Trennte man die Leichen sorgfältig nach Feinden oder Freunden, oder bestattete man sie gar zusammen unter demselben Hügel? Darauf gibt es keine sichere Antwort.
Im Anschluß an I. J. Gelb[159] hält J.N. Postgate[160] es für möglich, daß die Tumuli nicht die in der Hitze des Kampfes Getöteten enthielten, sondern abgeschlachtete Gefangene. Doch sind die schon früher behandelten Schicksale des Katasterleiters Lupada und des Kaufmanns Ḫursagšemaḫ Beweise eines menschlicheren Verhaltens Gefangenen gegenüber.

[158] M. Falkner, RlA 3, 1957-1971, 194 (s.v. Geierstele (archäologisch)).
[159] I.J. Gelb, JNES 32, 1973, 71-72.
[160] J.N. Postgate, Early Mesopotamia. Society and Economy at the Dawn of History, London, New York 1992; ^{2}1994, 254-255.

7. ABBILDUNGSNACHWEIS

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Abb. 2: bearbeitet nach: D.P. HANSEN, RlA 6, 1980-1983, 423 Fig. 1, (s.v. Lagaš. B Archäologisch).

Abb. 3: bearbeitet nach: D.P. HANSEN, RlA 6, 1980-1983, 424 Fig. 2, (s.v. Lagaš. B Archäologisch).

Abb. 4: bearbeitet nach: D.P. HANSEN, RlA 6, 1980-1983, 429 Fig. 3, (s.v. Lagaš. B Archäologisch).

Abb. 5: B. HROUDA, Der Alte Orient. Geschichte und Kultur des alten Vorderasien, Gütersloh 1991, S. 330.

Abb. 6: A. MOORTGAT, Die Kunst des Alten Mesopotamien. Die klassische Kunst Vorderasiens, Köln 1967, Tafelabb. 112.

Abb. 7: A. MOORTGAT, Die Kunst des Alten Mesopotamien. Die klassische Kunst Vorderasiens, Köln 1967, Tafelabb. 109.

Abb. 8: E. STROMMENGER, Fünf Jahrtausende Mesopotamien. Die Kunst von den Anfängen um 5000 v. Chr. bis zu Alexander dem Großen, München 1962, Tafelabb. 67.

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Abb.13: C.L. WOOLLEY, The Royal Cemetery: A Report on the Predynastic and Sargonid Graves Excavated between 1926 and 1931, Ur Excavtions II, plates, Oxford 1934, plate 181b.

Abb.14: H. FRANKFORT, More Sculpture from the Diyala Region, OIP 60, Chicago 1943, plate 59A.

Abb.15: E. STROMMENGER, Fünf Jahrtausende Mesopotamien. Die Kunst von den Anfängen um 5000 v. Chr. bis zu Alexander dem Großen, München 1962, Tafelabb. XVI.

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Abb.17: E. STROMMENGER, Ur, München 1964, Tafelabb. 19.

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Babylonien in seinen wichtigsten Ruinenstätten, Der Alte Orient 11/3-4, Leipzig 1910.

Teil 4

Abkürzungsverzeichnis und Indices

1. Abkürzungsverzeichnis

A.	Museumssignatur des Oriental Institute, Chicago.
AASF	Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae. Helsinki.
AASOR	The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research. New Haven.
ABAW (NF)	Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse (Neue Folge). München.
ActAntH	Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest.
ADFU	Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka. Berlin, Leipzig.
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung. Berlin, Graz, Wien.
AfO Beih	Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft. Berlin, Graz, Wien.
AION	Annali. Rivista del Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici e del Dipatimento di Studi e Ricerche su Africa e Paesi Arabi. Istituto Universitario Orientale. Napoli.
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology. Boston, Concord, Princeton.
ALASPM	Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas und Mesopotamiens. Münster.
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia. Commentationes scientificae de rebus orientis antiqui. Roma.
AO	Museumssignatur: Antiquités orientales. Louvre, Paris.
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Alten Orients und des Alten Testaments. Neukirchen-Vluyn.
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen. Berlin.
AoN	Bauer, J., Altorientalistische Notizen 1-. Selbstverlag Würzburg, 1976 -.
AOS	American Oriental Series. New Haven (Conn).
APAW	Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse. Berlin.
Archaic Bookkeeping	Nissen, H.J., Damerow, P., Englund, R.K., Archaic Bookkeeping: Early Writing and Techniques of Economic Administration in the Ancient Near East, Chicago 1993 (revised English edition of Frühe Schrift).
ARES	Archivi Reali di Ebla, Studi. Roma.
ARET	Archivi Reali di Ebla, Testi. Roma.
ARET 5	Hymnen, Beschwörungen und Verwandtes (aus dem Archiv L. 2769), ARET 5, Rom.
ArOr	D.O. Edzard, Archív Orientální. Quarterly Journal of African, Asian and Latin American Studies. Praha.
AS	Assyriological Studies. Chicago.
ASAW	Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse. Leipzig, Berlin.
Ashm.	Museumssignatur des Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
ASJ	Acta Sumerologica. Hiroshima.
ATU	Archaische Texte aus Uruk. Berlin.
ATU 1	Falkenstein, A., Archaische Texte aus Uruk, ADFU 2, Berlin, Leipzig 1936.
ATU 2	Green, M.W., Nissen, H.J., Zeichenliste der archaischen Texte aus Uruk, ADFU 11, Berlin 1987.
ATU 3	Englund, R.K., Nissen, H.J., Die lexikalischen Listen der archaischen Texte aus Uruk, ADFU 13, Berlin 1993.
ATU 4	Nissen, H.J., Katalog der archaischen Texte aus Uruk. Berlin (noch nicht erschienen).
ATU 5	Englund, R.K., Archaic administrative texts from Uruk: the early campaigns, ADFU 15, Berlin 1994.
AÜDTCFD	Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi. Ankara.
AulaÓr	Aula Orientalis. Revista de estudios del Próximo Oriente Antiguo. Barcelona.
AulaOr-S	Aula Orientalis-Supplementa. Barcelona.
AUWE	Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka. Endberichte. Mainz.
AV	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo.

BaF	Baghdader Forschungen. Mainz.
BaM	Baghdader Mitteilungen. Berlin, Mainz.
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research. New Haven.
BBV	Berliner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte. Berlin.
BBVO	Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient. Berlin.
Before Writing	Schmandt-Besserat, D., Before Writing, Vols. I-II, Austin 1992.
BFE	M. Krebernik, Die Beschwörungen aus Fara und Ebla. Untersuchungen zur ältesten keilschriftlichen Beschwörungsliteratur, TSO 2, Hildesheim, Zürich, New York, 1984.
Bilinguismo	s. Cagni, L. (ed.), Bilinguismo.
BiMes	Bibliotheca Mesopotamica. Primary sources and interpretive analyses for the study of Mesopotamian civilization and its influences from late prehistoric to the end of the cuneiform tradition. Malibu.
BIN	Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies, Yale University. New Haven, London.
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis. Leiden.
BS	G. Visicato, The Bureaucracy of Šuruppak [...], ALASPM 10, Münster 1995.
BSA	Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture. Cambridge.
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. London.
BWL	Lambert, W.G., Babylonian Wisdom Literature, Oxford 1960.
CAD	The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Chicago.
Cagni, L. (ed.), Bilinguismo	Cagni, L. (ed.), Il bilinguismo a Ebla. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Napoli, 19-22 aprile 1982), Neapel 1984.
Cagni, L. (ed.), Ebla 1975-1985	Cagni, L. (ed.), Ebla 1975-1985. Dieci anni di studi linguistici e filologici. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Napoli, 9-11 ottobre 1985), Napoli 1987.
Cagni, L. (ed.), La lingua die Ebla	Cagni, L. (ed.), La lingua die Ebla. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Napoli, 21-23 aprile 1980), Napoli 1981.
CAH	The Cambridge Ancient History. Cambridge.
CahDAFI	Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran. Paris.
CBS	Museumssignatur des University Museum, Philadelphia (Catalogue of the Babylonian Section).
CHM	Cahiers d'histoire mondiale. Paris.
CIRPL	SOLLBERGER, E., Corpus des inscriptions 'royales' présargoniques de Lagaš, Genève 1956.
CNMA	Museumssignatur: Copenhagen, National Museet, Antiksamlingen. Copenhagen.
CNR-IME Seminari	Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche. Istituto per gli studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici. Roma.
CRRAI	Comptes Rendus: Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale. Unterschiedliche Erscheinungsorte.
CT	Cuneiform Texts from the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum. London.
Damerow, P., Englund, R.K, Tepe Yahya	Damerow, P., Englund, R.K., The Proto-Elamite Texts from Tepe Yahya, American School of Prehistoric Research Bulletin 39, Cambridge, MA, 1989.
DAS	Lafont, B., Documents administratifs sumerériens provenant du site de Tello et conservés au Musée du Louvre. Paris 1985.
DP	Allotte de la Fuÿe, F.-M., Documents présargoniques, Paris 1908-1920.
Ean.	E'annatum: Steible, H., FAOS 5/I, Wiesbaden 1982, 120-181.
Eblaitica 1	Gordon, C.H., Rendsburg, G.A., Winter, N.H. (ed.), Eblaitica: Essays on the Ebla Archives and Eblaite Language, vol. I, Winona Lake, 1987.

ECTJ	Westenholz, A., Early Cuneiform Texts in Jena: Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic Documents from Nippur and Fara in the Hilprecht-Sammlung vorderasiatischer Altertümer Institut für Altertumswissenschaften der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität, Jena, Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab Historisk-Filosofiske Skrifter 7,3, København 1975.
EDATS	Pomponio, F., Visicato, G., Early Dynastic Administrative Tablets of Šuruppak, Neapel 1994.
ELTS	Gelb, I.J. (†), Steinkeller, P., Whiting, R.M., Earliest Land Tenure Systems in the Near East: Ancient Kudurrus, Plates, OIP 104, Chicago 1989. Gelb, I.J. (†), Steinkeller, P., Whiting, R.M., Earliest Land Tenure Systems in the Near East, Ancient Kudurrus, Text, OIP 104, Chicago 1991.
En. I	Enannatum I.: Steible, H., FAOS 5/I, Wiesbaden 1982, 182-210.
En. II	Enannatum II.: Steible, H., FAOS 5/I, Wiesbaden 1982, 273-274.
Ent.	Entemena: Steible, H., FAOS 5/I, Wiesbaden 1982, 211-272.
ERBM	Friberg, J., The Early Roots of Babylonian Mathematics, vols. I-II, Göteborg 1978-1979.
Expedition	Expedition. [...]. Philadelphia.
FAOS	Freiburger Altorientalische Studien. Wiesbaden, Stuttgart.
Finkbeiner, U., Röllig, W. (ed.), Ğamdat Naṣr	Finkbeiner, U., Röllig, W. (ed.), Ğamdat Naṣr: Period or Regional Style? Papers given at a symposium held in Tübingen November 1983, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B 62 (Geisteswissenschaften), Wiesbaden 1986.
Fö	Förtsch, W., Altbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte aus der Zeit Lugalanda's und Urukagina's. Texte 1-195, VS XIV/1, Leipzig 1916. Bearbeitung: BAUER, J., StPohl 9, Rome 1972.
Frühe Schrift	Nissen, H.J., Damerow, P., Englund, R.K., Frühe Schrift und Techniken der Wirtschaftsverwaltung im alten Vorderen Orient, Berlin ²1991.
FS Birot	Durand, J.-M., Kupper, J.-R. (ed.), Miscellanea Babylonica. Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot. Paris 1985.
FS Boehmer	Finkbeiner, U., Dittmann, R., Hauptmann, H. (ed.), Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Vorderasiens. Festschrift für Rainer Michael Boehmer, Mainz 1995.
FS Braidwood	Young, T.C., Smith, Ph.E.L., Mortensen, P. (ed.), The Hilly Flanks and Beyond. Essays on the Prehistory of Southwestern Asia Presented to Robert J. Braidwood, November 15, 1982, SAOC 36, Chicago 1983.
FS Civil	Michalowski, P. et al. (ed.), VELLES PARAULES, Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Miguel Civil on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday, AulaOr 9, Barcelona 1991.
FS Diakonoff	Dandamayev, M.A. et al. (ed.), Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East. Studies in Honour of I.M. Diakonoff, Warminster 1982.
FS Hallo	Cohen, M.E., Snell, D.C., Weisberg, D.B. (ed.), The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William, W. Hallo, Bethesda (Maryland) 1993.
FS Hirsch	Ambros, A.A., Köhbach, M., Festschrift für Hans Hirsch zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern, WZKM 86, 1996.
FS Hrouda	Calmeyer, P., Hecker, K., Jakob-Rost, L., Walker, C.B.F. (ed.), Beiträge zur Altorientalischen Archäologie und Altertumskunde. Festschrift für Barthel Hrouda zum 65. Geburtstag, Wiesbaden 1994.
FS Jacobsen	Lieberman, St.J. (ed), Sumerological Studies in Honor of Thorkild Jacobsen on his Seventieth Birthday, June 7, 1974, AS 20, Chicago 1975.
FS Kramer (AOAT 25)	Eichler, B.L (ed.), Kramer Anniversary Volume, Cuneiform Studies in Honor of Samuel Noah Kramer, AOAT 25, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1976.
FS Kraus	Driel, G. van et al. (ed.), *Zikir šumim*. Assyriological Studies Presented to F.R. Kraus on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday, Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten. Studia Francisci Scholten memoriae dicata, Volumen quintum, Leiden 1982.

FS Limet	Tunca, Ö, Deheselle, D. (ed.), Tablettes et images aux pays de Sumer et d'Akkad. Mélanges offerts à Monsieur H. Limet. Association pour la Promotion de l'Histoire et de l'Archéologie Orientales, Mémoires I, Liége 1996.
FS Matouš II	Hruška, B., Komoróczy, G. (ed.), Festschrift Lubor Matouš II, Assyriologia V, Budapest 1978.
FS Röllig	Pongratz-Leisten, B., Kühne, H., Xella, P. (ed.), Ana šadî Labnāni lū allik. Beiträge zu altorientalischen und mittelmeerischen Kulturen. Festschrift für Wolfgang Röllig, AOAT 247, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1997.
FS Salonen	Studia Orientalia edidit Societas Orientalis Fennica redigenda curavit Ilmari Kärki, StOr 46, Helsinki 1975.
FS Sjöberg	Behrens, H., Loding, M., Roth, M.T. (ed.), DUMU-E$_2$-DUB-BA-A, Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg, OPSNKF 11, Philadelphia 1989.
FS Strommenger	Hrouda, B., Kroll, St., Spanos, P.Z. (ed.), Von Uruk nach Tuttul: eine Festschrift für Eva Strommenger. Studien und Aufsätze von Kollegen und Freunden, MVS 12, München/Wien 1992.
FT 2	Genouillac, H. de, Fouilles de Telloh, Tome II: Époques d'Ur III[e] Dynastie et de Larsa, Paris 1936.
FTS	Kramer, S.N., From the Tablets of Sumer, Twenty-Five Firsts in Man's recorded History, Indian Hills 1956.
Genava n.s.	Genava n.s. Genéve.
GS Kutscher	Rainey, A.F. (ed.), *kinattūtu ša dārâti*, Raphael Kutscher Memorial Volume, Tel Aviv OccPub 1, Tel Aviv 1993.
Gudea Statue B	Steible, H., FAOS 9/1, Stuttgart 1991, 156-179.
Gudea Statue D	Steible, H., FAOS 9/1, Stuttgart 1991, 184-191.
Gudea Zyl. A	Thureau-Dangin, F., Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften, VAB I, Leipzig 1907, 89-123; Averbeck, R.E., A preliminary study of ritual and structure in the cylinders of Gudea, PhD Philadelphia, vol. 2, Philadelphia 1987, 589-678.
Gudea Zyl. B	Thureau-Dangin, F., Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften, VAB I, Leipzig 1907, 123-141; Averbeck, R.E., A preliminary study of ritual and structure in the cylinders of Gudea, PhD Philadelphia, vol. 2, Philadelphia 1987, 679-712.
HANE/S	History of the Ancient Near East/Studies. Padua.
HFara	Heinrich, E., Andrae, W., Fara. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Fara und Abu Hatab 1902/03, Berlin 1931.
Ḫḫ	Lexikalische Serie ḪAR-ra = *ḫubullu* (MSL 5-11).
HSS	Harvard Semitic Series. Cambridge (Mass.).
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik. Leiden.
HistMath	Historia Mathematica. International Journal of History of Mathematics. Toronto.
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual. Cincinnatti (Oh.).
IAS	Biggs, R.D., Inscriptions from Tell Abū Ṣalābīkh, OIP 99, Chicago, London 1974.
Iraq	Iraq. The British School of Archaeology in Iraq. Gertrud Bell Memorial. London.
IstMitt	Istanbuler Mitteilungen. Tübingen.
ITT I	Thureau-Dangin, F., Inventaire des tablettes de Tello conservées au Musée Impérial Ottoman. Tome I: Textes de l'éopque d'Agadé, Paris 1910.
ITT II	Genouillac, H. de, Inventaire des tablettes de Tello conservées au Musée Impérial Ottoman. Tome II: Textes de l'époque d'Agadé et de l'époque d'Ur. Premiére partie, Paris 1910. Deuxiéme partie, Paris 1911.
ITT V	Genouillac, H. de, Inventaire des tablettes de Tello conservées au Musée Impérial Ottoman. Tome V: Epoque présargonique, Epoque d'Agadé, Epoque d'Ur, Paris 1921.
JANES	Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society (of Columbia University). New York.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society. New Haven (Conn.).

JCS — Journal of Cuneiform Studies. New Haven (Conn.).
JEOL — Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap (ab 1945 Genootschap) Ex Oriente Lux. Leiden
JESHO — Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient. Leiden.
JNES — Journal of Near Eastern Studies. Chicago.
JRAS — Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. London.

LAK — Deimel, A., Die Inschriften von Fara I: Liste der Archaischen Keilschriftzeichen, WVDOG 40, Leipzig 1922.
LAPO — Littérature Anciennes du Proche Orient. Paris.
LOT — Library of Oriental Texts. Groningen.
Lug. — Lugalanda: Steible, H., FAOS 5/I, Wiesbaden 1982, 276-277.
Luzag. — Lugalzagesi: Steible, H., FAOS 5/II, Wiesbaden 1982, 310-337.

MAD — Materials fro the Assyrian Dictionary. Chicago.
MAD 3 — I.J. Gelb, Glossary of Old Akkadian, MAD 3, Chicago 1957.
MAM — Mission archéologique de Mari. Paris.
MAOG — Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft. Leipzig.
M.A.R.I. — Mari. Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires. Paris.
MBI — Barton, G.A., Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions, New Haven 1918.
MC — Mesopotamian Civilizations. Winona Lake.
MCT — Neugebauer, O., Sachs, A., Mathematical Cuneiform Texts, AOS 29, New Haven (Conn.) 1945.
MDOG — Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft. Berlin.
MDP — Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique en Iran. Paris.
MEE — Materiali epigrafici die Ebla. Neapel.
MEE 3 — G. Pettinato, Testi lessicali monolingui della Biblioteca L. 2769, MEE 3, Neapel 1981.
MEE 4 — G. Pettinato, Testi lessicali bilingui della Biblioteca L. 2769, MEE 4, Neapel 1982.
Mes. — Mesannepada: Steible, H., FAOS 5/II, Wiesbaden 1982, 272-273.
Meskiag. — Meski'agnun: Steible, H., FAOS 5/II, Wiesbaden 1982, 277-278.
Mesopotamia — Mesopotamia, Copenhagen Studies in Assyriology. Copenhagen.
Mesopotamia — Mesopotamia. Rivista di Archeologia, Epigrafia e Storia Orientale Antica a cura del Centro Ricerche Archeologiche e Scavi di Torino per il Medio Oriente e l'Asia. Torino, Firenze.
MFara — Martin, H.P., Fara: A Reconstruction of the Ancient Mesopotamian City of Shuruppak, Birmingham 1988.
MHEO — Mesopotamian History and Environment, Occasional Publications. Leuven.
MIO — Museumssignatur: Musée Impériale Ottoman. Istanbul.
MJ — The Museum Journal. Philadelphia.
MKT — Neugebauer, O., Mathematische Keilschrifttexte, Berlin 1935-1937.
MSL — Materialien zum Sumerischen Lexikon/Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon. Roma.
MSL SS — Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon, Supplementary Series.
MSVO — Materialien zu den frühen Schriftzeugnissen des Vorderen Orients. Berlin
MSVO 1 — Englund, R.K., Grégoire, J.-P., The Proto-Cuneiform Texts from Jemdet Nasr. I: Copies, transliterations and glossary, Berlin 1991.
MSVO 2 — Matthews, R.J., Cities, Seals and Writing: Archaic Seal Impressions from Jemdet Nasr and Ur, Berlin 1993.
MSVO 3 — Damerow, P., Englund, R.K., The Proto-Cuneiform Texts from the Erlenmeyer Collection, Berlin (noch nicht erschienen).
MSVO 4 — Englund, R.K., Proto-Cuneiform Texts from Diverse Collections, Berlin 1996.
MVN — Materiali per il vocabolario neosumerico. Roma.
MVS — Münchener Vorderasiatische Studien. München/Wien.

N — Museumssignatur des University Museum, Philadelphia (Nippur).

N.A.B.U.	Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires. Paris.
NFT	Cros, G., Nouvelles fouilles de Tello, publiées avec le concours de: Léon Heuzey, F[cois] Thureau-Dangin, Paris 1910.
Ni	Museumssignatur Istanbul (Nippur).
Nik	s. Nik I.
Nik I	Nikol'skij, M.V., Dokumenty chozjajstvennoj otčetnosti drevnejšej epochi Chaldei iz sobranija N.P Lichačeva, Drevnosti Vostočnyja 3/II, St. Petersburg 1908. Bearbeitung: Selz, G.J., Altsumerische Verwaltungstexte aus Lagaš, 1: Die altsumerischen Wirtschaftsurkunden der Eremitage zu Leningrad, FAOS 15/1, Stuttgart 1989. Zusätze: Selz, G.J., ASJ 16, 1994, 217-226.
N-T	Signatur für Texte aus Nippur (Chicago, Baghdad).
NTSŠ	Jestin, R.R., Nouvelles tablettes sumériennes de Šuruppak au Musée d'Istanbul. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'Institut français d'archéologie d'Istanbul II, Paris 1957
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Freiburg (Schweiz), Göttingen.
OECT	Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts. Oxford.
OIC	Oriental Institute Communications. Chicago
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications. Chicago.
OIP 99	R.D. Biggs, Inscriptions from Tell Abū Salābīkh, OIP 99, Chicago, London 1974.
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta. Leuven.
OLZ	Orientalische Literaturzeitung. Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft vom ganzen Orient und seinen Beziehungen zu den angrenzenden Kulturkreisen. Berlin.
OPSNKF	Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund. Philadelphia 1988-.
Or	Orientalia. Commentarii de rebus Assyro-Babylonicis, Arabicis, Aegyptiacis etc. Roma.
OrAnt	Oriens Antiquus. Rivista del Centro per le Antichità e la Storia dell'Arte del Vicino Oriente. Roma.
Orient	Orient. Report of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan. Tokyo.
OrNS	Orientalia, Nova Series. Commentarii trimestres a facultate studiorum orientis antiqui pontificii instituti biblici in lucem editi in Urbe. Roma.
OrSuec	Orientalia Suecana. Upsala.
OSP 1	Westenholz, A., Old Sumerian and Old Akkadian Texts in Philadelphia Chiefly from Nippur 1: Literary and Lexical Texts and the Earliest Administrative Documents from Nippur, BiMes 1, Malibu 1975.
OSP 2	Westenholz, A., Old Sumerian and Old Akkadian Texts in Philadelphia, Part Two: The 'Akkadian' Texts, the Enlilemaba Texts, and the Onion Archive, C(arsten) N(iebuhr) I(nstitute) Publications 3, Copenhagen 1987.
PAPS	Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society. Philadelphia.
PBS	University of Pennsylvania, the Museum Publications of the Babylonian Section. Philadelphia.
PDT 1	Çığ, M., Kızılyay, H., Salonen, A., Die Puzriš-Dagan-Texte der Istanbuler Archäologischen Museen, Teil I: Nrr. 1–725, AASF B 92, Helsinki 1954.
PDT 2	Yildiz, F., Gomi, T., Die Puzriš-Dagan-Texte der Istanbuler Archäologischen Museen, Teil II: Nr. 726-1379, FAOS 16, Stuttgart 1988.
PKG	Propyläen Kunstgeschichte. Berlin.
PSD	The Sumerian Dictionary of the University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia.
PSBA	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology. London.
QdS	Quaderni di Semitistica. Firenze.
RA	Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale. Paris.
REC	Thureau-Dangin, F., Recherches sur l'Origine de l'Ecriture Cunéiforme, I[re] Partie : Les formes archaïques et leurs équivalents modernes, Paris 1898.

RIAA	Speleers, L., Recueil des inscriptions de l'Asie Antérieure des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles, textes sumériens, babyloniens et assyriens, Bruxelles 1925.
RIME	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods. Toronto, Buffalo, London.
RIME 2	D.R. Frayne, Sargonic and Gutian Periods (2334-2113 BC), RIME 2, Toronto, Buffalo, London, 1993.
RIME 4	D.R. Frayne, Old Babylonian Period (2003-1595 BC), RIME 4, Toronto, Buffalo, London 1990.
RlA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie (ab 1957) und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie. Berlin, Leipzig, New York.
RSO	Revista degli Studi Orientali. Roma.
RTC	Thureau-Dangin, F., Recueil des tablettes chaldéennes, Paris 1903.
Sag B	Civil, M., Gurney, R., Kennedy, D.A., The Sag-Tablet, Lexical Texts in the Ashmolean Museum, Middle Babylonian Grammatical Texts, Miscellaneous Texts, MSL SS 1, Roma 1986, 28-35.
Salonen, A., Fischerei	Salonen, A., Die Fischerei im alten Mesopotamien nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen, AASF B166, Helsinki 1970.
SANE	sources from the ancient near east. Malibu.
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization. Chicago.
SARI 1	Cooper, J.S., Sumerian and Akkadian Royal Inscriptions, 1: Presargonic Inscriptions, The American Oriental Society, Translation Series 1, New Haven 1986.
SEb	Studi Eblaiti. Roma.
SEL	Studie epigraphici e linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico. Verona.
SF	Deimal, A., Die Inschriften von Fara II: Schultexte aus Fara, WDOG 43, Leipzig 1923.
SLT	Chiera, E., Sumerian Lexical Texts from the Temple School of Nippur, OIP 11, Chicago 1929.
SMS	Syro-Mesopotamian Studies. Malibu.
SR	Edzard, D.O., Sumerische Rechtsurkunden des III. Jahrtausends aus der Zeit vor der III. Dynastie von Ur, ABAW NF 67: Veröffentlichungen der Kommission zur Erschließung von Keilschrifttexten, Serie A/4. Stück, München 1968.
STH 1	Hussey, M.I., Sumerian Tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum, Part I, Chiefly from the Reigns of Lugalanda and Urukagina of Lagash, HSS 3, Cambridge (Mass.) 1912. Bearbeitung: G.J. Selz, Altsumerische Verwaltungstexte aus Lagaš, 2: Altsumerische Wirtschaftsurkunden aus amerikanischen Sammlungen, FAOS 15/2, Stuttgart 1993, 67-414.
StOr	Studia Orientalia. Helsinki.
StPohl	Studia Pohl. Dissertationes scientificae de rebus orientis antiqui. Roma.
StPohl SM	Studia Pohl. Series Maior. Dissertationes scientificae de rebus orientis antiqui. Roma.
StSem (NS)	Studi Semitici (Nuova serie). Roma.
STVC	Chiera, E., Sumerian Texts of Varied Contents, OIP 16, Chicago 1934.
ŠL	Deimel, A., Šumerisches Lexikon II, Rom 1928-33.
TAS	Tell Abū Ṣalābīḫ
TAVO	Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Wiesbaden.
TCL	Textes cunéiformes. Musée du Louvre. Paris.
TCS	Text from Cuneiform Sources. Locust Valley, New York.
Tel Aviv	Tel Aviv. Journal of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University. Tel Aviv.
Tel Aviv OccPub	Tel Aviv. Journal of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University. Occasional Publications. Tel Aviv.
TMH	Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht. Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena. Leipzig.
TMH NF	Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht-Sammlung Vorderasiatischer Altertümer im Eigentum der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, Neue Folge. Berlin.

TSA	Genouillac, H. de, Tablettes sumériennes archaïques, Paris 1909.
TSO	Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik. Hildesheim, Zürich, New York.
TSŠ	Jestin, R., Tablettes sumériennes de Šuruppak conservées au Musée de Stamboul. Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archélogie de Stamboul III, Paris 1937.
UET	Ur Excavations. Texts. London.
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen. Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas. Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn.
Ukg.	Uru'inimgina: Steible, H., FAOS 5/I, Wiesbaden 1982, 278-358.
Ur III-Fischerei	Englund, R.K., Organisation und Verwaltung der Ur III-Fischerei, BBVO 10, Berlin 1990.
Urn.	Urnanše: Steible, H., FAOS 5/I, Wiesbaden 1982, 79-170.
UVB 1	Jordan, J., Erster vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft in Uruk-Warka unternommenen Ausgrabungen, APAW 1929/7, Berlin 1930.
UVB 2	Jordan, J., Zweiter vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft in Uruk unternommenen Ausgrabungen, APAW 1930/4, Berlin 1931.
UVB 3	Jordan, J., Dritter vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft in Uruk unternommenen Ausgrabungen, APAW 1932/2, Berlin 1932.
UVB 4	Nöldecke, A. et al., Vierter vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft in Uruk unternommenen Ausgrabungen, APAW 1932/6, Berlin 1932.
UVB 5	Nöldecke, A., Heinrich E., Schott, E., Fünfter vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft in Uruk unternommenen Ausgrabungen, APAW 1933/5, Berlin 1934.
UVB 6	Heinrich, E., Falkenstein, A., Sechster vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka unternommenen Ausgrabungen, APAW 1935/2, Berlin 1935.
UVB 7	Nöldecke, A., et al., Siebenter vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka unternommenen Ausgrabungen, APAW 1935/4, Berlin 1936.
UVB 8	Nöldecke, A., et al., Achter vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka unternommenen Ausgrabungen, APAW 1936/13, Berlin 1937.
UVB 9	Nöldecke, A., et al., Neunter vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka unternommenen Ausgrabungen, APAW 1937/11, Berlin 1938.
UVB 10	Nöldecke, A., Heinrich E., Lenzen, H., Zehnter vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka unternommenen Ausgrabungen, APAW 1939/2, Berlin 1939.
UVB 11	Nöldecke, A., Lenzen, H., Elfter vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka unternommenen Ausgrabungen, APAW 1940/3, Berlin 1940.
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek. Leipzig.
VAT	Museumsignatur: Vorderasiatische Abteilung T(h)ontafeln. Berlin.
VDI	Vestnik Drevnej Istorii. Moskau.
VO	Vicino Oriente. Roma.
VS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen/staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. Leipzig, Berlin, Mainz.
W	Signatur für Texte aus Warka (Baghdad, Berlin).
Waetzoldt, H., UNT	Waetzoldt, H., Untersuchungen zur neusumerischen Textilindustrie, Roma 1972.

WdM I	HAUSSIG, H.W. (ed.), Wörterbuch der Mythologie. Erste Abteilung: Die alten Kulturvölker, Band 1: Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient, Stuttgart 1965.
WF	Deimel, A., Die Inschriften von Fara III: Wirtschaftstexte aus Fara, WVDOG 45, Leipzig 1924.
WO	Die Welt des Orients. Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes. Göttingen.
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft. Leipzig, Berlin.
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Wien.
YOS	Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts. New Haven (Conn.).
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archälogie. Berlin, New York.
ZATU	s. ATU 2.
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Leipzig, Stuttgart, Wiesbaden.

2. Indices

Aus Gründen besserer Lesbarkeit sind lediglich *Eblaitisch* und *Akkadisch* typographisch abgesetzt.

2.1. Personennamen

Nicht aufgenommen sind:
- die Liste der semitischen PN in Farā und TAS, S. 261-269;
- der Namensindex zu den Fāra-Kolophonen, S. 333-335

2.2. Götternamen

2.3. Tempel(namen)

2.4. Geographische Namen

2.4.1. Keilschriftlich überlieferte Namen

Nicht aufgenommen sind:

- die Listen geographischer Namen S. 285-298;
- die Namen von Feldern

2.4.2. Moderne Namen und gräzisierte Formen

2.5. Zeichen-Formen und -Lautwerte

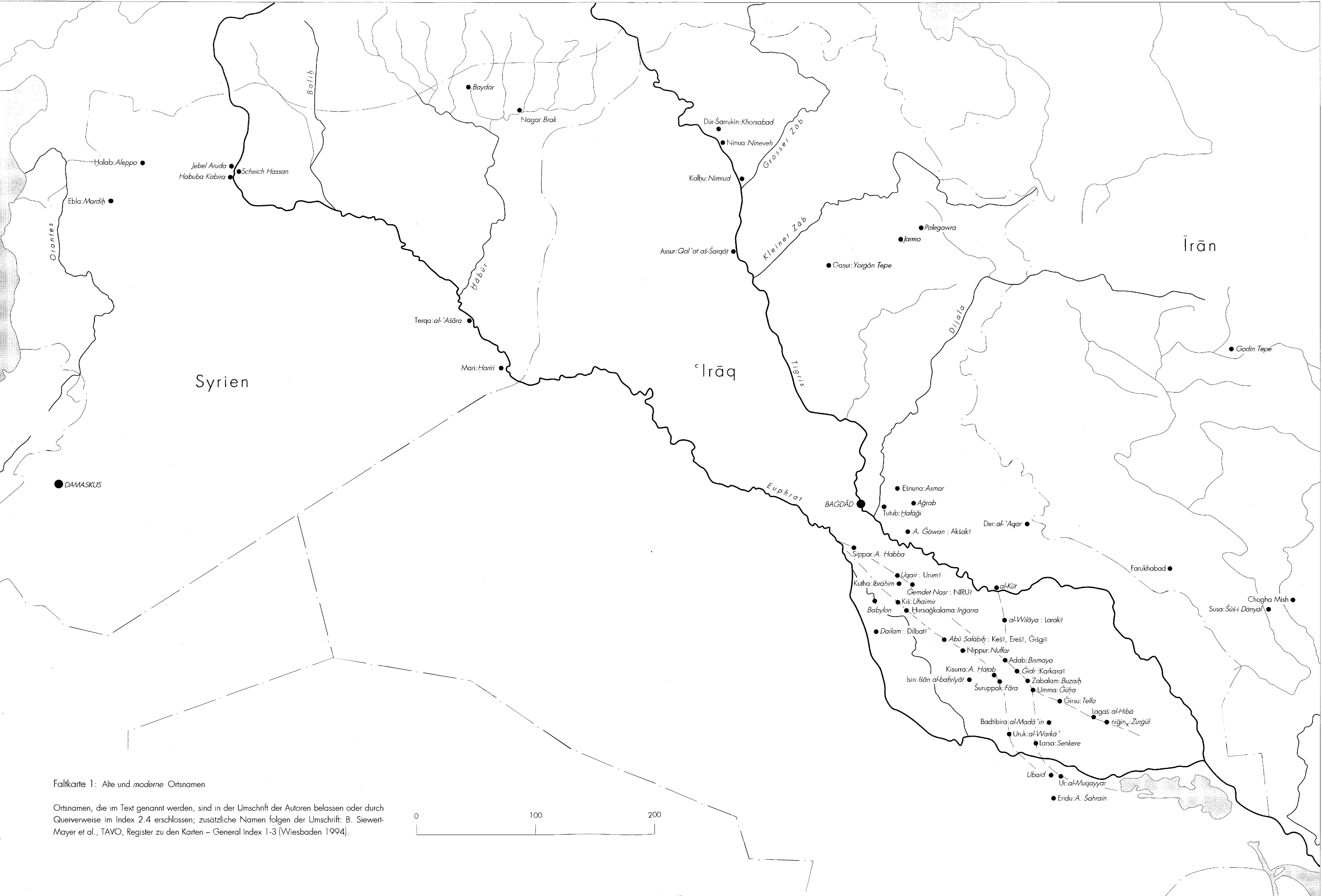
2.6. Besprochene Wörter

2.6.1. Proto-cuneiform und Sumerisch

2.6.2. Eblaitisch, Akkadisch und Sumerogramme

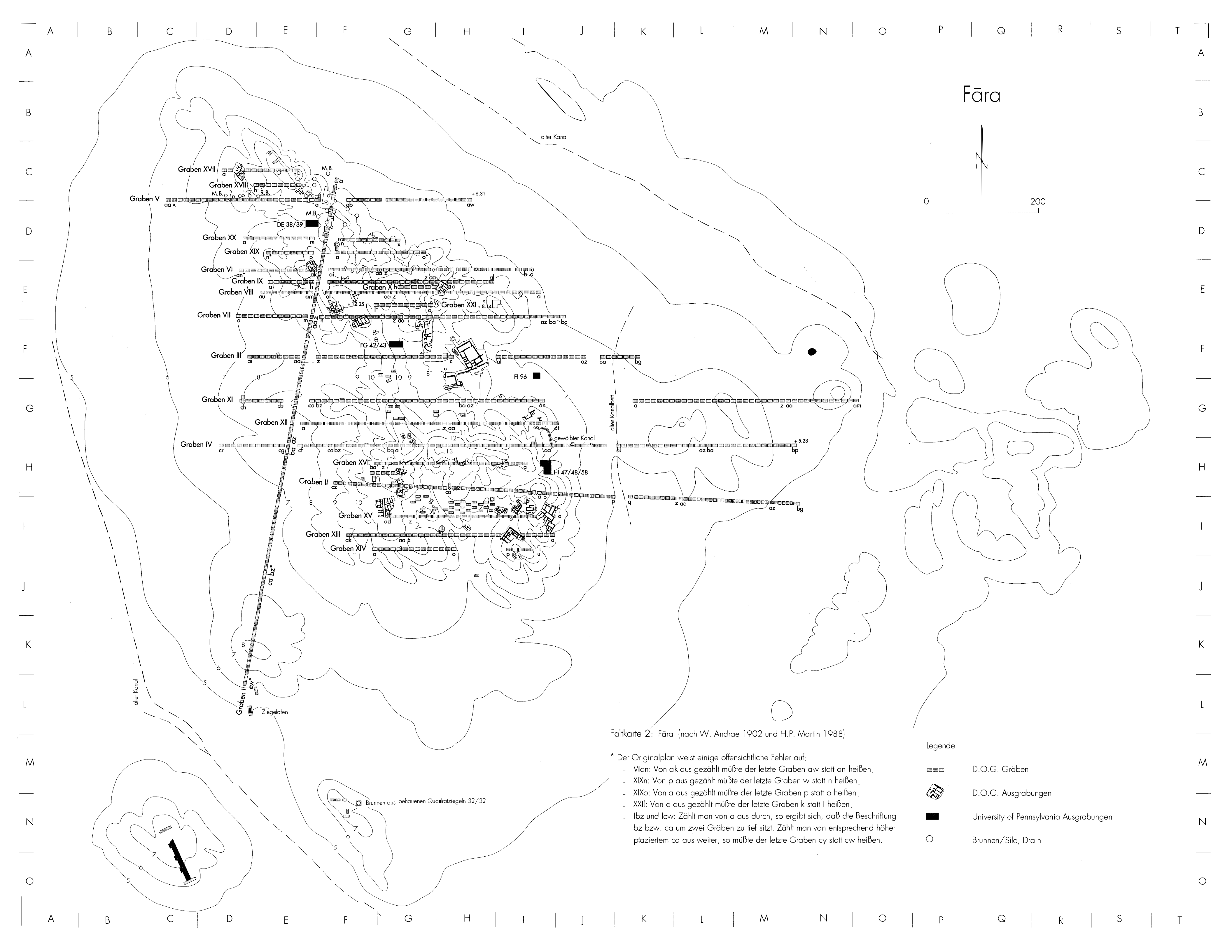
2.7. Besprochene Texte und Textstellen

Für einen Katalog, der alle Texte aus Fāra und TAS sowie alle als Fāra-zeitlich eingestuften Texte umfasst, vgl. S. 337-377.



Faltkarte 1: Alte und *moderne* Ortsnamen

Ortsnamen, die im Text genannt werden, sind in der Umschrift der Autoren belassen oder durch Querverweise im Index 2.4 erschlossen; zusätzliche Namen folgen der Umschrift: B. Siewert-Mayer et al., TAVO, Register zu den Karten – General Index 1-3 (Wiesbaden 1994).



Faltkarte 2: Fāra (nach W. Andrae 1902 und H.P. Martin 1988)

* Der Originalplan weist einige offensichtliche Fehler auf:

- VIan: Von ak aus gezählt müßte der letzte Graben aw statt an heißen.
- XIXn: Von p aus gezählt müßte der letzte Graben w statt n heißen.
- XIXo: Von a aus gezählt müßte der letzte Graben p statt o heißen.
- XXI: Von a aus gezählt müßte der letzte Graben k statt l heißen.
- Ibz und Icw: Zählt man von a aus durch, so ergibt sich, daß die Beschriftung bz bzw. ca um zwei Gräben zu tief sitzt. Zählt man von entsprechend höher plaziertem ca aus weiter, so müßte der letzte Graben cy statt cw heißen.